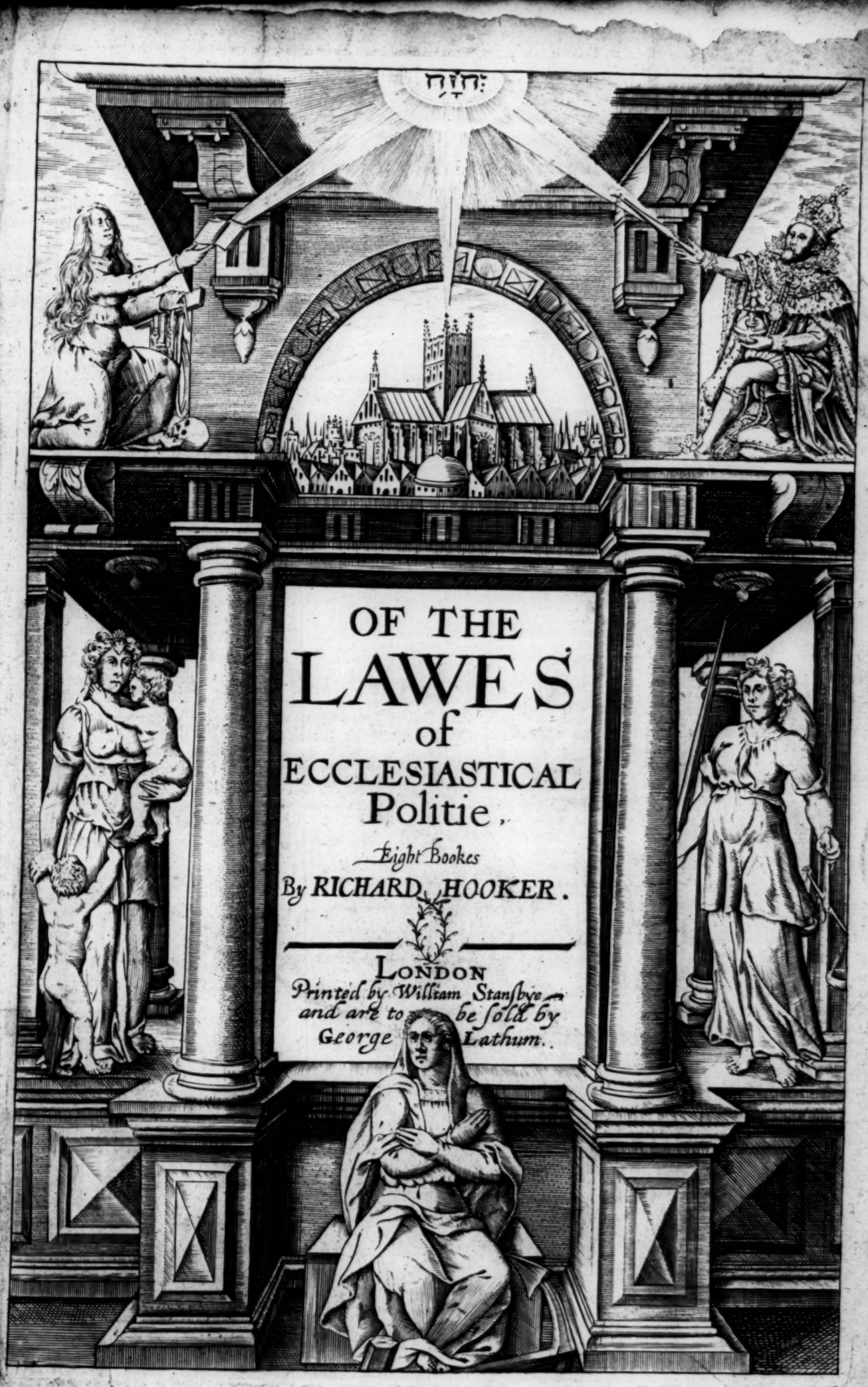
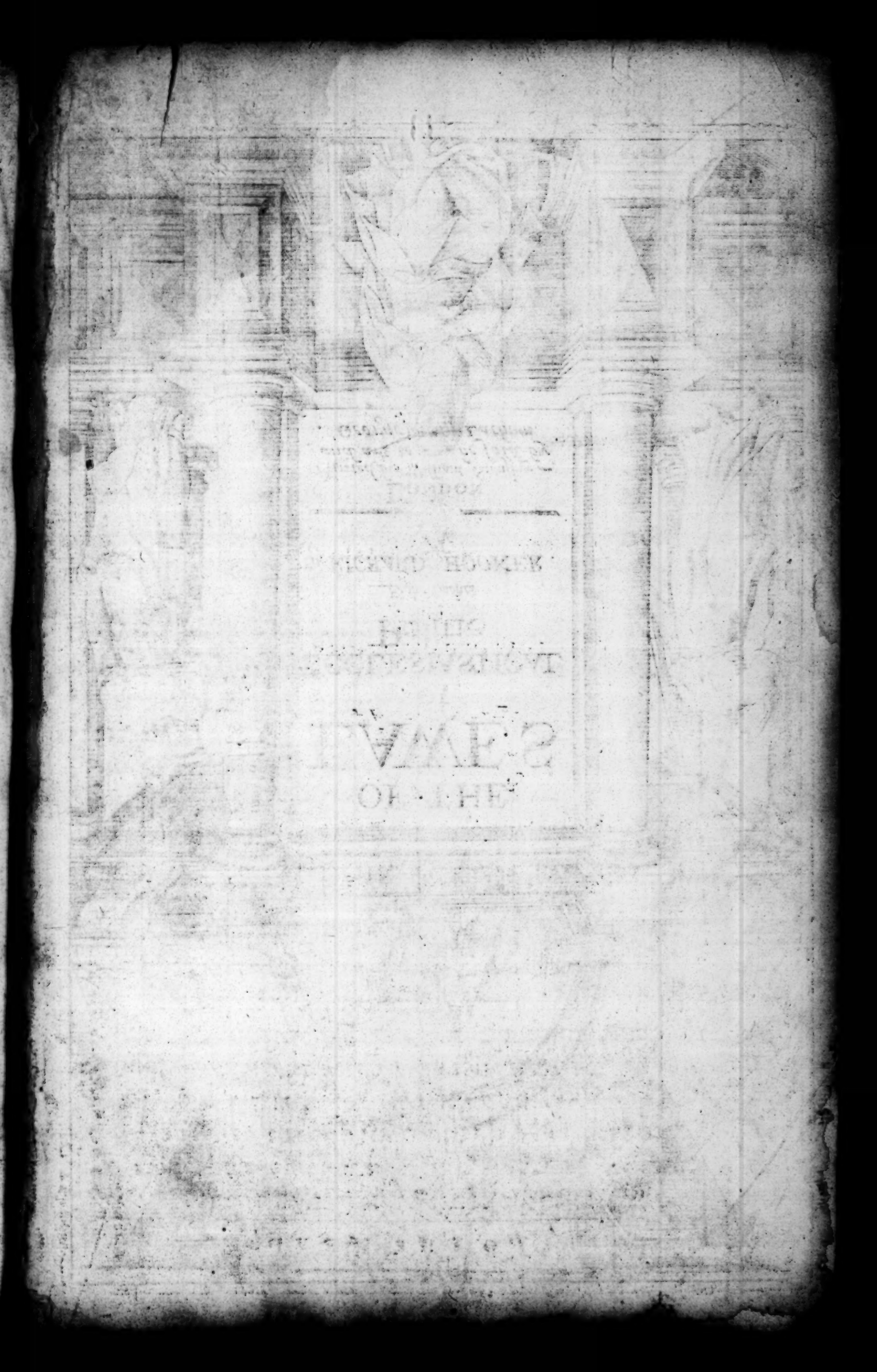

יחזח
OF THE
LAWES
of
ECCLESIASTICAL
Politie,
Eight Bookes
By RICHARD HOOKER.
LONDON
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To the Reader.



THis vnhappy Controuerſie, about the receiued Ceremonies & Diſcipline of the Church of England, which hath ſo long time withdrawne ſo many of her Miniſters from their principall worke, and imployed their Studies in contentious Oppoſitions: hath by the vnnaturall growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made knowne to the World, that it neuer receiued bleſsing from the Father of Peace. For whoſe experience doth not find, what confuſion of Order, and breach of the ſacred Bond of Loue hath ſprung from this Diſſention; how it hath rent the body of the Church into diuers parts, and diuided her people into diuers Sects, how it hath taught the Sheepe to deſpiſe their Paſtors, and alienated the Paſtors from the loue of their Flockes: how it hath ſtrengthened the Irreligious in their Impieties, and

hath raiſed the hopes of the ſacrilegious deuourers of the remaines of Chriſts Patrimonie; and giuen way to the common Aduerſarie of Gods Truth, and our proſperitie, to grow great in our Land without reſiſtance; who ſeeth not how it hath diſtracted the minds of the multitude, aud ſhaken their faith, and ſcandalized their weakeneſſe, and hath generally killed the very heart of true Pietie, and religious Deuotion, by changing our zeale towards Chriſts glorie, into the fire of Enuie and Malice, and Heart-burning, and zeale to euery mans priuate cauſe? This is the ſumme of all the gaines which the tedious contentions of ſo many yeers haue brought in, by the ruine of Chriſts Kingdome, the encreaſe of Satans, partly in Superſtition and partly in Impietie. So much better were it in theſe our dwellings of Peace to endure any inconuenience whatſoeuer in the outward frame, then in deſire of alteration, thus to ſet the whole houſe on fire. Which mooued the Religious heart of this learned Writer, in zeale of Gods truth, and in compaſsion to his Church, the mother of vs all, which gaue vs both the firſt breath of Spirituall Life, and from her Breſts hath fed vs vnto this whatſoeuer meaſure of growth we haue in Chriſt, to ſtand vp and take vpon him a generall defence both of her ſelfe, and of her eſtabliſhed Lawes; and by force of demonſtration, ſo farre as the nature of the preſent matter could beare, to make knowne to the World, and theſe Oppugners of her, that all thoſe bitter accuſations laide to her charge, are not the faults of her Lawes and Orders,

but

but either their owne mistakes in the misunderstanding, or the abuses of men in the il execution of them. A Work subiect to manifold reprehensions, and oppositions, and not sutable to his soft and mild dispositiō, desirous of a quiet priuate life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of Peace in Peace. But the loue of God and of his Countrie, whose greatest danger grew from this Diuision, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongst many other most Reuerend and Learned men, he also presumed to speake with his Pen. And the rather, because hee saw that none of these ordinarie obiections of partialities could eleuate the authoritie of his writing, who alwaies affected a priuate State, and neither enioyed, nor expected any the least Dignitie in our Church. What admirable height of Learning, and depth of iudgement dwelled within the lowly mind of this true humble Man, great in all wise mens eyes, except his owne; with what Grauitie and Maiestie of speech his tongue and Pen vttered heauenly Mysteries, whose eyes in the humilitie of his heart were alwayes cast downe to the ground, how all things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the spirit of Loue, as if He like the Bird of the Holy Ghost, the Doue, had wanted Gall, let them that knew him not in his person, iudge by these liuing Images of his Soule, his writings. For out of these, euen those who otherwise agree not with him in Opinion, doe affoord him the testimonie of a milde and a louing Spirit: and of his Learning, what greater proofe can we

haue

haue then this, that his writings are most admired by those who themselues doe most excell in iudicious Learning, & by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled & desired: which is the cause of this sixth Edition of his former bookes, & that without any addition or diminution whatsoeuer. For who will put a Pencill to such a VVorke, from which such a workman hath taken his? There is a purpose of setting forth the three last Books also; their Fathers *Posthumi*. For as in the great declining of his body spent without studie, it was his ordinarie Petition to Almightie God, that if hee might liue to see the finishing of these bookes, then *Lord let thy seruant depart in peace* (to vse his own words,) so it pleased God to grant him his desire: for he liued till he saw them perfected; & though like *Rachel* he died as it were in the trauell of them, and hastned death vpon himselfe, by hastening to giue them life, yet hee held out to behold with his eyes, these *partus ingenij*, these *Beniamins*, Sonnes of his right hand, though to him they were Benonies, Sonne of Paine and Sorrow. But some euill disposed minds, whether of Malice or couetousnesse, or wicked blind Zeale, it is vncertain; as if they had been Egyptian Mid-wiues, as soone as they were borne, and their Father dead, smothered them, & by conueying away the perfect Copies left vnto vs nothing, but certain old vnperfect and mangled Draughts; dismembred into pieces, & scattered like *Medeas Absirtus*: no fauour, no grace, not the shadowes of themselues almost remaining in them. Had

the

the Father liued to ſee them brought foorth thus defaced, he might rightfully haue named them *Benonies*, the Sonnes of Sorrow.

But ſeeing the importunities of many great and worthy perſons, will not ſuffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee them as they are. The learned and Iudicious eye, will yet perhaps delight it ſelfe in beholding the goodly Lineaments of their well ſet Bodies, and in finding out ſome ſhadowes and reſemblances of their Fathers face. God graunt that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for Meſſengers of Peace: ſo in the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may proſper in their worke; and by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch as are willing to learne, may help to giue an end to the calamites of theſe our Ciuill

VVARRES.

I. S.

A PREFACE,

To them that ſeeke (as they terme it) the *Reformation of Lawes and Orders* Eccleſiaſticall, in the Church of ENGLAND.



THough for no other cauſe, yet for this, that poſteritie may know, we haue not looſely through ſilence permitted things to paſſe away as in a dreame, there ſhall be for mens information extant thus much concerning the preſent ſtate of the Church of God eſtabliſhed amongſt vs, and their carefull endeauour which would haue vpheld the ſame. At your hands, beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt (for in him the loue which we beare vnto all that would but ſeeme to be borne of him, it is not the ſea of your gall and bitterneſſe that ſhall euer drowne) I haue no great cauſe to looke for other then the ſelfe-ſame portion and lot, which your manner hath beene hitherto to lay on them that concurre not in Opinion and Sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace ſhall (notwithſtanding mans nature, too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable vs quietly, and euen gladly to ſuffer all things, for that worke ſake which we couet to performe. The wonderfull zeale and feruour wherewith yee haue withſtood the receiued orders of this Church,

The cauſe and occaſion of handling theſe things: and what might be wiſhed in them, for whoſe ſakes ſo much paines is taken.

was

was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published Bookes and Writings peremptorily maintaine) euery Christian man fearing God, stand bound to ioyne with you for the furtherance of that which yee terme the Lords Discipline. *Wherein I must plainly confesse vnto you, that before I examined your sundrie declarations in that behalfe, it could not settle in my head to thinke, but that vndoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously enclined minds, had some maruelous reasonable inducements which led them with so great earnestnesse that way. But when once, as neere as my slender abilitie would serue, I had with trauell & care performed that part of the Apostles aduice and counsell in such cases, whereby he willeth to* trie all things; *and was come at the length so farre, that there remained onely the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth, that* what good is must be held: *there was in my poore vnderstanding no remedy but to set downe this as my finall resolute perswasion;* Surely the present forme of Church gouernment which the Lawes of this Land haue established, is such, as no Law of God, nor reason of man hath hitherto beene alleadged, of force sufficient to prooue they doe ill, who to the vttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof: *Contrariwise*; The other which insteade of it wee are required to accept, is only by errour and misconceipt named the ordinance of Iesus Christ, no one proofe as yet brought forth, whereby it may cleerely appeare to bee so in very deede. *The explication of which two things I haue here thought good to offer into your owne hands: heartily beseeching you euen by the meekenesse of Iesus Christ, whom I trust ye loue; that, as ye tender the peace and quietnesse of this Church, if there bee in you that gracious humilitie which hath euer beene the Crowne and glory of a Christianly disposed minde; if your owne soules, hearts and consciences, (the sound integritie whereof can but hardly stand with the refusall of truth in personall respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most deare and precious vnto you,* Let not the faith which ye haue in our Lord Iesus Christ, be blemished with partialities, *regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Thinke not that ye reade the words of one, who bendeth himselfe as an Aduersary against the Truth, which ye haue alreadie imbraced; but the words of one who desireth euen to imbrace together with you the selfe same truth, if it bee the truth; and for that cause (for no other God hee knoweth) hath vndertaken the burthensome labour of this painfull kind of conference. For the playner accesse whereunto, let it bee lawfull for me to*

Iam. 2. 1.

rip vp to the very bottome how and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we liue in began to make firſt triall thereof.

2. A founder it had, whom, for mine owne part, I thinke incomparably the wiſeſt man that euer the French Church did enioy, ſince the houre it enioyed him. His bringing vp was in the ſtudie, of the Ciuill Law. Diuine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debters to him, as touchinge knowledge in that kind; yet he to none but only to God, the author of that moſt bleſſed Fountaine the Booke of Life, and of the admirable dexteritie of wit, togeather with the helps of other learning which were his giudes: till being occaſioned to leaue France, he fell at the length vpon Geneua: Which Citie, the Biſhop and Clergie thereof had a little before (as ſome doe affirme) forſaken, being of likelyhood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion: the euent of which enterprize they thought it not ſafe for themſelues to wait for in that place. At the comming of Caluine thither, the forme of their ciuill Regiment was popular, as it continnueth at this day: neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any authoritie or power ouer them, but officers choſen by the people yeerely out of themſelues, to order all things with publique conſent. For ſpirituall Gouernement, they had no Lawes at all agreed vpon, but did what the Paſtors of their ſoules by perſwaſion could winne them vnto. Caluine being admitted one of their Preachers and a Diuinitie-Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a threed, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it haue power to change whatſoeuer it ſelfe liſteth. Wherefore taking vnto him two of the other Miniſters, for more countenance of the action, (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moued, and in the end perſwaded with much adoe, the People to binde themſelues by ſolemne Oath, firſt, neuer to admit the Papacie amongſt them againe; And ſecondly, to liue in obedience vnto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their Religion, and the forme of their Eccleſiaſticall Gouernement, as thoſe their true and faithfull Miniſters of Gods Word had agreeably to Scripture ſet downe for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in vre, the people alſo (what cauſes mouing them thereunto, themſelues beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champe vpon the bit they had taken into their mouthes, the rather for that they grew by meanes of this innouation into diſlike with ſome

The firſt eſtabliſhment of new Diſcipline by M *Calumes* induſtrie, in the Church of *Geneua*: and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelues.

Churches neere about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lacke: It was the manner of those times (whether through mens desire to enioy alone the glory of their owne enterprises, or else because the quickneſſe of their occasions required present dispatch,) so it was, that euery particular Church did that within it selfe, which some few of their owne thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themselues, yet small, common conference before-hand might haue eased them of much after-trouble. But a greater inconuenience it bred, that euery later endeuoured to be certayne degrees more remoued from conformitie with the Church of Rome, then the rest before had beene: whereupon grew maruellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, iealousies, heart-burnings, iarres, and discords amongst them. Which notwithstanding might haue easily beene preuented, if the orders which each Church did thinke fit and conuenient for it selfe, had not so peremptorily beene established vnder that high commanding forme, which tendered them vnto the people, as things euerlastingly required by the Law of that Lord of Lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this meane it came to passe, that one Church could not but accuse and condemne another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was betweene them: whereas the selfe-same orders allowed, but yet established in more warie and suspence manner, as being to stand in force till God should giue the oportunity of some generall conference what might bee best for euery of them afterwards to doe; this, I say, had both preuented all occasion of iust dislike which others might take, and reserued a greater libertie vnto the Authors themselues of entring into farther consultation afterwards. Which though neuer so necessarie, they could not easily now admit, without some feare of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for euer after resolute to maintayne. Caluine therefore and the other two his Associates, stiffely refusing to administer the holy Communion to such as would not quietly without contradiction and murmure submit themselues vnto the orders which their solemne Oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrell banished the Towne. A few yeeres after (such was the leiuty of that people) the places of one or two of there Ministers being fallen voyd, they were not before so willing to be rid of there learned Pastor, as now importunate to obtayne him againe from them who had giuen him

him entrtainment, and which were loth to part with him, had not vnreſiſtable earneſtneſſe bene vſed. One of the Towne-Miniſters that ſaw in what manner the people were bent for the reuocation of Caluine, *gaue him notice of their affection in this ſort.* The Senate of to hundred being aſſembled, they all craue *Caluine.* The next day a generall Conuocation. They crie in like ſort againe all: Wee will haue *Caluine* that good and learned man Chriſts Miniſter. This, *ſaith he*, when I vnderſtood, I could not chooſe but praiſe God, nor was I able to iudge otherwiſe, then that this was the Lords doing, and that it was maruellous in our eyes, *And that* the ſtone which the builders refuſed, was now made the head of the corner. *The other two whom they had throwne out (togeather with* Caluine) *they were content ſhould enioy their exile. Many cauſes might leade them to be more deſirous of him. Firſt, his yeelding vnto them in one thing, might haply put them in hope, that time would breed the like eaſineſſe of condeſcending further vnto them. For in his abſence he had perſwaded them, with whom he was able to preuaile, that albeit himſelfe did better like of common bread to be vſed in the Euchariſt, yet the other they rather ſhould accept, then cauſe any trouble in the Church about it. Againe, they ſaw that the name of* Caluine *waxed euery day greater abroad, and that togeather with his fame, their infamy was ſpread, who had ſo raſhly and childiſhly ejected him. Beſides, it was not vnlikely but that his credit in the World, might many wayes ſtand the poore Towne in great ſtead: as the truth is, their Miniſters forreine eſtimation hitherto hath beene the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatſoeuer ſecret reſpects were likely to moue them, for contenting of their minds,* Caluine *returned (as it had beene another* Tully) *to his old whom. He ripely conſidered how groſſe a thing it were for men of his qualitie, wiſe and graue men, to liue with ſuch a multitude, and to be Tenants at will vnder them, as their Miniſters, both himſelfe and others, had beene. For the remedy of which inconuenience, he gaue them plainly to vnderſtand, that if he did become their Teacher againe, they muſt be content to admit a complete forme of Diſciplin, which both they and alſo their Paſtors ſhould now be ſolemnly ſworne to obſerue for euer after. Of which diſcipline the maine and principall parts were theſe: A ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Court to be eſtabliſhed: perpetuall Iudges in that Court to be their Miniſters, others of the people annually choſen (twice ſo many in number as they) to be Iudges togeather with them in the ſame*

Epiſt. Cal. 24.

Luc. 20. 17.

Court: these two sorts to haue the care of all mens manners, power of determining of all kinde of Ecclesiasticall causes, and authoritie to conuent, to controll, to punish, as farre as with Excommunication, whomsoeuer they should thinke worthy, none either small or great excepted. This deuice, I see not, how the wisest at that time liuing could haue bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneua did then require. For their Bishop and his Clergie being (as it is said) departed from them by Moone-light, or howsoeuer, being departed; to choose in his roome any other Bishop, had beene a thing altogeather impossible. And for their Ministers to seeke, that themselues alone might haue coerciue power ouer the whole Church, would perhaps haue beene hardly construed at that time. But when so franke an offer was made, that for euery one Minister there should be two of the People to sit and giue voice in the Ecclesiasticall Consistorie, what inconuenience could they easily finde which themselues might not be able alwayes to remedie? Howbeit (as euermore the simpler sort are, euen when they see no apparant cause, iealous notwithstanding ouer the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this Proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the Ministers themselues which had stayed behind in the Citie when Caluine was gone, some, vpon knowledge of the peoples earnest intent to recall him to his place againe, had before-hand written their Letters of submission, and assured him of their alleageance for euer after, if it should like him to harken vnto that publike suite. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this Discipline did goe forward; they obiected against it the example of other reformed Churches, liuing quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefest place and countenance amongst the Laytie professed with greater stomacke their iudgments, that such a Discipline was little better then Popish tyrannie, disguised and tendered vnto them vnder a new forme. This sort, it may be, had some feare that the filling vp of the seates in the Consistorie, with so great a number of lay-men, was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might thinke their owne sway somewhat; but when things came to triall of practice, their Pastors learning would be at all times of force to ouer-perswade simple men, who knowing the time of their owne Presidentship to be but short, would alwayes stand in feare of their Ministers perpetuall authoritie. And among the Ministers themselues, one being so farre in estimation aboue the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be giuen for the most part respectiuely with a kinde of secret dependencie

dencie and awe: ſo that in ſhew a maruellous indifferently compoſed Senate Eccleſiaſticall was to gouerne, but in effect one only man ſhould, as the Spirit and Soule of the reſidue, doe all in all. But what did theſe vaine ſurmiſes boot? Brought they were now to ſo ſtraight an iſſue, that of two things they muſt chooſe one; Namely, whether they would to their endleſſe diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſſe, diſmiſſe him, whoſe reſtitution they had in ſo impotent manner deſired, or elſe condeſcend vnto that demand, wherein he was reſolute either to haue it, or to leaue them. They thought it better to be ſomewhat hardly yoked at home, then for euer abroad diſcredited. Wherefore in the end thoſe orders were one all ſides aſſented vnto, with no leſſe alacritie of An.Dom.1541 *minde, then Cities vnable to hold out longer are wont to ſhew, when they take conditions ſuch as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow ſtreights of aduantage. Not many yeeres before ouerpaſſed, before theſe twice-ſworne men aduentured to giue their laſt and hotteſt aſſault to the Fortreſſe of the ſame Diſcipline, childiſhly granting by common conſent of their whole Senate, and that vnder their Towne-Seale, a relexation to one* Bertelier *whom the Elderſhip had Excommunicated; further alſo decreeing, with ſtrange abſurditie, that to the ſame Senate it ſhould belong to giue finall iudgement in matter of Excommunication, and to abſolue whom it pleaſed them; cleane contrarie to their owne former Deedes and Oathes. The report of which Decree being forthwith brought vnto* Caluine; Before (*ſaith hee*) this Decree take place, either my bloud or baniſhment ſhall ſigne it. *Againe, two dayes before the Communion ſhould be celebrated, this ſpeech was publiquely to like effect,* Kill me, if euer this hand doe reach forth the things that are Holy, to them whom THE CHVRCH hath iudged Deſpiſers. *Whereupon, for feare of tumult, the forenamed* Bertelier *was by his friends aduiſed for that time not to vſe the libertie granted him by the Senate, nor to preſent himſelfe in the Church, till they ſaw ſomewhat further what would enſue. After the Communion quietly miniſtred, and ſome likelyhood of peaceable ending of theſe troubles without any more adoe, that very day in the after-noone, beſides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinary Sermon, he telleth them, That becauſe he neither had learned nor taught to ſtriue with ſuch as are in authoritie, therefore* (*ſaith he*) the caſe ſo ſtanding as now it doth, let me vſe theſe words of the Apoſtle vnto you, I commend you vnto God

and the Word of his grace, *and ſo bad them heartily* Adieu. *It ſometimes commeth to paſſe, that the readieſt way which a wiſe man hath to conquer, is to flie. This voluntarie and vnexſpected mention of ſudden departure, cauſed preſently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they ſtill continued only conſtant in vnconſtancie) to gather themſelues togeather, and for a time to ſuſpend their owne Decree, leauing things to proceede as before, till they had heard the iudgement of foure* Heluetian *Cities concerning the matter which was in ſtrife. This to haue done at the firſt before they gaue aſſent vnto any order, had ſhewed ſome wit and diſcretion in them: but now to doe it, was as much as to ſay in effect, that they would play their parts on a Stage.* Caluine *therefore diſpatcheth with all expedition his letters vnto ſome principall Paſtor in euery of thoſe Cities, crauing earneſtly at their hands, to reſpect this cauſe as a thing whereupon the whole ſtate of Religion and Pietie in that Church did ſo much depend, that God and all good men were now ineuitably certaine to be trampled vnder foote, vnleſſe thoſe foure Cities by their good meanes might be brought to giue ſentence with the Miniſters of* Geneua, *when the cauſe ſhould be brought before them: yea, ſo to giue it, that two things it might effectually containe; the one an abſolute approbation of the Diſcipline of* Geneua, *as conſonant vnto the Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other an earneſt admonition not to innouate or change the ſame. His vehement requeſt herein as touching both points was ſatisfied. For albeit the ſaid* Heluetian *Churches did neuer as yet obſerue that Diſcipline, neuertheleſſe the Senate of* Geneua *hauing required their iudgement concerning theſe three queſtions: Firſt,* After what manner, by Gods commandement, according to the Scripture and vnſpotted Religion, Excommunication is to be exerciſed: *Secondly,* Whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way then by the Conſiſtorie: *Thirdly,* What the vſe of their Churches was to doe in this caſe: *Anſwere was returned from the ſaid Churches,* That they had heard alreadie of thoſe Conſiſtoriall Lawes, & did acknowledge them to be *godly* Ordinances, *drawing towards* the preſcript of the Word of God, for which cauſe that they did not thinke it good for *the Church of Geneua* by innouation to change the ſame, but rather to keepe them as they were. *Which anſwere, although not anſwering vnto the former demands, but reſpecting what Maſter* Caluine *had iudged requiſite for*

Epiſt. 166.

them

them to answere, was notwithstanding accepted without any further replie: in as much as they plainly saw, that when stomacke doth striue with wit, the match is not equall. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake. The present Inhabitants of Geneua, *I hope, will not take it in euill part, that the faultinesse of their people heretofore, is by vs so far forth laid open, as their owne learned Guides and Pastors haue thought necessarie to discouer it vnto the world. For out of their Bookes and Writings it is that I haue collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appeare in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst our selues. The reasons which moued* Caluine *herein to be so earnest, was, as* Beza *himselfe testifieth,* For that he saw how needfull these bridles were, to be put in the iawes of that Citie. *That which by wisedome hee saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisedome compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which* Caluine *did for establishment of his Discipline, seemeth more cõmendable, then that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in vs a lla loue to our owne counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that loue. Our loue set on fire to maintaine that which once we haue done, sharpneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all meanes to reason for it. Wherefore a maruaile it were if a man of so great capacitie, hauing such incitements to make him desirous of all kinde of furtherances vnto his cause, could espie in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelyhood, that diuine authoritie it selfe was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit euen of* Caluine *was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very vtmost sentence and sillable, is no more then that certaine speeches there are, which to him did seeme to intimate, that all Christian Churches ought to haue their Eldersships indued with power of Excõmunication, and that a part of those Eldersships euery where should be chosen out from amongst the Laytie after that forme which himselfe had framed* Geneua *vnto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was euer proued by* Caluine, *that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your owne Church? We should be iniurious vnto vertue it selfe, if we did derogate from them whom their industrie hath made great. Two things of principall moment there are which haue deseruedly procured him honour throughout the World:*

Quod eam Vrbem videret omnino his frœnis indigere.

the

the one his exceeding paines in composing the Institutions of Christian Religion; the other, his no lesse industrious trauailes for exposition of holy Scripture according vnto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoeuer they were that after him bestowed their labour, hee gained the aduantage of preiudice against them, if they gaine-said; and of glorie aboue them, if they consented. His writings published after the question about that Discipline was once begunne, omit not any the least occasion of extolling the vse and singular necessitie thereof. Of what account the Master of sentences was in the Church of Rome, *the same and more amongst the Preachers of reformed Churches* Caluine *had purchased: so that the perfectest Diuines were iudged, they which were skilfullest in* Caluines *writings. His Bookes almost the very Canon to iudge both Doctrine and Discipline by. French Churches, both vnder others abroad, and at home in our owne Countrey, all cast according vnto that mold which* Caluine *had made. The Church of* Scotland *in erecting the fabricke of their reformation, tooke the selfe-same patterne. Till at length the Discipline, which was at the first so weake, that without the staffe of their approbation, who were not subiect vnto it themselues, it had not brought others vnder subiection, began now to challenge vniuersall obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those verie Churches, which in desperate extremitie had beene beleeuers of it. To one of those Churches which liued in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with Diuines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a Church ordred by* Gualters *discipline, and not by that which* Geneua *adoreth: vnto this Church, the Church of* Heidelberge, *there commeth one who crauing leaue to dispute publikely, defendeth with open disdaine of their gouernement, that* to a Minister with his Eldership power is giuen by the Law of God to excommunicate whomsoeuer, yea euen Kings and Princes themselues. *Here were the seedes sowne of that controuersie which sprang vp betweene* Beza *and* Erastus *about the matter of Excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an Eldership hauing power to Excommunicate, and a part of that Eldership to be of necessitie certaine chosen out from amongst the Laytie for that purpose. In which disputation they haue, as to me it seemeth, diuided very equally the truth betweene them;* Beza *must truly maintaining the necessitie of Excommunication;* Erastus *as truly the non-necessitie of Lay-elders to be Ministers*

niſters thereof. Amongſt our ſelues, there was in King Edwards *dayes ſome queſtion mooued by reaſon of a few mens ſcrupuloſitie touching certaine things. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the dayes of Queene* Marie, *ſome contenting themſelues abroad with the vſe of their owne Seruice-booke, at home authorized before their departure out of the Realme; others liking better the Common Prayer Booke of the Church of* Geneua *tranſlated, thoſe ſmaller contentions before begunne were by this meane ſomewhat increaſed: Vnder the happie Reigne of her Maieſtie which now is, the greateſt matter awhile contended for, was the wearing of the Cap and Surpleſſe, till there came Admonitions directed vnto the High Court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names, thought it glorie enough to diſcouer their minds and affections, which now were vniuerſally bent euen againſt all the Orders and Lawes wherein this Church is found vnconformable to the platforme of* Geneua. *Concerning the Defender of which Admonitions, all that I meane to ſay is but this:* There will come a time when three words vttered with charitie and meekeneſſe, ſhall receiue a farre more bleſſed reward, then three thouſand Volumes written with diſdainefull ſharpneſſe of wit. *But the manner of mens writing muſt not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appeare they haue the truth: as the followers of the ſame Defender doe thinke he hath, and in that perſwaſion they follow him, no otherwiſe then himſelfe doth* Caluine, Beza, *and others, with the like perſwaſion that they in this cauſe had the truth. Wee being as fully perſwaded otherwiſe, it reſteth that ſome kind of triall be vſed to find out which part is in error.*

3 *The firſt meane whereby Nature teacheth men to iudge good from euill, aſwell in Lawes as in other things, is the force of their owne diſcretion. Hereunto therefore* S. Paul *referreth oftentimes his owne ſpeech to be conſidered of by them that heard him,* I ſpeak as to them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge yee what I ſay. *Againe afterward,* Iudge in your ſelues, is it comly that a woman pray vncouered? *The exerciſe of this kind of iudgement our Sauiour requireth in the Iewes. In them of Beræa the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, whatſoeuer we doe, if our owne ſecret iudgement conſent not vnto it as fit and good to be done; the doing of it to vs is ſinne, although the thing it ſelfe be allowable. Saint* Pauls *rule therefore generally is,* Let euerie man in his owne minde bee fully perſwaded of that thing which

By what meanes ſo many of the people are trained into the liking of that Diſcipline.

1. Cor. 10. 13.
1. Cor. 11. 13.
Luc. 12. 56, 57.
Act. 17. 11.

Rom. 14. 5.

which he either alloweth or doth. *Some things are ſo familiar and plaine, that Truth from falſhood, and good from euill is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, euen by men of no deep capacitie. And of that nature, for the moſt part, are things abſolutely vnto all mens Saluation neceſſarie, either to be held or denied, either to be done or auoided. For which cauſe* S Auguſtine *acknowledgeth that they are not onely ſet downe, but alſo plainely ſet downe in Scripture: ſo that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficultie vnderſtand. Other things alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) vnto the offices of Chriſtian men: which becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to be iudged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpend their whole time principally in the ſtudie of things diuine, to the end that in theſe more doubtfull caſes, their vnderſtanding might be a light to direct others.* If the vnderſtanding power or facultie of the ſoule be (*ſaith the grand Phyſian*) like vnto bodily ſight, not of equall ſharpneſſe in all; what can be more conuenient, then that, euen as the dark-ſighted man is directed by the cleere about things viſible, ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe the wiſe in heart doth ſhew the ſimple where his way lyeth. *In our doubtfull caſes of Law, what man is there who ſeeth not how requiſite it is, that Profeſſors of skill in that facultie be our Directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And euen in this kind likewiſe the Lord hath himſelfe appointed, that* the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerue knowledge, and that other men ſhould ſeeke the truth at his mouth, *becauſe* he is the meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts. Gregorie Nazianzen, *offended at the peoples too great preſumption in controlling the iudgement of them to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould haue rather ſubmitted their owne, ſeeketh by earneſt intreatie to ſtay them within their bounds:* Preſume not, yee that are ſheepe, to make your ſelues guides of them that ſhould guide you, neither ſeeke yee to ouer-skip the fold which they about you haue pitched. It ſufficeth for your part, if yee can well frame your ſelues to be ordered. Take not vpon you to iudge your ſelues, nor to make them ſubiect to your lawes who ſhould be a law to you for, God is not a God of ſedition and confuſion, but of order & of peace. *But ye wil ſay, that if the guides of the people be blind, the common ſort of men muſt not cloze vp their owne eyes and be led by the conduct of ſuch; if the Prieſt be partial in the Law, the flock muſt not therefore*

Galen. de opt. docen. Gen.

Mal. 2. 7.

Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua ſe excuſat.

Matth. 10. 14.

therefore depart from the wayes of ſincere truth, and in ſimplicitie yeeld to be followers of him for his place ſake & office ouer them. Which thing, though in it ſelfe moſt true, is in your defence notwithſtanding weake: becauſe the matter, wherein ye thinke that ye ſee and imagine that your wayes are ſincere, is of farre deeper conſideration then any one amongſt fiue hundred of you conceiueth. Let the vulgar ſort amongſt you know, that there is not the leaſt branch of the cauſe wherein they are ſo reſolute, but to the triall of it a great deale more appertaineth then their conceit doth reach vnto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way giuen; but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cauſe wherein they thinke themſelues throughly inſtructed and are not: by meanes whereof they dayly runne themſelues, without feeling their owne hazzard, vpon the dint of the Apoſtles ſentence againſt euill ſpeakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing vnlawfull for priuate men, not called vnto publike conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt ſtate of ciuill Policie (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kind then that vnder which they already liue, for of ſuch diſputes I take it his meaning was) if it be a thing confeſt, that of ſuch queſtions they cannot determine without raſhneſſe, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpeciall circumſtances, and for one kind as many reaſons may be brought as for another; is there any reaſon in the World, why they ſhould better iudge what kinde of Regiment Eccleſiaſticall is the fitteſt? For in the ciuill State more inſight, and in thoſe affaires more experience a greae deale muſt needs bee granted them, then in this they can poſſibly haue. When they which write in defence of your Diſcipline, and commend it vnto the Higheſt, not in the leaſt cunning manner, are forced notwithſtanding to acknowledge, that with whom the Truth is they know not, *they are not certaine; what certaintie or knowledge can the multitude haue thereof? Waigh what doth mooue the common ſort ſo much to fauour this innouation, and it ſhall ſoone appeare vnto you, that the force of particular reaſons which for your ſeuerall opinions are alleaged, is a thing whereof the multitude neuer did, nor could ſo conſider as to be therewith wholly caried; but certaine generall inducements are vſed to make ſaleable your Cauſe in groſſe: and when once men haue caſt a fancie towards it, any ſlight declaration of ſpecialties will ſerue to leade forward mens inclinable and prepared mindes. The method of winning the peoples affection vnto a generall liking of the Cauſe (for ſo yee terme it) hath*

Mal. 2. 9.

Iude ver. 10. 2. Pet. 2. 12.

Caluin. Inſtit. lib 4. cap. 20. ſect. 8.

The Author of the Petition directed to her Maieſtie, pag. 3

hath beene this: First, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped vp with maruellous exceeding seueritie and sharpnesse of reproofe; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integritie, zeale and holinesse, to such constant Reprouers of sinne, as by likelyhood would neuer be so much offended at that which is euill, vnlesse themselues were singularly good. The next thing hereunto is to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, vnto the kind of Ecclesiasticall Gouernement established. Wherein, as before by reprouing faults, they purchased vnto themselues with the multitude a name to be vertuous; so by finding out this kind of cause, they obtaine to be iudged wise aboue others: whereas in truth vnto the forme euen of Iewish Gouernement, which the Lord himselfe (they all confesse) did establish, with like shew of reason they might impute those faults which the Prophets condemne in the Gouernours of that Common-wealth; as to the English kind of Regiment Ecclesiasticall (whereof also God himselfe though in other sort is Authour) the staines and blemishes found in our State; which springing from the roote of humane frailtie and corruption, not only are, but haue beene alwayes more or lesse, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrarie) will be till the worlds end complained off, what forme of Gouernment soeuer take place. Hauing gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their owne forme of Church-Gouernment, as the only soueraigne remedie of all euils; and to adorne it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that haue sicke bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazednesse of their minds possest with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing (the vertue whereof they heare commended) would helpe them; but that most, which they least haue tried. The fourth degree of inducements, is by fashioning the very notions and conceites of mens minds, in such sort that when they read the Scripture, they may thinke that euerie thing soundeth towards the aduancement of that Discipline, and to the vtter disgrace of the contrarie. Pythagoras, by bringing vp his Schollers in speculatiue knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therin so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in euery particular thing they euen beheld as it were with their eyes, how the Elements of number gaue essence and being to the workes of Nature. A thing in reason impossible: which notwithstanding through their misfashioned preconceite, appeared vnto

them

them no leſſe certaine, then if Nature had written it in the very fore-heads of all the creatures of God. When they of the Family of Loue *haue it once in their heads, that Chriſt doth not ſignifie any one Perſon, but a qualitie whereof many are partakers; that to be rayſed is nothing elſe but to be regenerated or indued with the ſayd qualitie; and that when ſeperation of them which haue it from them which haue it not, is here made, this is iudgement; how plainely doe they imagine that the Scripture euery-where ſpeaketh in the fauour of that Sect? And aſſuredly, the very cauſe which maketh the ſimple and ignorant to thinke they euen ſee how the Word of God runneth currantly on your ſide, is, that their minds are foreſtalled and their conceits peruerted before-hand, by being taught that an Elder doth ſignifie a Lay-man, admitted only to the office of Rule or Gouernment in the Church; a Doctor, one which may only teach, and neither Preach nor adminiſter the Sacraments; a Deacon, one which hath charge of the Almes-boxe, and of nothing elſe: that the Scepter, the Rod, the Throne and Kingdome of Chriſt, are a forme of Regiment, only by Paſtors, Elders, Doctors and Deacons: that by myſticall reſemblance Mount* Sion *and* Ieruſalem *are the Churches which admit,* Samaria *and* Babylon *the Churches which oppugne the ſaid forme of Regiment. And in like ſort they are taught to apply all things ſpoken of repayring the walls and decayed parts of the Citie and Temple of God by* Eſdras, Nehemias, *and the reſt: as if purpoſely the holy Ghoſt had therein meant to fore-ſignifie, what the Authors of admonitions to the Parliament, of ſupplications to the Councell, of petitions to her Maieſtie, and of ſuch other like Writs, ſhould either doe or ſuffer in behalfe of this their cauſe. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perſwading of men credulous and ouer-capable of ſuch pleaſing errors, that it is the ſpeciall illumination of the holy Ghoſt, whereby they diſcerne thoſe things in the Word, which others reading yet diſcerne them not.* Dearely beloued, *ſaith S. Iohn,* Giue not credit vnto euery ſpirit. *There are but two wayes whereby the ſpirit leadeth men into all truth: the one extraordinary, the other cõmon; the one belonging but vnto ſome few, the other extending it ſelfe vnto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a ſpeciall diuine excellency,* Reuelation; *the other,* Reaſon. *If the Spirit by ſuch reuelation haue diſcouered vnto them the ſecrets of that Diſcipline out of Scripture, they muſt profeſſe themſelues to be all (euen men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reaſon be the hand which the Spirit hath led* 1. Iohn 4. 1.

them by, for as much as perſwaſions grounded vpon reaſon, are either weaker or ſtronger, according to the force of thoſe reaſons whereupon the ſame are grounded, they muſt euery of them from the greateſt to the leaſt, be able for euery ſeuerall Article to ſhew ſome ſpeciall reaſon as ſtrong as their perſwaſion therein is earneſt. Otherwiſe how can it be, but that ſome other ſinewes there are from which that ouerplus of ſtrength in perſwaſion doth ariſe? Moſt ſure it is, that when mens affections doe frame their opinions, they are in defence of errour more earneſt a great deale, then (for the moſt part) ſound Beleeuers in the maintenance of Truth apprehended according to the nature of that euidence which Scripture yeeldeth: which being in ſome things plaine, as in the principles of Chriſtian Doctrine in ſome things, as in theſe matters of Diſcipline, more darke and doubtfull, frameth correſpondently that inward aſſent which Gods moſt gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectuall inſtrument. It is not therefore the feruent earneſtneſſe of their perſwaſion, but the ſoundnes of thoſe reaſons whereupon the ſame is built, which muſt declare their opinions in theſe things to haue beene wrought by the

2. Theſ. 2. 11. *Holy Ghoſt, and not by the* fraud *of that euill Spirit which euen in his illuſions ſtrong. After that the phancie of the common ſort hath ouce thorowly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their peſwaſions concerning Diſcipline, then is inſtilled into their hearts; that the ſame Spirit leading men into this opinion, doth thereby ſeale them to be Gods Children; and that as the ſtate of the times now ſtandeth, the moſt ſpeciall token to know them that are Gods owne from others, is an earneſt affection that way. This hath bred high termes of ſeperation betweene ſuch and the reſt of the World; whereby the one ſort are named the Brethren, The Godly, and ſo forth; the other, Worldlings, Time ſeruers, Pleaſers of men, not of God, with ſuch like: From hence they are eaſily drawn on to thinke it exceeding neceſſary, for feare of quenching that good Spirit, to vſe all meanes whereby the ſame may bee both ſtrengthned in themſelues, and made manifeſt vnto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of ſuch as are knowne that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to ſeeke all occaſions of ſecret conference with ſuch; this maketh them glad to vſe ſuch as Counſellors and Directors in all their dealings which are of waight, as Contracts, Teſtaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an vnweariable deſire of receiuing inſtruction from the Maſters of that companie, to caſt off the care of thoſe verie affaires which doe moſt concerne their eſtate, and to thinke that then they*

are

are like vnto Marie, *commendable for making choyce of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea oftentimes euen to ouercharge themselues, for such mens sustenance and reliefe, lest their zeale to the cause should any way be vnwitnessed. For what is it which poore beguiled soules will not doe through so powerfull incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath beene bestowed to winne and retaine towards this cause them whose iudgements are commonly weakest by reason of their sexe. And although not women* loden with sins, *as the Apostle S.* Paul *speaketh,* 2.Tim.3.6. *but (as wee verily esteeme of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holinesse, bee otherwise edified in good things, rather then carried away as captiues into any kind of sinne and euill, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeale and a loue towards this kind of Discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministred for men to thinke, that if the cause which is thus furthered, did gaine by the soundnesse of proofe whereupon it doth build it selfe, it would not most busily endeuour to preuaile, where least abilitie of iudgement is: and therefore that this so eminent industry in making Proselites, more of that sexe then of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to seruous instruments and helpes in the cause. Apter they are through the eagernesse of their affection, that maketh them which way soeuer they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, seruants, friends and allies the same way; apter through that naturall inclination vnto pitie, which breedeth in them a greater readinesse then in men, to be bountifull towards their Preachers who suffer want; apter through sundrie opportunities which they especially haue, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giuing very large and particular intelligence, how all neere about them stand affected as concerning the same cause. But be they women or be they men, if once they haue tasted of that cup, let any of contrarie opinion open his mouth to perswade them, they close vp their eares, his reasons they waigh not, all is answered with rehearsall of the words of* John, We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth vs; *as for the* 1.Iohn 4.6. *rest, ye are of the world, for this worlds pomp and vanitie it is that yee speak, & the world whose ye are, heareth you. Which cloke sitteth no lesse fit on the back of their cause, then of the* Anabaptists, *whē the dignity, authoritie and honor of Gods Magistrates is vpheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inabilitie to iudge of such matters; their*

1.Cor.1.27. Act.26.24. Sap.5.4. We fooles thought his life madneſſe. *Marc. Triſ. ad Aſculap.* Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, ὅτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐλοῖς μεμιλωμένοι δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Iuſtit. lib.5. c.16. Auguſt. Epiſt. 50.

anſwere is, God hath choſen the ſimple. *Conuince them of folly, and that ſo plainely, that very children vpbraid them with it; they haue their bucklers of like defence.* Chriſts owne Apoſtle was accounted mad; The beſt men euermore by the ſentence of the world haue beene iudged to bee out of their right mindes. *When inſtruction doth them no good, let them feele but the leaſt degree of moſt merciſull tempered ſeueritie, they faſten on the head of the Lords Vicegerents here on earth, whatſoeuer they any where finde vttered againſt the crueltie of bloud-thirſtie men; and to themſelues they draw all the ſentences which Scripture hath in the fauour of innocencie perſecuted for the truth: yea they are of their due and deſerued ſufferings no leſſe proud, then thoſe ancient diſturbers, to whom* S. Auguſtine *writeth, ſaying*: Martyrs rightly ſo named are they, not which ſuffer for their diſorder, and for the vngodly breach they haue made of Chriſtian vnitie; but which for righteouſneſſe ſake are perſecuted. For *Agar* alſo ſuffered perſecution at the hands of *Sara*; wherein, ſhee which did impoſe was holy, and ſhee vnrighteous which did beare the burthen. In like ſort, with the theeues was the Lord himſelfe crucified, but they who were matcht in the paine which they ſuffered, were in the cauſe of their ſufferings diſioyned. If that muſt needs bee the true Church which doth endure perſecution, and not that which perſecuteth, let them aske of the Apoſtle what Church *Sara* did repreſent, when ſhe held her Maide in affliction. For euen our Mother which is free, the heauenly *Ieruſalem*, that is to ſay, the true Church of God, was, as hee doth affirme, prefigured in that verie Woman by whome the Bondmaide was ſo ſharply handled. Although, if all things bee throughly ſkanned, ſhee did in truth more perſecute *Sara* by proud reſiſtance, then *Sara* her, by ſeueritie of puniſhment. *Theſe are the pathes wherein ye haue walked that are of the ordinarie ſort of men; theſe are the very ſteps ye haue troden, and the manifeſt degrees whereby yee are of your guides and directors trained vp in that Schoole: a cuſtome of iniuring your eares with reproofe of faults eſpecially in your Gouernours; and vſe to attribute thoſe faults to the kind of ſpirituall regiment vnder which ye liue; boldneſſe in warranting the force of their diſcipline for the cure of all ſuch euils; a ſleight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture euery where fauoureth that diſcipline; perſwaſion*

that

that the cauſe, why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit, that the ſame Spirit is a Seale vnto you of your neerenesſe vnto God that yee are by all meanes to nouriſh and witneſſe it in your ſelues, and to ſtrengthen on euery ſide your minds againſt whatſoeuer might bee of force to withdraw you from it.

4. *Wherfore to come vnto you whoſe iudgement is a lantern of direction for all the reſt, you that frame thus the peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perſwade my ſelfe) of a politique intent or purpoſe, but your ſelues being firſt ouerborne with the weight of greater mens iudgements: on your ſhoulders is laid the burthen of vpholding the cauſe by argument. For which purpoſe ſentences out of the word of God ye alleage diuers: but ſo, that when the ſame are diſcuſt, thus it alwaies in a manner falleth out, that what things by vertue thereof ye vrge vpon vs as altogether neceſſarie, are found to be thence collected onely by poore and marueious ſlight coniectures. I need not giue inſtance in any one ſentence ſo alleaged, for that I thinke the inſtance in any alleaged otherwiſe a thing not eaſie to be giuen. A verie ſtrange thing ſure it were, that ſuch a Diſcipline as ye ſpeake of ſhould be taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the Word of God, and no Church euer haue found it out, nor receiued it till this preſent time; contrariwiſe, the Gouernment againſt which yee bend your ſelues, be obſerued euery where throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian world, no Church euer perceiuing the Word of God to be againſt it. We require you to find out but one Church vpon the face of the whole earth, that hath beene ordered by your Diſcipline, or hath not bin ordered by ours, that is to ſay, by Epiſcopall regiment, ſithence the time that the bleſſed Apoſtles were here conuerſant. Many things out of antiquitie ye bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerued the ſelfe-ſame orders which you require; and as though your deſire were, that the Churches of old ſhould be patternes for vs to follow, and euen glaſſes wherein we might ſee the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, yee meane nothing leſſe. All this is done for faſhion ſake onely; for ye complaine of it as of an iniurie, that men ſhould be willed to ſeeke for examples & patterns of gouernment in any of thoſe times that haue beene before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apoſtles times till this preſent age wherein your ſelues imagine ye haue found out a right paterne of ſound diſcipline, there neuer was any time ſafe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeuour to proue. Out of Egeſippus yee ſay that Euſebius writeth, how although as long as the*

What hath caused ſo many of the learneder ſort to approue the ſame diſcipline

T. C. lib. 1. p. 97.

Euſeb. 3. lib. 32.

Apoſtles liued, the Church did remaine a pure Virgin, yet after the death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone whom God vouchſafed to make Hearers of the diuine Wiſedome with their owne eares, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the Church. Clement *alſo in a certaine place; to confirme that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apoſtles times, alleageth the prouerb, that* there are few ſonnes like their fathers. Socrates *ſaith of the Church of* Rome *and* Alexandria, *the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles times, that about the yeere* 430. *the Roman and Alexandrian Biſhops leauing the ſacred function, were degenerate to a ſecular rule or dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our Gouernment from any other then the Apoſtles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles times as a patterne for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one, the drift and purpoſe of you call is not one. The chiefeſt thing which Lay-reformers yawne for, is, that the Clergie may through conformitie in ſtate and condition be Apoſtoliall, poore as the Apoſtles of Chriſt were poore. In which one circumſtance if they imagine ſo great perfection, they muſt thinke that Church which hath ſuch ſtore of mendicant Friers, a Church in that reſpect moſt happy. Were it for the glorie of God, and the good of his Church indeed, that the Clergie ſhould be left euen as bare as the Apoſtles when they had neither ſtaffe nor ſcrip; that God, which ſhould lay vpon them the condition of his Apoſtles, would I hope, endue them with the ſelf-ſame affection which was in that holy Apoſtle, whoſe words concerning his owne right-vertuous contentment of heart,* As well how to want, as how to abound, *are a moſt fit Epiſcopall empreſe. The Church of Chriſt is a bodie myſticall. A bodie cannot ſtand, vnleſſe the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Clergie, to be in meaneneſſe of ſtate like the Apoſtles; at the hands of the Laytie, to be as they were who liued vnder the Apoſtles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wiſedome, yet ſome indifferencie. But your reformation which are of the Clergie (if yet it diſpleaſe you not that I ſhould ſay yee are of the Clergie) ſeemeth to aime at a broader marke. Yee thinke that hee which will perfectly reforme, muſt bring the forme of Church-diſcipline vnto the ſtate which then it was at. A thing neither poſſible, nor certaine, nor abſolutely conuenient. Concerning the firſt, what was vſed in the Apoſtles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the Rule*

Lib. Strom. Somewhat after the beginning.

Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Phil. 4. 12.

and

and Canon of Church-politie, ye make a rule which being not possible to be fully knowne, is as impossible to be kept. Againe, sith the later euen of the Apostles owne times, had that which in the former was not thought vpon; in this generall proposing of the Apostles times, there is no certaintie which should be followed, especially seeing that yee giue vs great cause to doubt how farre yee allow those times. For albeit the louer of Antichristian building were not, yee say, as then set vp, yet the foundations thereof were secretly and vnder the ground laid in the Apostles times: so that all other times yee plainly reiect, and the Apostles owne times ye approue with marnellous great suspition, leauing it intricate and doubtfull wherein we are to keepe our selues vnto the patterne of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to consider only what hath beene of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemne that presently which is, and neuer to search vpon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudenesse cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning & iudgement hath enabled much more soundly to discerne how far the times of the Church, and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, [a] the ancienter, the better ceremonies of Religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true, and without exception, but true onely so farre-forth as those different ages doe agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles times that was harmelesse, which being now reuiued would be scandalous; as their [b] oscula sancta. Those [c] Feasts of charitie, which being instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needfull. What man is there of vnderstanding, vnto whom it is not manifest, how the way of prouiding for the Clergie by Tithes, the deuice of Almes-houses for the poore, the sorting out of the people into their seuerall Parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles times could not haue, (being now established) are much more conuenient and fit for the Church of Christ, then if the same should be taken away for conformities sake with the ancientest and first times? The orders therefore which were obserued in the Apostles times, are not to be vrged as a Rule vniuersally, either sufficient or necessary. If they bee, neuertheless on your part it still remaineth to bee better prooued, that the forme of Discipline which yee intitle Apostolicall, was in the Apostles time exercised. For of this very thing yee faile euen touching that which

a *Antiquitas cæremonys atq; sanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consueuit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis.* Arn. p. 746

b Rom. 16. 16. 2. Cor. 13. 12. 1. Thes. 5. 25. 1. Pet. 5. 14 In their meetings to serue God, their maner was in the end to salute one another with a kisse, vsing these words, Peace bee with you. For which cause, *Tertul.* doth call it, *signaculũ orationis*, the seale of Praier, *l. de Ora.* c *Epist. Iud. verse* 12. Concerning which feasts, S. *Chrys.* saith, *Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, & peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem ineibant conuiuium, diuitibus quidẽ cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis, in* 1. Cor. 11. *Hom.* 27. Of the same feasts in like sort, *Tertull. Cœna nostra de nomin. rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim, ἀγάπη, id quod est penes Græcos dilectio. Quantiscunq; sumtibus constet, lucrũ est pietatis nomine facere sumptum* Apolog. c. 39.

which yee make moſt account of, as being matter of ſubſtance in Diſcipline, I meane the power of your Lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſumme, wee may be bold to conclude, that beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolencie, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the worſt, there are none wherein yee can truly affirme, that the compleat forme of your Diſcipline, or the ſubſtance thereof was practized. The euidence therefore of Antiquitie failing you, yee flie to the Iudgements of ſuch Learned men, as ſeeme by their Writings, to bee of opinion that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receiue your Diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as yee heape vp the names of a number of men not vnworthy to bee had in honour; ſo there are a number whom when yee mention, although it ſerue yee to purpoſe with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale and not by waight, yet ſurely they who know what qualitie and value the men are of, will thinke yee draw verie neere the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with vs notwithſtanding neither are they, neither ought they to bee of ſuch reckoning, that their opinion or coniecture ſhould cauſe the Lawes of the Church of England to giue place. Much leſſe when they neither doe all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the moſt part through a curteous inducement, haue followed one man as their Guide, finally, that one therein not vnlikely to haue ſwarued. If any chance to ſay it is probable that in the Apoſtles times there were Lay-elders, or not to miſlike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirme that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from Presbyters; or to ſpeake any thing in praiſe of thoſe Churches which are without Epiſcopall Regiment; or to reproone the fault of ſuch as abuſe that Calling; all theſe yee regiſter for men, perſwaded as you are, that euerie Chriſtian Church ſtandeth bound by the Law of God to put downe Biſhops, and in their roomes to erect an Elderſhip ſo authorized as you would haue it for the Gouernment of each Pariſh. Deceiued greatly they are therefore, who thinke that all they whoſe names are cited amongſt the Fauourers of this cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome materiall points of your Diſcipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongſt many Diuines of Reformed Churches abroad. For firſt, to do as the Church of Geneua did, the Learned in ſome other Churches muſt needs be the more willing, who hauing vſed in like māner not the ſlow & tedious help of proceeding by publike authoritie,

tie, but the peoples more quicke endeuour for alteration, in ſuch an exigent I ſee not well how they could haue ſtaied to deliberate about any other Regiment then that which alreadie was deuiſed to their hands, that which in like caſe had beene taken, that which was eaſieſt to be eſtabliſhed without delay, that which was likelieſt to content the people by reaſon of ſome kind of ſway which it giueth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the firſt almoſt through a kind of conſtraine or neceſſitie followed by many, their concurrence in perſwaſion about ſome materiall points belonging to the ſame Politie is not ſtrange. For we are not to maruell greatly, if they which haue all done the ſame thing, doe eaſily imbrace the ſame opinion as concerning their owne doings. Beſides, marke, I beſeech you, that which Galen in matter of Philoſophie noteth; for the like falleth out euen in queſtions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opinions, as with rumours and reports. That which a credible perſon telleth, is eaſily thought probable by ſuch as are well perſwaded of him. But if two, or three, or foure, agree all in the ſame tale, they iudge it then to be out of Controuerſie, and ſo are many times ouertaken, for want of due conſideration; either ſome common cauſe leading them all into errour; or one mans ouerſight deceiuing many through their too much credulitie and eaſineſſe of beliefe. Though ten perſons bee brought to giue teſtimonie in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes, appeare to haue growne from ſome one amongſt them, and to haue ſpred it ſelfe from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one teſtimonie. Nor is it otherwiſe here, where the Daughter Churches doe ſpeake their Mothers Dialect; here where ſo many ſing one Song, by reaſon that he is the Guide of the Quire, concerning whoſe deſerued authoritie, amongſt euen the graueſt Diuines, wee haue alreadie ſpoken at large. Will yee aske what ſhould moue thoſe many Learned to bee followers of one mans iudgement, no neceſſitie of Argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is anſwered by your ſelues. Loth yee are to thinke that they whom ye iudge to haue attained as ſound knowledge in all points of Doctrine, as any ſince the Apoſtles time, ſhould miſtake in Diſcipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them we are not perſwaded willingly that any thing ſhould be amiſſe. The reaſon whereof is, for that as dead Flyes putrifie the ointment of the Apothecarie, ſo a little Folly him that is in eſtimation for Wiſdome. This in euery profeſſion hath too much authori-

Galen. Claſſ. 2. lib. De cuiuſque anim. peccat. notitia atque medela.

Petit. to the Q. M. Pag. 14.

Eccleſ. 10. 1.

zed

zed the iudgement of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Caluin, to preuaile in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the Wisdome of that God (who setteth before vs in Holy Scripture so many admirable patternes of Vertue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable, to the end that to him alone it might alwaies be acknowledged, Thou onely art Holy, thou onely art Iust) might not permit those worthie Vessels of his Glorie to be in somethings blemished with the staine of humane frailtie, euen for this cause, lest we should esteeme of any man aboue that which behoueth.

Their calling for triall by Disputation.

5. Notwithstanding, as though yee were able to say a great deale more then hitherto your Bookes haue reuealed to the World, earnest Challengers ye are of triall by some publike Disputation. Wherein if the thing ye craue be no more then onely leaue to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the Schooles in Vniuersities (for any thing I know) are open vnto you: they haue their yeerely Acts and Commencements, besides other Disputations both ordinarie and vpon occasion, wherein the seuerall parts of our owne Ecclesiasticall Discipline are oftentimes offered vnto that kind of Examination; the Learnedest of you haue beene of late yeeres noted seldome or neuer absent from thence at the time of those greater Assemblies; and the fauour of proposing therein conuenient sort whatsoeuer ye can obiect (which thing my selfe haue knowne them to grant of Scholasticall courtesie vnto Strangers) neither hath (as I thinke) nor euer will (I presume) beene denied you. If your Suit bee to haue some great extraordinarie confluence, in expectation whereof the Lawes that alreadie are should sleepe and haue no power ouer you, till in the hearing of thousands yee all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further prosecution of your Cause; haply, they whose authoritie is required vnto the satisfying of your demand, doe thinke it both dangerous to admit such concourse of deuided minds, and vnmeete that Lawes which being once solemnely established are to exact obedience of all men, and to constraine thereunto, should so farre stoope, as to hold themselues in suspence from taking any effect vpon you, till some Disputer can perswade you to be obedient. A Law is the deed of the whole bodie Politike, whereof if yee iudge your selues to be any part, then is the Law euen your deed also. And were it reason in things of this qualitie, to giue men audience, pleading for the ouerthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified?

fied? Lawes that haue beene approoued, may bee (no man doubted) againe repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the Authors thereof themselues. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what Lawes each part shall obserue, and not when a part refuseth the Lawes which the whole hath orderly agreed vpon. Notwithstanding, for as much as the cause we maintaine is (God bee thanked) such as needeth not to shunne any triall, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth, to condescend so farre vnto you in this behalfe, I wish heartily that proofe were made euen by solemne conference in orderly and quiet sort, whether you would your selues bee satisfied, or else could by satisfying others, draw them to your peace. Prouided alwayes, first, in asmuch as yee goe about to destroy a thing which is in force; and to draw in that which hath not as yet beene receiued; to impose on vs that which we thinke not our selues bound vnto, and to ouerthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore yee are not to claime in any conference, other then the Plaintifes or opponents part which must consist altogether in proofe and confirmation of two things: the one, that our Orders by you condemned we ought to abolish; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof. Secondly, because the questions in Controuersie betweene vs are many, if once we descend vnto particulars; that for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein, the most generall be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in each question the prosecution of any one Argument giuen ouer and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto by replyes and answeres both parts are come, be collected, read and acknowledged aswell on the one side as on the other, to be the plaine conclusion which they are growne vnto. Thirdly, for auoiding of the manifold inconueniences whereunto ordinarie and extemporall Disputes are subiect, as also because if yee should singly dispute one by one as euery mans owne wit did best serue, it might be conceiued by the rest, that haply some other would haue done more, the chiefest of you doe all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then choose your speaker, by him that which is publikely brought into disputation be acknowledged by all your consents not to bee his allegation but yours, such as yee all are agreed vpon, and haue required him to deliuer in all your names: the true copie whereof being taken by a Notarie, that a reasonable time be allowed for returne of answer vnto you in the like forme. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences haue bin had in other causes with the lesse effectuall successe, by reason of partiall and

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vntrue reports, publiſhed afterwards vnto the World, that to preuent this euill, there be at the firſt a ſolemne Declaration made on both parts of their agreement to haue that very Booke and no other ſet abroad, wherein their preſent authorized Notaries doe write thoſe things fully and only, which being written and their read, are by their owne open teſtimony acknowledged to be their owne. Other circumſtances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for preuention of impertinent and needleſſe ſpeech, or to any end and purpoſe elſe, they may be thought one when occaſion ſerueth. In this ſort to broach my priuate conceit for the ordering of a publique action, I ſhould be loth, (albeit I doe it not otherwiſe then vnder correction of them whoſe grauitie and wiſedome ought in ſuch caſes to ouer-rule) but that ſo venturous boldneſſe I ſee is a thing now generall, and am thereby of good hope that where all men are licenced to offend, no man will ſhew himſelfe a ſharpe Accuſor.

No ende of contention, without ſubmiſsion of both parts vnto ſome definitiue ſentence.

6 What ſucceſſe God may giue vnto any ſuch kinde of Conference or Diſputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right ſure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience it ſelfe, haue all taught the World to ſeeke for the ending of contentions, by ſubmitting it ſelfe vnto ſome iudiciall and definitiue ſentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may vnder any pretence or colour refuſe to ſtand. This muſt needs be effectuall and ſtrong. As for other meanes without this, they ſeldome preuaile. I would therefore know whether for the ending of theſe irkſome ſtrifes, wherein you and your followers doe ſtand thus formally diuided againſt the authorized guides of this Church, and the reſt of the people ſubiect vnto their charge, whether, I ſay, yee be content to referre your cauſe to any other higher iudgement then your owne; or elſe intend to perſiſt and proceed as yee haue begun, till your ſelues can be perſwaded to condemne your ſelues. If your determination be this, we can be but ſorry that ye ſhould deſerue to be reckoned with ſuch, of whom God himſelfe pronounceth,

Rom.3.17. The way of peace they haue not knowne. Wayes of peaceable concluſion there are but theſe two certaine: the one, a ſentence of iudiciall deciſion giuen by authoritie thereto appointed within our ſelues; the other, the like kind of ſentence giuen by a more vniuerſall authority. The former of which two wayes God himſelfe in the Law preſcribeth, and his Spirit it was which directeth the very firſt Chriſtian Churches in the world to vſe the later. The ordinance of God in the Law was this.

Deut.17.8. If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in iudgement betweene bloud

bloud and bloud, betweene plea, &c. then ſhalt thou ariſe, and goe vp vnto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, and thou ſhalt come vnto the Prieſts of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that ſhall be in thoſe dai s, and aske, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of iudgement, and thou ſhalt doe according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath choſen ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerue to doe according to all that they enforme thee, according to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they ſhall tell thee ſhalt thou doe, thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will doe preſumptuouſly, not harkening vnto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or vnto the Iudge, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take away euill from Iſrael. *When their grew in the Church of Chriſt a queſtion*, Whether the Gentiles beleeuing might bee ſaued, although they were not circumciſed after the manner of *Moſes*, nor did obſerue the reſt of thoſe legall Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Iewes were bound: *After great diſſention and diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was, to haue it determined by ſentence at* Ieruſalem: *which was accordingly done in a Counſell there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are yee able to alleage any iuſt and ſufficient cauſe wherefore abſolutely yee ſhould not condeſcend in this Controuerſie, to haue your iudgements ouer-ruled by ſome ſuch definitiue ſentence, whether it fall out to be giuen with or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Yee will perhaps make anſwere, That being perſwaded already as touching the truth of your cauſe, yee are not to harken vnto any ſentence, no not though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtles owne example teacheth: againe, that Men, yea Councels, may erre; and that vnleſſe the iudgement giuen doe ſatisfie your mindes, vnleſſe it be ſuch as yee can by no further argument oppugne, in a word, vnleſſe you perceiue & acknowledge it your ſelues conſonant with Gods Word, to ſtand vnto it not allowing it, were to ſinne againſt your owne conſciences. But conſider, I beſeech you, firſt, as touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute and peremptory, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt made manifeſt vnto him, euen by intuitiue reuelation, wherein there was no poſſibilitie of errour: That which you are perſwaded of, yee haue it no* Act. 15.

otherwiſe then by your owne onely probable collection; and therefore ſuch bold aſſeuerations as in him were admirable, ſhould in your mouthes but argue raſhneſſe. God was not ignorant that the Prieſts and Iudges, whoſe ſentence in matters of Controuerſie he ordayned ſhould ſtand, both might and oftentimes would be deceiued in their iudgement. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his vnderſtanding, that ſometime an erronious ſentence definitiue ſhould preuaile, till the ſame authority perceiuing ſuch ouer-ſight, might afterwards correct or reuerſe it, then that ſtrifes ſhould haue reſpit to grow, and not come ſpeedily vnto ſome end. Neither wiſh wee that men ſhould doe any thing which in their hearts they are perſwaded they ought not to doe, but this perſwaſion ought (we ſay) to be fully ſettled in their hearts, that in litidious and controuerſed cauſes of ſuch quality, the will of God is to haue them to doe whatſoeuer the ſentence of iudiciall and finall deciſion ſhall determine, yea, though it ſeeme in their priuate opinion to ſwarue vtterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the ſentence amongſt the Iewes did ſeeme vnto one part or other contending; and yet in this caſe God did then allow them to doe that which in their priuate iudgement it ſeemed (yea and perhaps truly ſeemed) that the Law did diſallow. For if God be not the author of confuſion, but of peace; then can he not be the author of our refuſall, but of our contentment, to ſtand vnto ſome definitiue ſentence; without which almoſt impoſſible it is, that either we ſhould auoid confuſion, or euer hope to attaine peace. To ſmall purpoſe had the Councell of Ieruſalem beene aſſembled, if once their determination being ſet downe, men might afterwards haue defended their former opinions. When therefore they had giuen their definitiue ſentence, all controuerſie was at an end. Things were diſputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to diſpute any longer, but to obey. The ſentence of iudgement finiſhed their ſtrife, which their diſputes before iudgement could not doe. This was ground ſufficient for any reaſonable mans conſcience to build the duety of obedience vpon, whatſoeuer his owne opinion were as touching the matter before in queſtion. So full of wilfulneſſe and ſelfe-liking is our nature, that without ſome definitiue ſentence, which being giuen may ſtand, and a neceſſity of ſilence on both ſides afterward impoſed; ſmall hope there is that ſtrifes thus farre proſecuted, will in ſhort time quietly end. Now it were in vaine to aske you whether yee could be content that the ſentence of any Court already erected, ſhould be ſo farre authorized, as

that

that among the Iewes eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe, for the determining of all Controuerſies: That man which will doe preſumptuouſly, not hearkning vnto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there, nor vnto the Iudge, let him die, *Ye haue giuen vs already to vnderſtand, what your opinion is in part concerning her ſacred Maieſties Court of high Commiſsion, the nature whereof is the ſame with that amongſt the Iewes, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other way haply may like you better, becauſe Maſter* Beza *in his laſt Booke ſaue one written about theſe matters, profeſſeth himſelfe to bee now wearie of ſuch combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as he findeth that Controuerſies thereby are made but Brawles; and therefore wiſheth* that in ſome common lawfull aſſembly of Churches, all theſe ſtrifes may at once bee decided. *Shall there be then in the meane while no* doings? *Yes. There are the waightier matters of the Law,* iudgement and mercie and fidelitie. *Theſe things we ought to doe; and theſe things, while we contend about leſſe, we leaue vndone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when hee commeth, ſhall find doing in theſe things, then diſputing about Doctors, Elders and Deacons. Or if there be no remedy but ſomewhat needs yee muſt doe which may tend to the ſetting forward of your Diſcipline; doe that which wiſemen, who thinke ſome Statute of the Realme more fit to be repealed then to ſtand in force, are accuſtomed to doe before they come to Parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to ſay, ſpend the time in reexamining more duly your cauſe, and in more throughly conſidering of that which yee labour to ouerthrow. As for the Orders which are eſtabliſhed, fith equitie and reaſon, the Law of nature, God and man, doe all fauour that which is in being, till orderly iudgement of deciſion be giuen againſt it; it is but Iuſtice to exact of you, and peruerſneſſe in you it ſhould be to denie thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I iudge it a thing allowable for men to obſerue thoſe Lawes, which in their hearts they are ſtedfaſtly perſwaded to bee againſt the Law of God: but your perſwaſion in this caſe ye are all bound for the time to ſuſpend, and in otherwiſe doing, yee offend againſt God; by troubling his Church without any iuſt or neceſſarie cauſe. Be it that there are ſome reaſons inducing you to thinke hardly of our lawes. Are thoſe reaſons demonſtratiue, are they neceſſarie, or but meere probabilities onely? An argument neceſſarie and demonſtratiue is ſuch, as being propoſed vnto any man and vnderſtood, the minde cannot chooſe but inwardly aſſent. A-*

Præf. tract. de Excom. & Presbyt.

Mat. 23. 23

ny one ſuch reaſon diſchargeth I grant the conſcience, and ſetteth it at full libertie. For the publike approbation giuen by the body of this whole Church vnto thoſe things which are eſtabliſhed, doth make it but probable that they are good. And therefore vnto a neceſſarie proofe that they are not good, it muſt giue place. But if the skilfulleſt amongſt you can ſhew, that all the Bookes yee haue hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the inſtance be giuen. As for probabilities, what thing was there euer ſet downe ſo agreeable with ſound reaſon, but ſome probable ſhew againſt it might be made? Is it meete that when publikely things are receiued and haue taken place, generall obedience thereunto ſhould ceaſe to be exacted, in caſe this or that priuate perſon led with ſome probable conceit, ſhould make open proteſtation, T.C.l.3.p.171. *Peter* or *Iohn* diſallow them, and pronounce them naught? *In which caſe your anſwere will bee, that concerning the Lawes of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a* priuate man, but of thouſands, *yea and euen* of thoſe amongſt which diuers are in publike charge and authoritie. *As though when publike conſent of the whole hath eſtabliſhed any thing, euery mans iudgement being thereunto compared were not priuate, howſoeuer his calling bee to ſome kind of publike charge. So that of peace and quietneſſe there is not any way poſſible, vnleſſe the probable voice of euery intire ſocietie or body politique, ouer-rule all priuate of like nature in the ſame bodie. Which thing effectually prooueth, that God being author of peace and not of confuſion in the Church, muſt needs be author of thoſe mens peaceable reſolutions who concerning theſe things, haue determined with themſelues to thinke and doe as the Church they are of, decreeth, till they ſee neceſſarie cauſe enforcing them to the contrarie.*

The matter contained in theſe eight Bookes.

7. *Nor is mine owne intent any other in theſe ſeuerall Bookes of diſcourſe, then to make it appeare vnto you; that for the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes of this Land, we are led by great reaſon to obſerue them and yee by no neceſſitie bound to impugne them. It is no part of my ſecret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to ſet vpon the face of this cauſe any fairer glaſſe then the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeuour is to reſolue the couſcience, and to ſhew as neere as I can what in this Controuerſie the heart is to thinke, if it will follow the light of ſound and ſincere iudgement, without either clowd of preiudice or miſt of paſſionate affection. Wherefore ſeeing that Lawes and Ordinances in particular, whether ſuch as wee obſerue, or ſuch as your ſelues would*

haue

haue eſtabliſhed, when the minde doth ſift and examine them, it muſt needs haue often recourſe to a number of doubts and queſtions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of Lawes in generall, whereof vnleſſe it be throughly enformed, there will appeare no certaintie to ſtay our perſwaſion vpon: I haue for that cauſe ſet downe in the firſt place an Introduction on both ſides needfull to bee conſidered: Declaring therein what Law is, how different kinds of Lawes there are, and what force they are of according vnto each kind. This done, becauſe yee ſuppoſe the Lawes for which yee ſtriue are found in Scripture; but thoſe not againſt which we ſtriue; and vpon this ſurmiſe are drawne to hold it as the very maine piller of your whole cauſe, that Scripture ought to bee the onely rule of all our actions, *& conſequently that the Church-orders which we obſerue being not commanded in Scripture, are offenſiue and diſpleaſant vnto God: I haue ſpent the ſecond booke in ſifting of this point, which ſtandeth with you for the firſt and chiefeſt principle whereon yee build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will haue alwaies a Church vpon earth while the world doth continue, and that Church ſtand in neede of Gouernment, of which Gouernment it behooueth himſelfe to be both the author and teacher: ſo it cannot ſtand with duetie, that man ſhould euer preſume in any wiſe to change and alter the ſame; and therefore,* That in Scripture there muſt of neceſſity be found ſome particular forme of Eccleſiaſticall Politie, the Lawes whereof admit not any kind of alteration. *The firſt three Bookes being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the generall grounds and foundations of your cauſe, vnto your generall accuſations againſt vs, as hauing in the Orders of our Church (for ſo you pretend)* corrupted the right forme of Church-politie with manifold Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies, which certaine reformed Churches haue baniſhed from amongſt them, and haue therby giuen vs ſuch example as (*you think*) we ought to follow. *This your aſſertion hath herein drawne vs to make ſearch, whether theſe bee iuſt exceptions againſt the cuſtomes of our Church, when yee pleade that they are the ſame which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the ſame which ſome other Reformed Churches haue deuiſed. Of thoſe foure Bookes which remaine, and are beſtowed about the ſpecialties of that cauſe which lyeth in Controuerſie, the firſt examineth the cauſes by you alledged, wherefore the publike duetie of Chriſtian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments and the reſt, ſhould not be ordered in ſuch*

ſort as with vs they are; nor that power whereby the perſons of men are conſecrated vnto the Miniſterie, bee diſpoſed of in ſuch maner as the Lawes of this Church doe allow. The ſecond and third are concerning the power of Iuriſdiction: the one, whether Lay-men, ſuch as your gouerning Elders are, ought in all Congregations for euer to be inueſted with that power; the other, whether Biſhops may haue that power ouer other Paſtors, and therewithall that honour which with vs they haue. And becauſe beſides the power of Order which all conſecrated perſons haue, and the power of Iuriſdiction which neither they all, nor they only haue, there is a third power, a power of Eccleſiaſticall Dominion, communicable, as we thinke, vnto perſons not Eccleſiaſticall, and moſt fit to be reſtrained vnto the Prince our Soueraigne Commander ouer the whole body Politike: The eight Booke we haue allotted vnto this queſtion, and haue ſifted therein your Obiections againſt thoſe preeminences Royall which thereunto appertaine. Thus haue I laide before you the brieſe of theſe my Trauailes, and preſented vnder your view the lummes of that cauſe litigious betweene vs: the whole intire bodie whereof being thus compact, it ſhall bee no troubleſome thing for any man to find each particular Controuerſies reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

How iuſt cauſe there is to feare the manifold daungerous euents likely to enſue vpon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

8. *The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore my brethren, as it doth, the wiſedome of Gouernours yee muſt not blame, in that they further alſo forecaſting the manifold ſtrange & dangerous innouations, which are more then likely to follow, if your Diſcipline, ſhould take place, haue for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their duetie to withſtand your endeuours that way: The rather, for that they haue ſeene already ſome ſmall beginnings of the fruites thereof, in them, who concurring with you in iudgement about the neceſſitie of that Diſcipline, haue aduentured without more adoe, to ſeperate themſelues from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe mens haſtines the warier ſort of you doth not commend, yee wiſh they had held themſelues longer in, and not ſo dangerouſly flowne abroad before the feathers of the cauſe had beene growne: their errour with merciful termes yee reproue, naming them in great commiſeration of mind, your* poore brethren. *They on the contrarie ſide more bitterly accuſe you as their* falſe brethren, *and againſt you they pleade, ſaying: From your breſts it is, that we haue ſucked thoſe things, which when yee deliuered vnto*

1. Pet. 2. 2.

vs, yee termed that heauenly, ſincere, and wholeſome milke of Gods word, howſoeuer yee now abhorre as poyſou that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought foorth in vs. Yee ſometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we haue had moſt ſweete conſultaions, are now become our profeſſed aduerſaries, becauſe wee thinke the Statute-Congregations in England to be no true Chriſtian Churches; becauſe we haue ſeuered our ſelues from them, and becauſe without their leaue or licence that are in Ciuill Authoritie, we haue ſecretly framed our owne Churches according to the platforme of the word of God. For of that point betweene you and vs their is no controuerſie. Alas, what would yee haue vs to doe? At ſuch time as yee were content to accept vs in the number of your owne, your teachings we heard, wee read your Writings: and though wee would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeale yee haue euer profeſt, that in the Engliſh Congregations (for ſo many of them as be ordered according vnto their owne Lawes,) the verie publique Seruice of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heapes of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning forme, borrowed from the Shoppe of Antichriſt; hatefull both wayes in the eyes of the moſt Holy: the kind of their Gouernment by Biſhops and Archbiſhops, Antichriſtian, that Diſcipline which Chriſt hath eſſentially tied, that is to ſay, ſo vnited vnto his Church, that wee connot account it really to bee his Church, which hath not in it the ſame Diſcipline, that verie Diſcipline no leſſe there deſpiſed, then in the higheſt throne of Antichriſt, all ſuch partes of the word of God as doe any way concerne that Diſcipline, no leſſe vnſoundly taught and interpreted by all Authorized Engliſh Paſtors, then by Antichriſts factors themſelues; at Baptiſme Croſsing, at the Supper of the Lord kneeling, at both a number of other the moſt notorious badges of Antichriſtian recogniſance vſuall. Being moued with theſe and the like your effectuall diſcourſes, whereunto wee gaue moſt attentiue eare, till they entred euen into our ſoules, and were as fire within our boſomes; wee thought we might hereof bee bold to conclude, that ſith no ſuch Antichriſtian Synagogue may be accompted a true Church of Chriſt, yee by accuſing all Congregations ordered according to the Lawes of England as Antichriſtian, did meane to condemne thoſe Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Chriſtian Church. Yee tell vs now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatnings of them, who profeſſing themſelues the Inhabitants of mount

Pſal. 55. 13.

Pref. aginſt D. Bancr.

Sion,

Sion, were to loth to depart wholly as they ſhould out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearefully troubled, we durſt not, we durſt not continue longer ſo neere her confines, leſt her plagues might ſuddenly ouertake vs, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſinnes: for ſo we could not chuſe but acknowledge with griefe that we were, when they doing euill, wee by our preſence in their aſſemblies ſeemed to like thereof, or at leaſt wiſe not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glorie. For aduenturing to erect the Diſcipline of Chriſt without the leaue of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, haply yee may condemne vs as fooles, in that we hazard therby our eſtates and perſons, further then you which are that way more wiſe thinke neceſſarie: but of any offence or ſinne therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe vs, when your owne poſitions are, that the things we obſerue ſhould euery of them be dearer vnto vs then ten thouſand liues; that they are the peremptorie commandements of God; that no mortall man can diſpence with them, and that the Magiſtrate grieuouſly ſinneth in not conſtraining thereunto? Will yee blame any man for doing that of his owne accord, which all men ſhould bee compelled to doe that are not willing of themſelues? When God commandeth, ſhall we anſwere that we will obey, if ſo be Cæſar will grant vs leaue? Is Diſcipline an Eccleſiaſticall matter or a Ciuill? If an Eccleſiaſticall, it muſt of neceſſitie belong to the dutie of the Miniſter. And the Miniſter (yee ſay) holdeth all his authoritie of doing whatſoeuer belongeth vnto the Spirituall charge of the houſe of God, euen immediatly from God himſelfe, without dependencie vpon any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the people being willing to bee vnder the Scepter of Chriſt, the Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord himſelfe hath put that Scepter, is without all excuſe, if therby he guide them not. Nor doe we find that hitherto greatly ye haue diſliked thoſe Churches abroad where the people with direction of their godly Miniſters, haue euen againſt the will of the Magiſtrate brought in either the doctrine or Diſcipline of Ieſus Chriſt. For which cauſe we muſt now think the very ſame thing of you, which our Sauiour did ſomtime vtter concerning falſehearted Scribes and Phariſes, They ſay & doe not. Thus the fooliſh Barrowiſt deriueth his ſchiſme by way of concluſion, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leaue to be ſatisfied by you from whome he hath ſprung. And if ſuch by your own acknowledgement bee perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations

Matth. 23.3.

which

which they haue made are of ſmall and tender growth; the changes likely to enſue throughout all ſtates and vocations within this Land, in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought vpon. First, concerning the ſupreme power of the higheſt, they are no ſmall prerogatiues, which now thereunto belonging the forme of your Diſcipline will conſtraine it to reſigne, as in the laſt Booke of this Treatiſe we haue ſhewed at large. Againe it may iuſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobilitie, when the matter came in triall, would contentedly ſuffer themſelues to be alwaies at the call, and to ſtand to the ſentence of a number of meane perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poore Teacher, a man (as ſometimes it happeneth) though better able to ſpeake, yet little or no whit apter to iudge then the reſt; from whom, be their dealings neuer ſo abſurd (vnleſſe it be by way of complaint to a Synod) no appeale may be made vnto any one of higher power, in aſmuch as the order of your Diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding inequalitie of Courts, no ſpirituall Iudge to haue any ordinarie ſuperiour on earth, but as many Supremacies as there are Pariſhes and ſeuerall Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cauſe that ſo many doe feare the ouerthrow of all learning, as a threatned ſequele of this your intended Diſcipline. For if the worlds preſeruation depend vpon the multitude of the wiſe; and of that ſort the number hereafter be not likely to waxe ouer-great, when (that wherewith the ſonne of Syrach profeſſeth himſelfe at the heart grieued) men of vnderſtanding are already ſo little ſet by: how ſhould their minds, whom the loue of ſo precious a Iewell filleth with ſecret iealouſie euen in regard of the leaſt things, which may any way hinder the flouriſhing eſtate thereof, chuſe but miſdoubt leſt this Diſcipline, which alwaies you match with diuine doctrine as her naturall and true ſiſter, bee found vnto all kinds of knowledge a ſtepmother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed vnto the chiefeſt kind of learning, ye ſeeke vtterly to extirpate as weedes; and haue grounded your platforme on ſuch propoſitions, as doe after a ſort vndermine thoſe moſt renowned habitations, where, through the goodnes of Almightie God, all commendable Arts & Sciences are with exceeding great induſtry hitherto (and ſo may they for euer continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, & profeſt? To charge you as purpoſely bent to the ouerthrow of that wherein ſo many of you haue attained no ſmall perfection, were iniurious. Only therefore I wiſh that your ſelues did well conſider how oppoſite certaine your poſitions are vnto the ſtate of Collegiate ſocieties, whereon the two Vniuerſities

Sap. 6. 24.

Eccl. 16. 29.

conſiſt

conſiſt. Thoſe degrees which their ſtatutes bind them to take, are by your Lawes taken away, your ſelues who haue ſought them yee ſo excuſe, as that yee would haue men to thinke yee iudge them not allowable, but tolerable onely, and to be borne with, for ſome helpe which ye find in them vnto the furtherance of your purpoſes, till the corrupt eſtate of the Church may be better reformed. Your Lawes forbidding Eccleſiaſticall perſons vtterly the exerciſe of Ciuill power, muſt needes depriue the Heads and Maſters in the ſame Colledges of all ſuch authoritie as now they exerciſe, either at home, by puniſhing the faults of thoſe, who not as children to their parents by the law of Nature, but altogether by Ciuill authoritie are ſubiect vnto them, or abroad, by keeping Courts amongſt their tenants. Your lawes making permanent inequalitie amongſt Miniſters, a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce thoſe Colledges, the Seniors wherof are all or any part of them Miniſters vnder the gouernment of a Maſter in the ſame vocation, to chooſe, as oft as they meete together, a new Preſident. For if ſo ye iudge it neceſſarie to do in Synods, for the auoiding of permanent inequalitie amongſt Miniſters, the ſame cauſe muſt needs euen in theſe Collegiate aſſemblies enforce the like. Except peraduenture yee meane to auoid all ſuch abſurdities, by diſſoluing thoſe Corporations, and by bringing the Vniuerſities vnto the forme of the Schoole of Geneua. *Which thing men the rather are enclined to looke for, in aſmuch as the miniſterie, whereinto their founders with ſingular prouidence haue by the ſame Statutes appointed them neceſſarily to enter at a certaine time, your Lawes bind them much more neceſſarily to forbeare, till ſome Pariſh abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law Ciuill is, that the knowledge thereof might bee ſpared, as a thing which this Land doth not need. Profeſſors in that kind being few, yee are the bolder to ſpurne at them, and not to diſſemble your minds as concerning their remoouall: in whoſe ſtudies although my ſelfe haue not much beene conuerſant, neuertheleſſe exceeding great cauſe I ſee there is to wiſh that thereunto more encouragement were giuen, as well for the ſingular treaſures of wiſedome therein conteined, as alſo for the great vſe we haue thereof both in dotiſion of certaine kinds of cauſes ariſing daily within our ſelues, and eſpecially for commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is moſt requiſite. The reaſons wherewith yee would perſwade that Scripture is the onely rule to frame all our actions by, are in euery reſpect as effectuall for proofe that the ſame is the onely Law whereby to determine all our Ciuill controuerſies.*

Humb. Motion to the L.L. p. 50.

And

And then what doth let, but that as thoſe men may haue their deſire, who frankly broach it already that the worke of Reformation will neuer be perfect, till the Law of Jeſus Chriſt be receiued alone; ſo Pleaders and Councellors may bring their Bookes of the Common-Law, and beſtow them as the Students of curious and needleſſe arts did theirs in the Apoſtles time? I leaue them to ſcan how farre thoſe words of yours may reach, wherein yee declare that whereas now many houſes lye waſte through inordinate ſuites of Law, This one thing will ſhew the excellencie of Diſcipline for the wealth of the Realme, and quiet of Subiects, that the Church is to cenſure ſuch a partie who is apparantly troubleſome and contentious, and without REASONABLE CAVSE vpon a meere will and ſtomack doth vexe and moleſt his Brother, and trouble the Country. *For mine owne part I doe not ſee but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your diſcipline were fully planted, euen to ſend out your Writs of Surceaſe vnto all Courts of* England *beſides, for the moſt things handled in them. A great deale further I might proceede and deſcend lower. But for as much as againſt all theſe and the like difficulties, your anſwere is, That we ought to ſearch what things are conſonant to Gods will, not which be moſt for our owne eaſe; and therefore that your diſcipline, being (for ſuch is your errour) the abſolute commandement of Almightie God, it muſt be receiued, although the World by receiuing it ſhould be cleane turned vpſide-downe; herein lieth the greateſt danger of all. For whereas the name of diuine Authoritie is vſed to countenance theſe things, which are not the Commandements of God, but your owne erroneous collections; on him yee muſt father whatſoeuer yee ſhall afterwards be led, either to doe in withſtanding the Aduerſaries of your cauſe, or to thinke in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In ſuch kinds of error, the mind once imagining it ſelfe to ſeeke the execution of Gods will, laboureth forthwith to remoue both things and perſons, which any way binder it from taking place; and in ſuch caſes if any ſtrange or new thing ſeeme requiſite to be done, a ſtrange & new opinion concerning the lawfullnes thereof, is withall receiued and broached vnder countenance of diuine authoritie. One example herein may ſerue for many, to ſhew that falſe opinions touching the will of God to haue things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices againſt the hinderances of them; and thoſe practices new opinions more pernicious then the firſt, yea, moſt extreamely ſome-*

Act. 19. 19.

Humb. Mot. Pag. 74.

Counterp. Pag. 108.

ſometimes oppoſite to that which the firſt did ſeeme to intend. Where the people tooke vpon them the reformation of the Church by caſting out Popiſh ſuperſtition, they hauing receiued from their Paſtors a gene-
Mat. 15. 13. rall inſtruction that whatſoeuer the heauenly Father hath not planted, muſt be rooted out, proceeded in ſome forrein places ſo farre, that downe went oratories and the very Temples of God themſelues. For as they chanced to take the compaſſe of their Commiſſion ſtricter or larger, ſo their dealings were accordingly more or leſſe moderate. Amongſt others there ſprang vp preſently one kind of men, with whoſe zeale and forwardneſſe the reſt being compared, were thought to be maruellous cold and dull. Theſe grounding themſelues on Rules more generall; that whatſoeuer the law of Chriſt commandeth not, thereof Antichriſt is the author; & that whatſoeuer Antichriſt or his adherents did in the world, the true profeſſors Chriſt are to vndoe; found out many things more then others had done, the exptirtation whereof was in their conceit as
Guy de Bres contre l'erreur des Anabaptiſtes. Pag. 4. neceſſary as of any thing before remooued. Hereupon they ſecretly made their dolefull complaints euerie where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profeſſe ſome diſlike of that which was euill in the Kingdome of darkneſſe, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not ſeene; and that if men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeuour to purge the truth of all manner of euill, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteouſneſſe onely ſhould dwell. Priuate repentance they ſaid muſt appeare by euery mans faſhioning his
Pag. 5. owne life contrarie vnto the cuſtome and orders of this preſent world, both in greater things and in leſſe. To this purpoſe they had alwaies in their mouthes thoſe greater things, Charitie, Faith, the true feare of God, the Croſſe, the mortification of the fleſh. All their exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this world, to count riches and honors vanitie, and in token thereof not onely to ſeeke neither, but if men were poſſeſſors of both, euen to caſt away the one and reſigne the other that all
Pag. 16. men might ſee their vnfained conuerſion vnto Chriſt. They were ſol-
Pag. 118. 119. liciters of men to faſts, to often meditations of heauenly things, and as it were conferences in ſecret with God by praiers, not framed according to the frozē maner of the world, but expreſſing ſuch fernēt deſires as might euen force God to harken vnto them. Wher they found men in diet, ature, furniture of houſe, or any other way obſeruers of ciuility & decent order
120. Pag. 116. ſuch they reproued as being carnally & earthly minded. Euery word otherwiſe then ſeuerely & ſadly vttered, ſeemed to pierce like a ſword thorow

row them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with sighes to repeat those words of our Sauiour Christ, Woe bee to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament. So great was their delight to be alwaies in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their liues, they iudged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to crosse the ordinarie customs in euery thing, that when other mens vse was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselues openly abroad in worse: the ordinarie names of the dayes in the Weeke they thought it a kind of prophanesse to vse, and therefore accustomed themselues to make no other distinction than by numbers, The First, Second, Third day. From this they proceeded vnto publique Reformation, first, Ecclesiasticall, and then Ciuill. Touching the former, they boldly auouched, that themselues only had the Truth, which thing vpon perill of their liues they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles liued, the same was neuer before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore that things might againe bee brought to that ancient integritie which Iesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to controle the Ministers of the Gospell for attributing so much force and Vertue vnto the Sriptures of God read, whereas the Truth was, that when the Word is said to engender Faith in the heart, and to conuert the Soule of man, or to worke any such spirituall Diuine effect these speeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in vs by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our vnderstanding, and so reuealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Ieremie promised before should bee, saying, I will put my Law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. The Booke of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not heare; besides it they thought no other Writings in the World should be studied; in so much as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects vnto humane Writings, so farre to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any Bookes saue the Holy Bible in their custodie, they brought and set them publikely on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange phantasticall opinion soeuer at any time entred into their heads, their vse was to thinke the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Sauiours incarnation, the state of soules departed and such like, are things needlesse to bee rehearsed. And for as

Pag 114. Luke 6.12

Pag 117.

Pag 40.

Iere. 31. 34

Pag. 29.

Pag. 27.

much as they were of the same Suite with those of whom the Apostle speaketh, saying, They are still learning, but neuer attaine to the
2. *Tim.* 3. 7. knowledge of truth, *it was no marualle to see them euery day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restlesse leuitie they did interpret to bee their growing to spirituall perfection, and a proceeding*
Pag. 65. *from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this meane*
Pah. 66. *in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose braine was not possest with some speciall mysterie.*
Pag. 135. *Whereupon although their mutuall contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselues: yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the Aduersaries of their Faction, they had waies to licke one another whole, the sounder in his owne perswasion, ex-*
Pag 25. *cusing* THE DEARE BRETHREN, *which were not so farre*
Pag. 71. *enlightned, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their swaruing from him in some things. Their owne Ministers they highly magnified, as men whose Vocation*
Pag. 124. *was from God: the rest their manner was to terme disdainfully* Scribes *and* Pharises, *to account their Calling an humane Creature, and to de-*
Pag. 764. *taine the people as much as might bee from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Baptisme administred in the Church of* Rome, *They Iudged to bee but an execrable Mockerie and no Baptisme; both because the Ministers thereof in the Papacie are wicked Idolators, lewd Persons, Theeues and Murderers, cursed Creatures, ignorant Beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging vnto none but*
Pag. 748. *the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrists Synagogue. The*
Pag. 512, *custome of vsing God-fathers and God-mothers at Christnings they*
Pag. 518. *scorned. Baptizing of Infants, although confest by themselues to haue beene continued euen sithence the verie Apostles owne times, yet they altogether condemned: partly, because sundry errours are*
Pag. 722. *of no lesse antiquitie; and partly, for that there is no Commande-*
Pag. 726. *ment in the Gospell of Christ, which saith,* Baptize Infants, *but hee contrariwise in saying,* Goe Preach and Baptise, *doth appoint that the Minister of Baptisme shall in that action first administer Doctrine,*
Peg. 688. *and then baptisme, as also in saying,* Whosoeuer doth beleeue & is baptised, *he appointeth that the partie to whom Baptisme is administred shall first beleeue, and then be baptized; to the end that beleeuing may go before this Sacrament in the receiuer, no otherwise than preaching in the Giuer, sith equally in both, the Law of Christ declareth not onely*

what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they receiued (pretending our Lord and Sauiours examples) after Supper: and for auoiding all those impieties which haue beene grounded vpon the mysticall words of Christ, This is my body, This is my bloud; they thought it not safe to mention either Body or Bloud in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, & to vse no words but these, Take, eate, declare the death of our Lord: Drinke, shew forth our Lords death. In Rites and Ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformitie with the Church of Rome. for which cause they would rather indure any torment than obserue the solemne festiuals which others did, in as much as Antichrist (they said) was the first inuenter of them. The pretended end of their Ciuill reformation, was that Christ might haue dominion ouer all, that all Crownes and Scepters might bee throwne downe at his feete, that no other might raigne ouer Christian men but he, no Regiment keepe them in awe but his Discipline; amongst them no Sword at all be carried besides his, the Sword of spirituall Excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in ouerturning the seates of Magistracie, because Christ hath said, Kings of Nations; in abolishing the execution of Iustice, because Christ hath said, Resist not euill; in forbidding Oathes the necessarie meanes of iudiciall tryall, because Christ hath said, Sweare not at all; finally, in bringing in communitie of goods, because Christ by his Apostles hath giuen the World such example to the end that men might excell one another, not in wealth the Pillar of secular authoritie, but in vertue. These men at the first were onely pitied in their errour, and not much withstood by any; the great Humilitie, Zeale, and Deuotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmelesse meaning. The hardest that men of sound vnderstanding conceiued of them, was but this, Oquàm honesta voluntate miseri erant? With how good a meaning these poore soules doe euill; Luther made request vnto Fredericke Duke of Saxonie, that within his Dominion they might be fauourably dealt with and spared, for that (their errour exempted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By meanes of which mercifull toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the State of the Common-wealth wherein they liued. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked vnto them by thousands. The meanes whereby they both allured and retayned so great multitudes,

Pag. 38.
Pag. 122.
Pag. 841.
Pag. 833.
Pag. 849.
Pag. 46.
Lactant. de Iustit. lib. 5. ca. 19.
Pag. 6.
Pag. 420.

were most effectuall; first, a wonderfull shew of zeale towards God, wherewith they seemed to bee euen rapt in euery thing they spake: Se-
Pag.55. condly, an hatred of sinne, and a singular loue of integritie, which men did thinke to be much more than ordinarie in them, by reason of the custome which they had to fill the eares of the people with Inuectiues against their authorized Guides as well Spirituall as Ciuill: thirdly, the bountifull reliefe wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needie Creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to bee drawne away: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take vpon the miseries of the common sort, ouer whose heads their māner was euen to
Pag.6. powre downe showers of teares in complayning that no respect was had
Pag.7. vnto them, that their goods were deuoured by wicked Cormorāts, their persons had in contempt, all libertie both Temporall and Spirituall taken from them; that it was high time for God now to heare their grones, and to send them deliuerance: lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth vp the mindes of their Followers, as well by appropriating vnto them all the fauourable Titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrarie alwaies
Pag.71 on the heads of such as were seuered from that retinue. Whereupon, the peoples common acclamation vnto such deceiuers was: These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere Prophets. If any such Prophet or man of God did suffer by order of Law condigne and deserued punishment; were it for Fellonie, Rebellion, Murder, or what else: the people (so strangely were their hearts inchāted) as though blessed Saint Stephen had beene againe martyred, did lament that God
Pag.27. tooke away his most deare Seruants from them. In al these things being fully perswaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should doe the like; there remayned after speculation, practice, whereby the whole World thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done, but with mightie oppo-
Pag.6. sition and resistance: against which to strengthen themselues; they secretly entred into a League of Association. And peraduenture considering, that although they were many, yet long Warres would in time waste them out; they began to thinke whether it might not bee that God would haue them do for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime Gods owne chosen people, the people of Israel did. Glad and faine they were to haue it so: which very desire was it selfe apt to breed both an opinion of possibilitie and a willingnesse to gather Argu-

ments

ments of likelihood, that so God himselfe would haue it. Nothing more cleere vnto their seeming, then that a new Ierusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they vndoubtedly were themselues that new Ierusalem, and the old did by way of a certayne figuratiue resemblance signifie what they should both be and doe. Here they drew in a Sea of matter, by applying all things vnto their owne Company, which are any where spoken concerning diuine fauours and benefits bestowed vpon the old Common-wealth of Israel; concluding, that as Israel was deliuered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this Worlds seruile thraldome vnto Sinne and Superstition, as Israel was to roote out the Idolatrous Nations, and to plant in stead of them a People which feared God, so the same Lords good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, vnder the conduct of other Iosuaes, Sampsons, and Gedeons, performe a worke no lesse miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the Kingdome of Christ with perfect libertie: and therefore as the cause why the children of Israel tooke vnto one man many wiues, might be, lest the casualties of Warre should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them, so it was not vnlike that for the necessary propagation of Christs Kingdome vnder the Gospell, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatsoeuer they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to iustifie or perswade it vnto others all was the heauenly Fathers appointment, his commandement, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I haue gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew that when the minds of men are once erroniously perswaded, that it is the will of God to haue those things done which they phancy, their opinions are as Thornes in their sides, neuer suffering thē to take rest till they haue brought their speculations into practice: the lets and impediments of which practice their restlesse desire and study to remoue, leadeth them euery day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and cleane contrary to their first pretended meanings. So as what will grow out of such errors as goe masked vnder the cloke of diuīe authoritie, impossible it is, that euer the wit of man should imagine, till time haue brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause it behoueth Wisdome to feare the sequels thereof euen beyond all apparant cause of feare. These men, in whose mouths at the first sounded nothing but onely mortification of the flesh, were

come at the length to thinke they might lawfully haue their fixe or seuen Wiues apiece: they which at the first thought Iudgement and Iustice it selfe to be mercileſse cruelty; accompted at the length their owne hands ſanctified with being imbrued in Chriſtian bloud: they who at the first were wont to beate downe all Dominion, and to vrge againſt poore Conſtables, Kings of Nations; *had at the length both Conſulls and* Kings *of their owne erection amongſt themſelues, finally, they which could not brooke at the first that any man ſhould ſeeke, no not by Law, the recouery of goods iniuriouſly taken or with-held from him; were growne at the laſt to thinke they could not offer vnto God more acceptable ſacrifice, then by turning their Aduerſaries cleane out of houſe and home,* Pag. 41. *and by inriching themſelues with all kind of ſpoile and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readineſſe their anſwere, that now the time was come, when according to our Sauiours promiſe,* Mat. 5. 5. The meeke ones muſt inherit the earth, *and that their title hereunto was the ſame which the righteous* Iſraelites *had vnto the goods of the wicked* Egyptians. *Wherefore ſith the World hath had in theſe men ſo freſh experience, how dangerous ſuch actiue errors are, it muſt not offend you though touching the ſequell of your preſent miſperſwaſions much more be doubted, then your owne intents & purpoſes doe haply ayme at. And yet your words already are ſomewhat, when yee affirme that your Paſtors Doctors, Elders and Deacons, ought to bee in this Church of* England, Whether her Maieſtie & our State will or no, Mart. in his 3. Libell, Pag. 28. *when for the animating of your Confederates, ye publiſh the muſters which yee haue made of your owne Bands, and proclaime them to amount I know not to how many thouſands; when yee threaten, that ſith neither your ſuits to the Parliament, nor ſupplicatiõs to our Conuocation-houſe, neither your deſẽces by Writing, nor challenges of Diſputation in behalfe of that cauſe are able to preuaile, we muſt blame our ſelues if to bring in diſcipline ſome ſuch meães hereafter be vſed as ſhall cauſe all our hearts to ake.* Demonſtr. in the Pref. That things doubtfull are to be conſtrued in the better part, *is a principle not ſafe to be followed in matters concerning the publike State of a Common-weale. But howſoeuer theſe and the like ſpeeches be accounted as arrowes idely ſhot at random, without either eye had to any marke, or regard to their lighting place: hath not your longing deſire for the practice of your Diſcipline, brought the matter already vnto this demurre amongſt you, whether the People and their godly Paſtors that way affected, ought not to make ſeparation from*

the

the reſt, and to beginne the exerciſe of Diſcipline without Licence of Ciuill Powers, which Licence they haue ſought for, and are not heard? Vpon which queſtion, as ye haue now deuided your ſelues, the warier ſort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeale the other; ſo in caſe theſe earneſt Ones ſhould preuaile, what other ſequell can any wiſeman imagine but his, that hauing firſt reſolued that attempts for Diſcipline without Superiors are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to bee diſputed what may be attempted againſt Superiors, which will not haue the Scepter of that Diſcipline to rule ouer them? Yea euen by you which haue ſtayed your ſelues from running head-long with the other ſort, ſomewhat notwithſtanding there hath beene done without the leaue or liking of your lawfull Superiors, for the exerciſe of a part of your Diciſipline amongſt the Clergie thereunto addicted. And leſt examination of principall parties therin ſhould bring thoſe things to light which might hinder and let your proceedings, behold for a barre againſt that impediment, one Opinion ye haue newly added vnto the reſt euen vpon this occaſion, an Opinion to exempt you from taking Oaths, which may turne to the moleſtation of your Brethren in that cauſe. The next neighbour Opinion whereunto, when occaſion requireth, may follow for Diſpenſation with Oaths alreadie taken, if they afterwards bee found to import a neceſſitie of detecting ought which may bring ſuch good men into trouble or damage, whatſoeuer the cauſe be. O mercifull God, what mans wit is there able to ſound the depth of thoſe dangerous and fearefull euils, whereinto our weake and impotent nature is inclinable to ſinke it ſelfe, rather then to ſhew an acknowledgement of errour in that which once we haue vnaduiſedly taken vpon vs to defend, againſt the ſtreame as it were of a contrarie publike reſolution? Wherefore, if we any thing reſpect their errour, who being perſwaded euen as ye are, haue gone further vpon that perſwaſion then ye allow, if wee regard the preſent State of the higheſt Gouernour placed ouer vs, if the qualitie and diſpoſition of our Nobles, if the Orders and Lawes of our famous Vniuerſities, if the profeſſion of the Ciuill, or the practice of the Common Law amongſt vs; if the miſchiefes whereinto euen before our eyes ſo many others haue falne head-long from no leſſe plauſible and faire beginnings then yours are: there is in euery of theſe conſiderations moſt iuſt cauſe to feare, leſt our haſtineſſe to embrace a thing of ſo perilous conſequence, ſhould cauſe Poſterity to feele thoſe euills, which as yet are more eaſie for vs to preuent, then they would be for them to remedie.

9. The

The conclusion of all

9. *The best and safest way for you therefore my deare Brethren is, to all your deeds past, a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause ye haue taken in hand, and to try it euen point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactnesse ye can; to lay aside the gall of that bitternesse wherein your minds haue hitherto ouer-abounded, and with meeknesse to search the Truth. Thinke yee are men, deeme it not impossible for you to erre: sift vnpartially your owne hearts, whether it be force of reason, or vehemencie of affection, which hath bred, and still doth feede these opinions in you. If Truth doe any where manifest it selfe, seeke not to smother it with glozing Delusions, acknowledge the greatnesse thereof, and thinke it your best Victorie when the same doth preuaile ouer you.*

That yee haue beene earnest in speaking or writing, againe and againe the contrarie way, should be no blemish or discredit at all vnto you. Amongst so many so huge Volumes, as the infinite paines of Saint Augustine *haue brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater loue, commendation and honour, then the Booke wherein he carefully collected his owne ouersights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of* Iobs, *whereby his Wisdome and other Vertues may appeare: but the glorie of an Ingenious minde he hath purchased by these words onely,* Behold I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I haue spoken once, yet will I not therefore maintaine Argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cause further I will not proceed. *Farre more comfort it were for vs (so small is the ioy wee take in these strifes) to labour vnder the same yoke, as men that looke for the same eternall reward of their Labours, to be ioyned with you in bands of indissoluable loue and amitie, to liue as if our persons being many, our Soules were but one, rather thē in such dismēbred sort to spend our few and wretched dayes in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome Contentions: the end whereof, if they haue not some speedie end, will bee heauie euen on both sides. Brought alreadie wee are euen to that estate which* Gregorie Nazianzene *mournefully describeth, saying,*

Iob. 39 37.

Greg. Naz. in Apol.

My minde leadeth me (*sith there is no other remedy*) to flie and to conuey my selfe into some corner out of sight, where I may scape from this cloudie tempest of maliciousnesse, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly warre amongst themselues, and that little remnant of loue which was, is now consumed to nothing. The onely godlinesse wee glorie in, is to finde

out

out ſomewhat whereby wee may iudge others to bee vngodly. Each others faults we obſerue, as matter of exprobration, and not of griefe. By theſe meanes wee are growne hatefull in the eyes of the Heathens themſelues; and (which woundeth vs the more deeply) able we are not to denie but that we haue deſerued their hatred. With the better ſort of our owne, our fame and credit is cleane loſt. The leſſe wee are to maruell if they iudge vilely of vs, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backes they alſo build that are lewd, and what wee obiect one againſt another, the ſame they vſe to the vtter ſcorne and diſgrace of vs all, This we haue gained by our mutuall home-diſſentions. This wee are worthily rewarded with which are more forward to ſtriue, than becommeth men of vertuous and mild diſpoſition. *But our truſt in the Almightie is, that with vs contentions are now at their higheſt floate, and that the day will come (for what cauſe of deſpaire is there?) when the paſſions of former enmitie being allayed, we ſhall with ten times redoubled tokens of our vnfainedly recõciled loue, ſhew our ſelues each towards other the ſame, which* Ioſeph *and the brethren of* Ioſeph *were at the time of their enter-view in* Egypt. *Our comfortable expectation & moſt thirſtie deſire wherof what man ſoeuer amongſt you ſhall any way helpe to ſatiſfie, (as we truly hope there is no one amongſt you but ſome way or other will) the bleſſings of the God of peace both in this World and in the World to come, be vpon him more then the ſtars of the Firmament in number.*

WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED IN THE BOOKES *Following.*

THe *first* Booke, concerning Lawes in generall.

The *second*, Of the vſe of diuine Law contayned in Scripture, whether that bee the onely Law which ought to ſerue for our direction in all things without exception.

The *third*, Of Lawes concerning Eccleſiaſticall Politie; whether the forme thereof bee in Scripture ſo ſet downe, that no addition or change is lawfull.

The *fourth*, Of generall exceptions taken againſt the Lawes of our Politie, as being Popiſh and baniſhed out of certaine Reformed Churches.

The *fifth*, Of our Lawes that concerne the publike religious duties of the Church; and the manner of beſtowing that power of order, which inableth men

men in ſundrie degrees and callings to execute the ſame.

The *ſixt*, Of the power of Iuriſdiction, which the reformed platforme claymeth vnto Lay-Elders, with others.

The *ſeuenth*, Of the power of Iuriſdiction, and the honor wich is annexed thereunto in Biſhops.

The *eight*, Of the power of Eccleſiaſticall Dominion or ſupreme Authoritie, which with vs the higheſt Gouernour or Prince hath, as well in regard of domeſticall Iuriſdictions, as of that other forrainly claimed by the Biſhop of *Rome*.



OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The first Booke.

Concerning Lawes, and their seuerall kindes *in generall.*

The matter contained in this first Booke.

1 THe cause of writing this generall discourse concerning lawes.
2 Of that law which God from before the beginning hath set for himselfe to doe all things by.
3 The law which naturall agents obserue, & their necessary manner of keeping it.
4 The law which the Angels of God obey.
5 The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
6 Mens first beginning to vnderstand that law.
7 Of mans will, which is the first thing that lawes of action are made to guide.
8 Of the naturall finding out of lawes by the light of reason to guide the will vnto that which is good.
9 Of the benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.
10 How reason doth leade men vnto the making of humane lawes whereby politike societies are gouerned, and to agreement about lawes whereby the followship or communion of independent societies standeth.
11 Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made knowne such supernaturall lawes as doe serue for mens direction.
12 The cause why so many naturall or rationall lawes are set downe in holy Scripture.
13 The benefit of hauing diuine lawes written.
14 The sufficiencie of Scripture vnto the end for which it was instituted.
15 Of lawes positiue conteined in Scripture, the mutabilitie of certaine of them, and the generall vse of Scripture.
16 A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

The cauſe of writing this generall diſcourſe.



He that goeth about to perſwade a multitude, that they are not ſo well gouerned as they ought to be, ſhall neuer want attentiue and fauourable hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects, whereunto euery kinde of regiment is ſubiect, but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in publique proceedings are innumerable and ineuitable, they haue not ordinarily the iudgement to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as opēly reproue ſuppoſed diſorders of ſtate are take for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry ſingular freedome of mind; vnder this faire & plauſible colour whatſoeuer they vtter, paſſeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the waight of their ſpeech, is ſupplyed by the aptneſſe of mens mindes to accept and beleeue it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintaine things that are eſtabliſhed, we haue not onely to ſtriue with a number of heauie preiudices deepely rooted in the hearts of men, who thinke that herein we ſerue the time, and ſpeake in fauor of the preſent ſtate, becauſe thereby we either hold or ſeeke preferment; but alſo to beare ſuch exceptions as mindes ſo auerted before-hand vſually take againſt that which they are loath ſhould be powred into them. Albeit therefore much of that wee are to ſpeake in this preſent cauſe, may ſeeme to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, dark, & intricate, (for many talke of the truth, which neuer ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth, and therefore when they are led thereunto they are ſoone weary, as men drawne from thoſe beaten pathes wherewith they haue been iniured:) yet this may not ſo farre preuaile, as to cut off that which the matter it ſelfe requireth, howſoeuer the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They vnto whom we ſhall ſeeme tedious, are in no wiſe iniured by vs, becauſe it is in their owne hands to ſpare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complaine of obſcuritie, they muſt conſider, that in theſe matters it commeth no otherwiſe to paſſe, then in ſundry the workes both of art and alſo of nature, where that which hath greateſt force in the very things we ſee, is notwithſtanding it ſelfe oftentimes not ſeene. The ſtatelineſſe of houſes, the goodlineſſe of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth vp the one, that roote which miniſtreth vnto the other nouriſhment and life, is in the boſome of the earth concealed; and if there bee at any time occaſion to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary then pleaſant, both to them which vndertake it, and for the lookers on. In like manner the vſe and benefite of good Lawes, all that liue vnder them may enioy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and firſt originall cauſes from whence they haue ſprung bee vnknowne, as to the greateſt part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience, pretend that the lawes which they ſhould obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their qualitie, it behoueth the very foundation & root, the higheſt welſpring and fountaine of them to be diſcouered. Which becauſe we are not oftentimes accuſtomed to doe, when we doe it, the paynes wee take are more needfull a great

great deale then acceptable, and the matters which wee handle seeme by reason of newnesse, (till the minde grow better acquainted with them) darke, intricate, and vnfamiliar. For as much helpe whereof as may be in this case, I haue endeuoured throughout the bodie of this whole Discourse, that euery former part might giue strength vnto all that follow, and euery later bring some light vnto all before. So that if the iudgements of men doe but hold themselues in suspence as touching these first more generall Meditations, till in order they haue perused the rest that ensue: what may seeme darke at the first will afterwards bee found more plaine, euen as the later particular decisions will appeare I doubt not more strong, when the other haue beene read before. The Lawes of the Church, wherby for so many Ages together we haue beene guided in the exercise of Christian Religion, and the seruice of the true God, our Rites, Customes, and Orders of Ecclesiasticall Gouernment, are called in question; we are accused as men that will not haue Christ Iesus to rule ouer them; but haue wilfully cast his Statutes behinde their backes, hating to be reformed and made subiect vnto the scepter of his Discipline. Behold therefore we offer the Lawes wherby we liue, vnto the generall trial and iudgement of the whole World; heartily beseeching Almightie God, whom wee desire to serue according to his owne wil, that both wee and others (all kinde of partiall affection being cleane laid aside) may haue eyes to see, & hearts to embrace, the things that in his sight are most acceptable. And because the point about which wee striue is the qualitie of our Lawes, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, then with consideration of the nature of Law in generall, and of that Law which giueth life vnto all the rest which are commendable, iust, and good, namely the Law whereby the Eternall himselfe doth worke. Proceeding from hence to the Law, first of Nature, then of Scripture, we shall haue the easier acceesse vnto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we haue in hand.

Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himselfe to do all things by.

2 All things that are, haue some operation not violent or casuall. Neither doth any thing euer beginne to exercise the same, without some fore-conceiued end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtayned, vnlesse the worke be also fit to obtayne it by. For vnto euery end euery operation will not serue. That which doth assigne vnto each thing the kinde, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the forme and measure of working, the same wee tearme a *Law*. So that no certaine end could euer bee attained, vnlesse the actions whereby it is attained were regular, that is to say, made suteable, fit, and correspondent vnto their end, by some Canon, Rule or Law: Which thing doth first take place in the workes euen of God himselfe. All things therefore doe worke after a sort according to Law: all other things according to a Law, whereof some Superiours vnto whom they are subiect is Author; onely the workes and operations of God, haue him both their worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The being of God, is a kinde of Law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giueth perfection to that hee doth. Those naturall, necessary, and internall operations of God, the *generation* of the Sonne, the *proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compasse of my present intent: which is to touch onely such opera-

tions as haue their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when & how they should be. Which eternall decree is that we tearme an eternall Law. Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade farre into the doings of the most High; whom although to know be life, & ioy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is, to know that wee know him not as indeede hee is, neither can know him; and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence when wee confesse without confession, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatnesse aboue our capacitie and reach. He is aboue, and we vpon earth; therefore it behoueth our words to be warie and few. Our God is one, or rather very *Oneuesse*, and meere vnitie, hauing nothing but it selfe in it selfe, and not consisting (as all things doe besides God) of many things. In which essentiall vnitie of God, a Trinitie personall neuertheless subsisteth, after a manner farre exceeding the possibilitie of mans conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that each person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one deitie, from the Father, by the Sonne, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Sonne doth beare of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receiue of the Father and the Sonne, the same we haue at the hands of the Spirit, as being the last, and therefore the neareſt vnto vs in order, although in power the same with the second and the first. The wise and learned amongst the very Heathens themselues haue all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither haue they otherwise spoken of that cause, then as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obserueth in working a most exact *Order* or *Law*. Thus much is signified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, [a] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Trismegist*. [b] τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confest by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the maker of the world an *Intellectual* worker. Finally the Stoiks, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held neuertheless that the same fire hauing art, did [c] ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσι κόσμου. They all confesse therfore in the working of that first cause, that *Counsell* is vsed, *Reason* followed, a *Way* obserued, that is to say, constant *Order* and *Law* is kept, whereof it selfe must needs be author vnto it selfe. Otherwise it should haue some worthier & higher to direct it, & so could not it selfe be the first. Being the first, it can haue noother then it selfe to be the author of that Law which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a Law both to himselfe, & to all other things besides. To himselfe he is a Law in all those things whereof our Sauiour speaketh, saying, *My Father worketh as yet, so I.* God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, haue some end for which they are done: & the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to doe them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not created, *Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone.* Therefore let vs make an helper for him. That & nothing else is done by God, which to leaue vndone were not so good. If therefore it bee demanded, why God hauing power and habilitie infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as wee see they are: the reason hereof is, the end which hee hath proposed, and the Law where-

Iohn. 16. 13, 14, 15.

a Iupiters counsell was accomplished.

b The creator made the whole world not with hands but by reason. *Stob. in eclog. phys.*

c Proceed by a certaine and a set way in the making of the world.

Iohn 5. 17.

Gen. 2. 18.

by his wisdome hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not worke infinitely, but correspondently vnto that end for which it worketh, euen all things, κατ' ἀριθμὸν, in most decent and comely sort, all things in *measure, number, & waight.* The generall end of Gods externall working, is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant vertue: Which abundance doth shew it selfe in varietie, and for that cause this varietie is oftentimes in Scripture expresst by the name of *riches. The Lord hath made all things for his own sake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficiall vnto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence & grace in them. The particular drift of euery act proceeding externally frō God, wee are not able to discerne, and therefore cannot alwayes giue the proper and certaine reason of his Workes. Howbeit vndoubtedly, a proper and certaine reason there is of euery finite work of God, in as much as there is a Law imposed vpon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite euen as the Worker himself is. They erre therefore who thinke that of the will of God to doe this or that, there is no reason besides his wil. Many times no reason known to vs; but that there is no reasō therof, I iudge it most vnreasonable to imagin, in as much as he worketh all things, κατὰ βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not onely according to his own will, but *the counsell of his owne will.* And whatsoeuer it done with counsell or wise resolution, hath of necessitie some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to vs in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the blessed Apostle himself doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdome and knowledge of God! How vnsearchable are his iudgements! &c.* That Law eternall which God himself hath made to himself, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cause and Author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof shineth with most perfect beautie the countenance of that wisedome which hath testified concerning her selfe, *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, euen before his workes of old I was set vp*; that Law which hath beene the Patterne to make, and is the Card to guide the World by; that Law which hath beene of God, and with God euerlastingly; that Law the Author and Obseruer whereof is one only God to be blessed for euer; how should either Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The Booke of this Law we are neither able nor worthy to open and looke into. That little therof which we darkly apprehend we admire; the rest with religious ignorance we humbly & meekly adore. Seeing therfore that according to this Law he worketh, *of whom, through whom, and for whom are all things*; although there seeme vnto vs confusion and disorder in the affaires of this present World; *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta dubites*; Let no man doubt but that euery thing is well done, because the World is ruled by so good a Guide, as transgresseth not his own Law, then which nothing can be more absolute, perfect, & iust. The Law whereby he worketh, is eternall, and therefore can haue no shew or colour of mutabilitie: for which cause a part of that Law being opened in the promises which God hath made, (because his promises are nothing else but Declarations what God will doe for the good of men) touching those promises the Apostle hath witnessed, that God may as possibly denie himself & not be God, as faile to performe them. And concerning the counsell of God, hee termeth it likewise a thing *vnchangeable*; the counsel of God, and that Law of God wher-

Sapi. 8. 1. *Sapi.* 11. 17.

Ephes. 1. 7. *Phil.* 4. 19. *Col.* 2. 3. *Prou.* 16. 4.

Ephes. 1. 11.

Rom. 11. 33.

Prou. 8. 23.

Rom. 11. 36. *Boet. Lib.* 4. *de Consol. Philos.*

2. *Tim.* 2. 13. *Heb.* 6. 17.

of now we speake being one. Nor is the freedome of the will of God any whit abated, let or hindred by meanes of this; because the imposition of this Law vpon himselfe is his owne free and voluntary act. This Law therefore we may name eternall, being *that order which God before all Ages hath set downe with himselfe, for himselfe to doe all things by.*

The law which naturall agents haue giuen them to obserue, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

3 I am not ignorant that by Law eternall the learned for the most part doe vnderstand the order, not which God hath eternally purposed himselfe in al his workes to obserue, but rather that which with himselfe he hath set downe as expedient to be kept by al his creatures, according to the seueral condition wherewith he hath indued them. They who thus are accustomed to speake, apply the name of *Law* vnto that onely rule of working which Superior Authoritie imposeth; wheras wee somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, terme any kind of rule or Canon whereby actions are framed, a Law. Now that Law which as it is laid vp in the bosome of God, they call *eternall*, receiueth according vnto the different kind of things which are subiect vnto it, different & sundry kindes of names. That part of it which ordreth naturall Agents, we call vsually *Natures* Law: that which Angels doe clearly behold, & without any swaruing obserue, is a Law *celestiall* and heauenly: the Law of *Reason*, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this World, & with which by reason they may most plainely perceiue themselues bound; that which bindeth them, and is not knowne but by special reuelation fr̃ God, *diuine* Law; *humane* Law, that which out of the Law either of reason or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a Law. Al things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed vnto *this second Law eternal*; & euen those things which to this *eternal* Law are not conformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by *the first eternall Law*. For what good or euill is there vnder the Sunne, what action correspondent or repugnant vnto the Law which God hath imposed vpon his creatures, but in or vpon it God doth worke according to the Law which himselfe hath eternally purposed to keepe, that is to say, the *first Law eternall*? So that a two-fold Law eternall being thus made, it is not hard to conceiue how they both take place in* all things. Wherfore to come to the Law of nature, albeit therby we sometimes meane that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keepe; yet for as much as those things are termed most properly naturall Agents, which keepe the Law of their kind vnwittingly, as the Heauens and Elements of the World, which can doe no otherwise then they doe; and for as much as wee giue vnto intellectuall natures the name of *voluntary* Agents, that so wee may distinguish them from the other, expedient it will be, that we seuer the Law of Nature obserued by the one, from that which the other is tyed vnto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one Tenure, Statute and Law is spoken of by all, but hath in it more then men haue as yet attained to know, or perhaps euer shall attaine, seeing the trauell of wading herein is giuen of God to the sonnes of Men, that perceiuing

* Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ.

Th. 1. 2. *q.* 23. *art.* 2. c. Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, à quo pax vniuersitatis administratur. *Aug. de ciuit. Dei, l.* 19. *c.* 12. *Immò & peccatum, quatenus à Deo iustè permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Et id lege æternæ subiicitur peccatum, quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ infert, iuxta illud Augustini,* Iussisti Domine & sic est, vt pœna sui sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus. *conf. li.* 1. *ca.* 12. *Nec male scholastici,* Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quod à fine particulari suo, atq; adeo à lege æternâ exorbitãt, in eandem legem æternã incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipsis in casu particulari constitutum; sic verisimile est homines etiam cùm peccant & desciscunt à lege æternâ vt præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis vt punientis.

ceiuing how much the least thing in the World hath in it more then the wisest are able to reach vnto, they may by this meanes learne humilitie. *Moses*, in describing the worke of Creation, attributeth speech vnto God, *God said, Let there be light: Let there be a firmament: Let the Waters vnder the Heauen be gathered together into one place: Let the Earth bring forth: Let there be Lights in the Firmament of Heauen.* Was this onely the intent of *Moses* to signifie the infinite greatnesse of Gods power, by the easinesse of his accomplishing such effects, without trauel, paine, or labour? Surely it seemeth that *Moses* had herein, besides this, a further purpose, namely, first, to teach that God did not worke as a necessary, but a voluntary Agent, intending beforehand and decreeing with himselfe that which did outwardly proceed from him: Secondly, to shew that God did then institute a Law natural to be obserued by creatures, and therfore according to the manner of Lawes, the Institution therof is described, as being established by solemne iniunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keepe that tenure and course which they doe, importeth the establishment of Natures Law. This Worlds first Creation, and the preseruation since of things created, what is it, but only so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the Eternal Law of God is concerning things naturall? And as it commeth to passe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a Law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all States framing themselues thereunto; euen so let vs thinke it fareth in the naturall course of the World since the time that God did first proclaime the Edicts of his Law vpon it, Heauen and earth haue harkned vnto his voyce, and their labour hath bin to do his will: *He made a Law for the Raine*, He gaue his *Decree vnto the Sea, that the Waters should not passe his commandement.* Now, if nature should intermit her course, and leaue altogether, though it were but for a while, the obseruation of her own Lawes; if those principall and Mother Elements of the World, whereof all things in this lower World are made, should lose the qualities which now they haue; if the frame of that Heauenly Arche erected ouer our heads should loosen and dissolue it selfe; if Celestiall Spheres should forget their wonted Motions, and by irregular volubilitie turne themselues any way as it might happen; if the Prince of the Lights of Heauen, which now as a Gyant doth run his vnwearied course, should as it were through a languishing faintnesse begin to stand and to rest himselfe; if the Moone should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the yeere blend themselues by disordered and confused mixture, the Winds breathe out their last gaspe, the Clouds yeeld no Raine, the Earth be defeated of Heauenly Influence, the Fruits of the Earth pine away as Children at the withered brests of their Mother, no longer able to yeeld them reliefe; what would become of Man himselfe, whom these things now doe all serue? See wee not plainly that obedience of Creatures vnto the Law of Nature is the stay of the whole World? Notwithstanding, with Nature it commeth sometimes to passe as with Art. Let *Phidias* haue rude and obstinate stuffe to carue, though his Art doe that it should, his Worke will lacke that beautie which otherwise in fitter matter it might haue had. Hee that striketh an Instrument with Skill, may cause notwithstanding a very vnpleasant sound, if the String whereon hee striketh chance to be vncapeable of Harmonie. In the matter whereof things naturall *Psal. 19. 5.*

turall consist, that of *Theophrastus* taketh place, Πολὺ τὸ ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀδύνατον καὶ παρὰ τὸ εὖ *much of it is oftentimes such, as will by no meanes yeeld to receiue that impression which were best and most perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things naturall, they who gaue themselues vnto the contemplation of nature amongst the Heathen, obserued often: but the true originall cause thereof, diuine malediction, laid for the sinne of man vpon these creatures which God had made for the vse of man; this being an article of that sauing truth which God hath reuealed vnto his Church, was aboue the reach of their meerely naturall capacitie and vnderstanding. But howsoeuer these swarueings are now and then incident into the course of nature, neuertheless so constantly the Lawes of nature are by naturall agents obserued, that no man denyeth but those things which nature worketh, are wrought either alwayes or for the most part after one and the same manner. If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth Nature in obedience to her owne Law, we must haue recourse to that higher Law whereof we haue already spoken, and because all other Lawes doe thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall neede for briefe resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certayne exemplarie draughts or patternes, which subsisting in the bosome of the Highest, and being thence discouered, shee fixeth her eye vpon them, as Trauellers by Sea vpon the Pole-starre of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to worke by imitation: although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates*, that *each thing both in small and in great fulfilleth the taske which destinie hath set downe:* and concerning the manner of executing & fulfilling the same, *What they doe they know not, yet is it in shew and appearance, as though they did know what they doe, and the truth is, they doe not discerne the things which they looke on:* neuertheless, for as much as the works of nature are no lesse exact, then if shee did both behold and studie how to expresse some absolute shape or mirror alwayes present before her; yea, such her dexteritie and skil appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacitie to do that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some Director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of Nature, but onely the God of Nature? *In him we liue, moue, and are.* Those things which nature is said to doe, are by diuine Arte performed, vsing Nature as an instrument: nor is there any such Arte or Knowledge diuine in Nature her selfe working, but in the guide of natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall, which are not in the number of voluntarie Agents (for of such onely we now speake and of no other) doe so necessarily obserue their certaine Lawes, that as long as they keepe those formes which giue them their being they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise then they do; seeing the kindes of their operations are both constantly & exactly framed according to the seuerall ends for which they serue, they themselues in the meane while though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they doe, nor why: it followeth that al which they do in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth vp, & euen actually frameth the same. The manner of this diuine efficiencie being farre aboue vs, we are no more able to conceiue by our reason, then creatures vnreasonable by their sense

Theophrast. in Metaph.

Arist. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

Τὴν περιφορὰν μοίρᾳ ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον. ὃ πράσσουσιν οὐκ οἰδασιν, οὐδὲ πράσσουσι δοκοῦσιν εἰδέναι καὶ δι' ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι οὐ γινώσκουσι.

Act. 17. 28.

*Fortune in other creatures is a thing proportionable vnto the soule in liuing creatures. Sensible it is nor, nor, otherwise discernable, then only by effects. According to the diuersitie of inward formes, things of the world are distinguished into their kindes.

ſenſe are able to apprehend after what manner we diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affaires. Onely thus much is diſcerned, that the naturall generation and proceſſe of all things receiueth order of proceeding from the ſetled ſtabilitie of diuine vnderſtanding. This appointeth vnto them their kinds of working, the diſpoſition whereof in the puritie of Gods owne knowledge and will is rightly tearmed by the name of *Prouidence*. The ſame being referred vnto the things themſelues here diſpoſed by it, was woont by the Ancient to be called *naturall deſtinie*. That law the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authenticall, or an originall draught written in the boſome of God himſelfe; whoſe ſpirit being to execute the ſame, vſeth euery particular nature, euery meere naturall agent, onely as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and euer ſince the beginning vſed to worke his owne will and pleaſure withall. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but Gods inſtrument: in the courſe whereof *Dionyſius* perceiuing ſome ſuddaine diſturbance, is ſaid to haue cried out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſoluitur*, Either God doth ſuffer impediment, and is by a greater then himſelfe hindred; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the World, the execution of that law beginning now to ſtand ſtill, without which the world cannot ſtand. This workman whoſe ſeruitor nature is, being in truth but onely one, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gaue him in the skie the name of *Iupiter*, in the ayre the name of *Iuno*, in the water the name of *Neptune*, in the earth the name of *Veſta*, and ſomtimes of *Ceres*; the name of *Apollo* in the Sun, in the Moon the name of *Diana*, the name *Æolus*, and diuers other in the winds; and to conclude, euen ſo many guides of Nature they dreamed of, as they ſaw there were kindes of things naturall in the world. Theſe they honored, as hauing power to worke or ceaſe according as men deſerued of them. But vnto vs there is one onely guide of all agents naturall, and he both the creator and the worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored and honoured by all for euer. That which hitherto hath beene ſpoken, concerneth naturall agents conſidered in themſelues. But wee muſt further remember alſo (which thing to touch in a word ſhall ſuffice) that as in this reſpect they haue their Law, which Law directeth them in the meanes whereby they tend to their owne perfection: ſo likewiſe another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable parts vnited into one bodie; a Law which bindeth them each to ſerue vnto others good, and all to preferre the good of the whole before whatſoeuer their owne particular; as we plainely ſee they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinary naturall woont, that which is heauie mounting ſometime vpwards of it owne accord, and forſaking the center of the earth, which to it ſelfe is moſt naturall, euen as if it did heare it ſelfe commanded to let goe the good it priuately wiſheth, and to relieue the preſent diſtreſſe of Nature in common.

Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. Cap. 3.

Omne quod mouetur ab aliquo eſt quaſi inſtrumentum quoddam primi mouentis.

Ridiculum eſt autem etiam apud indoctos ponere inſtrumentum moueri non ab aliquo principali agente.

4 But now that we may lift vp our eies (as it were) from the footſtoole to the throne of God, and leauing theſe naturall, conſider a little the ſtate of heauenly and diuine creatures; touching Angels which are ſpirits immateriall and intellectuall, the glorious Inhabitants of thoſe ſacred Pallaces, where nothing but light and bleſſed immortalitie, no ſhadow of matter for teares, diſcontentments, griefes, and vncomfortable paſſions to worke vpon, but all ioy, tranquillitie, and

The law which Angels doe worke by. *Pſal.* 104. 4. *Heb.* 1. 7. *Eph.* 3, 10.

and peace, euen for euer and euer doe dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mightie, and royall armies; ſo likewiſe in perfection of obedience vnto that Law, which the Higheſt, whom they adore, loue, and imitate, hath impoſed vpon them; ſuch obſeruants they are thereof, that our Sauiour himſelfe beeing to ſet down the perfect *Idea* of that which we are to pray and wiſh for on earth, did not teach to pray or wiſh for more, then onely that heere it might bee with vs, as with them it is in heauen. God which moueth meere naturall agents as an efficient only, doth otherwiſe moue intellectuall creatures, and eſpecially his holy Angels. For beholding the face of God, in admiration of ſo great excellencie they all adore him; and beeing rapt with the loue of his beautie, they cleaue inſeparably for euer vnto him. Deſire to reſemble him in goodneſſe, maketh them vnweariable, and euen vnſatiable in their longing to do by all means al maner good vnto all the creatures of God, but eſpecially vnto the children of men; in the countenance of whoſe nature looking downeward they behold themſelues beneath themſelues, euen as vpward in God, beneath whom themſelues are, they ſee that character which is no where but in themſelues and vs reſembled. Thus farre euen the Painims haue approached; thus farre they haue ſeene into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confeſſing, that the fierie throne of God is attended on by thoſe moſt induſtrious Angels, carefull how all things are performed amongſt men; and the mirror of humane wiſedome plainely teaching, that God mooueth Angels, euen as that thing doth ſtirre mans heart, which is thereunto preſented amiable. Angelicall actions may therefore be reduced vnto theſe three generall kinds; firſt moſt delectable loue, ariſing from the viſible apprehenſion of the puritie, glorie, and beauty of God, inuiſible ſauing onely vnto Spirits that are pure; ſecondly adoration, grounded vpon the euidence of the greatneſſe of God, on whom they ſee how all things depend; thirdly, imitation, bred by the preſence of his exemplary goodnes, who ceaſeth not before them daily to fill heauen & earth with the rich treaſures of moſt free and vndeſerued grace. Of Angels we are not to conſider onely what they are, and do, in regard of their owne being; but that alſo which concerneth them as they are lincked into a kind of corporation amongſt themſelues, and of ſocietie or fellowſhip with men. Conſider Angels each of them ſeuerally in himſelfe, and their Law is that which the Prophet *Dauid* mentioneth, *All ye his Angels praiſe him.* Conſider the Angels of God aſſociated, and their Law is that which diſpoſeth them as an *Army*, one in order and degree aboue an other. Conſider finally the Angels as hauing with vs that communion which the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes noteth, and in regard whereof Angels haue not diſdained to profeſſe themſelues our *fellow-ſeruants*; from hence there ſpringeth vp a third Law, which bindeth them to works of miniſteriall imployment. Euerie of which their ſeuerall functions are by them performed with ioy. A part of the Angels of God notwithſtanding (we know) haue fallen, and that their fall hath beene through the voluntarie breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exerciſe of their high and admirable vertue. Impoſſible it was that euer their will ſhould change or encline to remit any part of their dutie, without ſome obiect hauing force to auert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection

of

Dan. 7. 10. *Matth.* 26. 53. *Heb.* 12. 22. *Luc.* 2. 13.

Matth. 6. 10.

Matth. 18. 10

Pſal 91. 11. 12. *Luc.* 15. 7. *Heb.* 1. 14. *Act.* 10. 3. *Dan.* 9. 23. *Matth.* 18. 10. *Dan.* 4. 10.

Σῶδε θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρασάσιν πολυμόχθοι Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται.

Ariſt. Metaph. 12. cap. 7. *Iob* 38. 7. *Matth.* 18. 10. *Pſal.* 148. 2. *Heb.* 1. 6. *Eſa.* 6. 3.

This is intimated whereſoeuer we finde them termed the ſonnes of God: as *Iob* 1. 6. *and* 38. 7. 2. *Pet.* 2. 4. *Ep. Iud. verſ.* 6. *Pſal.* 148. 2. *Luc.* 2. 13. *Matth.* 26. 53. *Pſal.* 148. 2. *Heb.* 12. 22. *Apoc.* 22 9.

of blisse, wherin now the elect Angels are without possibilitie of falling. Of any thing more then of God they could not by any meanes like, as long as whatsoeuer they knew besides God, they apprehended it not in it selfe without dependencie vpon God; because so long God must needs seeme infinitely better then any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in such sort be presented vnto their eyes, but that therein they must needes see alwayes how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore that there was no other way for Angels to sinne, but by reflex of their vnderstanding vpon themselues; when being held with admiration of their owne sublimity and honour, the memorie of their subordination vnto God, and their dependencie on him was drowned in this conceipt; whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God, could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was pride. Since their fall, their practises haue beene the cleane contrary vnto those before mentioned. For being dispersed some in the ayre, some on the earth, some in the water, some amongst the minerals, dennes, and caues, that are vnder the earth: they haue by all meanes laboured to effect an vniuersall rebellion against the lawes, and as farre as in them lyeth, vtter destruction of the workes of God. These wicked spirits the Heathens honoured in stead of Gods, both generally vnder the name of *Dii inferi* Gods infernall; and particularly, some in Oracles, some in Idolls, some as houshold Gods, some as Nymphes; in a word, no foule and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world, and dissolued the workes of the diuel. Thus much therefore may suffice for Angels, the next vnto whom in degree are men.

John 8. 44. 1. *Pet.* 5. 8. *Apoc.* 9. 11. *Gen.* 3. 15. 1. *Chro.* 21. 1. *Iob* 1. 7. & 2. 2. *Iohn* 13. 27. *Act.* 5. 3. *Apoc.* 20. 8.

5. God alone excepted, who actually and euerlastingly is whatsoeuer hee may be, and which cannot hereafter bee that which now hee is not; all other things besides are somwhat in possibilitie, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may bee: and when they are it, they shall be perfecter then now they are. All which perfections are contained vnder the generall name of *Goodnesse*. And because there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Againe, sith there can be no goodnesse desired which proceedeth not from God himselfe, as from the supreme cause of all things: and euerie effect doth after a sort conteine, at least wise resemble the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seeke the highest, and to couet more or lesse the participation of God himselfe. Yet this doth no where so much appeare as it doth in man: because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodnesse is that generall perfection which all things do seeke, in desiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coueting, as much as may be, to be like vnto God in being euer, that which cannot hereunto attayne personally, doth seeke to continue it selfe another way, that is, by off spring and propagation. The next degree of goodnes, is that which each thing coueteth by affecting resemblance with God, in the constancie and excellencie of those operations which belong vnto their kind. The immutabilitie of God they striue vnto, by working either alwayes or for the most

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

Arist. de an. lib. 2. *cap.* 4: Πάντα γὰρ ἐπιζητεῖ ὁμοιῶσαι.

most part after one and the same manner; his absolute exactnes they imitate, by tending vnto that which is most exquisite in euery particular. Hence haue risen a number of axiomes in Philosophie, shewing, how *The workes of nature doe alwaies aime at that which cannot be bettered.* These two kinds of goodnes rehearsed, are so neerely vnited to the things themselues which desire them, that wee scarcely perceiue the appetite to stirre in reaching foorth her hand towardes them. But the desire of those perfections which grow externally is more apparent; especially of such as are not expressely desired vnlesse they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause then for knowledge it selfe desired. Concerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exercise of vertue, man amongst the creatures of this inferiour world, aspireth to the greatest conformitie with God; this is not onely knowne vnto vs, whom hee himselfe hath so instructed, but euen they doe acknowledge, who amongst men are not iudged the neerest vnto him. With *Plato* what one thing more vsuall, then to excite men vnto the loue of wisedome by shewing how much wise men are thereby exalted aboue men; how knowledge doth raise them vp into heauen; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and diuine? And *Mercurius Trismegistus* speaking of the vertues of a righteous soule, *Such spirits* (saith he) *are neuer cloyed with praising and speaking well of all men, with doing good vnto euerie one by word and deed, because they studie to frame themselues according to* THE PATERNE *of the father of spirits.*

Εν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. *Arist. 2. de cœl. cap. 5.*

Matth. 5. 48.

Sap. 7. 27.

ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει, ὑμνήσαι εὐφημοῦσά τε πᾶσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εὐλόγοις χεῖρας πάντας εὐποιοῦσα, μιμουμένη ἀεὶ τὸν πατέρα.

6 In the matter of knowledge, there is betweene the Angels of God and the children of men this difference. Angels alreadie haue full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that can bee imparted vnto them: men if wee view them in their spring, are at the first without vnderstanding or knowledge at all. Neuertheless from this vtter vacuitie they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be euen as the Angels themselues are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attayne vnto in the end; they are not so farre disioyned and seuered, but that they come at length to meete. The soule of man being therefore at the first as a booke, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steppes and degrees it riseth vnto perfection of knowledge. Vnto that which hath bene already set downe concerning naturall agents this wee must adde, that albeit therein wee haue comprised as well creatures liuing, as voide of life, if they bee in degree of nature beneath men; neuertheless a difference we must obserue between those naturall agents that worke altogether vnwittingly, and those which haue though weake, yet some vnderstanding what they doe, as fishes, foules, and beastes haue. Beasts are in sensible capacitie as ripe euen as men themselues, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignitie of nature inferiour vnto plants; yet exceed them in firmenesse of strength or durability of being; and plants though beneath the excellency of creatures indued with sense, yet exceed them in the facultie of vegetation and of fertility: so beasts though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and phancie goe beyond them; because the endeuors of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to seeke, are in lower the more remisse, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which haue no better

Mens first beginning to grow to the knowledge of that law which they are to obserue. *Vide Isa. 7. 10.*

purpoſed vnto them. The ſoule of man therefore being capable of a more diuine perfection, hath (beſides the faculties of growing vnto ſenſible knowledge which is common vnto vs with beaſts) a further abilitie, whereof in them there is no ſhew at all, the ability of reaching * higher then vnto ſenſible things. Till we grow to ſome ripeneſſe of yeeres, the ſoule of man doth onely ſtore it ſelfe with conceits of things of inferiour and more open qualitie, which afterwards doe ſerue as Inſtruments vnto that which is greater: in the meane while aboue the reach of meaner creatures it aſcendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing aboue this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in ſpeech; we then count it to haue ſome vſe of naturall reaſon. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helpes of true Art and Learning, (which helpes I muſt plainely confeſſe, this Age of the World, carrying the name of a Learned Age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard) there would vndoubtedly bee almoſt as great difference in maturitie of iudgement betweene men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as betweene men that are now and Innocents. Which ſpeech if any condemne, as being ouer Hyperbolicall, let them conſider but this one thing. No Art is at the firſt finding out ſo perfect, as induſtrie may after make it. Yet the very firſt man that to any purpoſe knew the way wee ſpeake of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very neere in all partes of naturall knowledge, then ſithence in any one part thereof, the whole World beſides hath done. In the pouertie of that other new-deuiſed aid, two things there are notwithſtanding ſingular. Of maruailous quicke diſpatch it is, and doth ſhew them that haue it as much almoſt in three dayes, as if it dwell threeſcore yeeres with them. Againe, becauſe the curioſitie of mans wit doth many times with perill wade farther in the ſearch of things, then were conuenient: the ſame is thereby reſtrained vnto ſuch generalities, as euery where offering themſelues, are apparant vnto men of the weakeſt conceit that need bee. So as following the Rules and Precepts thereof, wee may find it to be an Art, which teacheth the way of ſpeedie Diſcourſe, and reſtraineth the mind of man that it may not waxe ouer-wiſe. Education and Inſtruction are the meanes, the one by vſe, the other by Precept, to make our naturall faculties of reaſon, both the better and the ſooner able to iudge rightly betweene Truth and Error, good and euill. But at what time a man may be ſaid to haue attained ſo farre forth the vſe of reaſon, as ſufficeth to make him capable of thoſe Lawes, whereby hee is then bound to guide his Actions; this is a great deale more eaſie for common ſenſe to diſcerne, then for any man by Skill and Learning to determine: euen as it is not in Philoſophers, who beſt know the nature both of Fire and of Gold, to teach what degree of the one will ſerue to purifie the other, ſo well as the Artizan (who doth this by Fire) diſcerneth by ſenſe, when the fire hath that degree of heate which ſufficeth for his purpoſe.

* ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ νοῦ ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὑπηλά, πόσα δὲ τὰ πρὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οἶδε λόγῳ καὶ λαμπὰς ἀναγίνεται. *Mercur. Triſm.*

Ariſtotelicall demonſtration

Ramiſtry.

7 By reaſon man attaineth vnto the knowledge of things that are, and are not ſenſible: It reſteth therefore that we ſearch how man attaineth vnto the knowledge of ſuch things vnſenſible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can moue vnleſſe there be ſome end, the deſire whereof prouoketh vnto motion; how ſhould that diuine power of the Soule, that *Spirit*

Of mans will, which is the thing that lawes of action are made to guide,

Ephes. 4. 23. *of our mind*, as the Apoſtle termeth it, euer ſtir it ſelfe vnto action, vnleſſe it haue alſo the like ſpurre? The end for which we are moued to worke, is ſometimes the goodneſſe which we conceiue of the very working it ſelfe, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action, is the meere deſire of action, no other good beſides being thereby intended. Of certaine turbulent wits it is ſaid. *Illis quieta mouere magna merces videbatur.* They thought the verie diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed, an hire ſufficient to ſet them on worke. Sometimes that which wee doe is referred to a further end, without the deſire whereof we would leaue the ſame vndone, as in their actions that gaue Almes to purchaſe thereby the prayſe of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likenes of his Maker, reſembleth him alſo in the manner of working; ſo that whatſoeuer wee worke as men, the ſame we doe wittingly worke and freely; neither are wee according to the manner of naturall Agents any way ſo tyed, but that it is in our power to leaue the things wee doe vndone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which conſiſteth in the verie doing it ſelfe, cauſeth not action, vnleſſe apprehending it as good, wee ſo like and deſire it. That wee doe vnto any ſuch end, the ſame wee chooſe and preferre before the leauing of it vndone. Choice there is not, vnleſſe the thing which wee take, be ſo in our power that wee might haue refuſed and left it. If fire conſume the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to doe, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch that it can doe no other. To chooſe, is to will one thing before another. And to will, is to bend our ſoules to the hauing or doing of that which they ſee to bee good. Goodneſſe is ſeene with the eye of the vnderſtanding. And the light of that Eye, is Reaſon. So that two principall fountaines there are of humane action, *Knowledge* and *will*; which will in things tending towards any end, is termed *Choice*. Concerning Knowledge, Behold, ſayth MOSES, *I haue* Deut. 30. 19. *ſet before you this day good and euill, life and death.* Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, *Chooſe life*; that is to ſay, the things that tend vnto life, them chooſe. But of one thing we muſt haue ſpeciall care, as being a matter of no ſmall moment, and that is, how the will properly and ſtrictly taken, as it is of things which are referred vnto the end that man deſireth, differeth greatly from that inferiour naturall deſire which wee call appetite. The obiect of appetite is, whatſoeuer ſenſible good may be wiſhed for; the obiect of will is, that good which Reaſon doth lead vs to ſeeke. Affections, as ioy, and griefe, and feare, and anger, with ſuch like, being as it were the ſundry faſhions and formes of appetite, can neyther riſe at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet chooſe but riſe at the ſight of ſome things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be ſtirred with affections or no: whereas actions which iſſue from the diſpoſition of the will, are in the power thereof to bee performed or ſtaied. Finally, appetite is the wils Sollicitor, and the will is appetites Controuler; what we couet according to the one, by the other we often reiect: neither is any other deſire termed properly will, but that where reaſon and vnderſtanding, or the ſhew of reaſon, preſcribeth the thing deſired. It may be therefore a queſtion, whether thoſe operations of men are to bee counted voluntary, wherein that good which is ſenſible prouoketh appetite, and appetite cauſeth action, Reaſon being neuer called to counſels, as when we eate or drinke, or betake our ſelues vn-

to

to reſt, and ſuch like. The truth is, that ſuch actions in men hauing attayned to the vſe of reaſon are voluntarie. For as the authoritie of higher powers hath force euen in thoſe things which are done without their priuitie, and are of ſo meane reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like ſort voluntarily we are ſaid to doe that alſo, which the will if it liſted might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof wee doe not expreſſely vſe our Reaſon or Vnderſtanding, and ſo immediately apply our wils thereunto. In caſes therefore of ſuch facility, the will doth yeeld her aſſent, as it were with a kinde of ſilence, by not diſſenting; in which reſpect her force is not ſo apparant, as in expreſſe Mandates or Prohibitions, eſpecially vpon aduice and conſultation going before. Where vnderſtanding therefore needeth in thoſe things, Reaſon is the Director of mans will, by diſcouering in action what is good. For the Lawes of wel-doing are the Dictates of right Reaſon. Children which are not as yet come vnto thoſe yeeres whereat they may haue; againe, Innocents which are excluded by naturall defect from euer hauing: Thirdly mad men which for the preſent cannot poſſibly haue the vſe of right Reaſon to guide themſelues, haue for their guide the Reaſon that guideth other men, which are Tutors ouer them, to ſeeke and to procure their good for them. In the reſt there is that light of Reaſon, whereby good may bee knowne from euill, and which diſcouering the ſame, rightly is termed right. The will notwithſtanding doth not incline to haue or doe that which Reaſon teacheth to be good, vnleſſe the ſame doe alſo teach it to be poſſible. For albeit the appetite, being more generall, may wiſh any thing which ſeemeth good, bee it neuer ſo impoſſible: yet for ſuch things the reaſonable will of man doth neuer ſeeke. Let Reaſon teach impoſſibilitie in any thing, and the will of man doth let it goe; a thing impoſſible it doth not affect, the impoſſibilitie thereof being manifeſt. There is in the will of man naturally that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular obiect whatſoeuer being preſented vnto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular obiect ſo good, but it may haue the ſhew of ſome difficultie or vnpleaſant qualitie annexed to it; in reſpect whereof the will may ſhrinke and decline it: contrariwiſe (for ſo things are blended) there is no particular euill which hath not ſome appearance of goodneſſe whereby to inſinuate it ſelfe. For euill as euill cannot be deſired: if that be deſired which is euill, the cauſe is the goodneſſe which is or ſeemeth to bee ioyned with it. Goodneſſe doth not mooue by being, but by being apparant; and therefore many things are neglected which are moſt precious, onely becauſe the value of them lyeth hid. Senſible goodneſſe is moſt apparant, neere, and preſent; which cauſeth the appetite to bee therewith ſtrongly prouoked. Now purſuit and refuſall in the will doe follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodneſſe; which the vnderſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it ſelfe vpon ſenſe, vnleſſe ſome higher reaſon doe chance to teach the contrary. And if reaſon haue taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparantly that the minde receiueth it with vtter impoſſibilitie of being otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the will to take or leaue. Whereas therefore amongſt ſo many things as are to bee done, there are ſo few, the goodneſſe whereof reaſon in ſuch ſort doth or eaſily can diſcouer; wee are not to maruaile at the choice of euill, euen then when the

Ó mihi præteritos referat ſi Iupiter annos!

Alcin. de dogmat. Plat. Εἰ δέ τις ἐστὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐστὶ κακίαν αἱρεῖται ὁρμήσει ἀλλ' ὡς ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν, *Paulò poſt.* Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾷ τινὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἔστε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῶ ἔστε φόβῳ μείζονος κακοῦ.

the contrarie is probably knowne. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that cuſtome iniuring the minde by long practice, and ſo leauing there a ſenſible impreſſion, preuaileth more then reaſonable perſwaſion what way ſo euer. Reaſon therfore may rightly diſcerne the thing which is good, & yet the will of man not incline it ſelfe thereunto, as oft as the preiudice of ſenſible experience doth ouerſway. Nor let any man thinke that this doth make any thing for the iuſt excuſe of iniquitie. For there was neuer ſinne committed, wherein a leſſe good was not preferred before a greater, and that willfully; which cannot bee done without the ſingular diſgrace of nature, and the vtter diſturbance of that diuine Order, whereby the preminence of chiefeſt acceptation is by the beſt things worthily challengeed. There is not that good which cõcerneth vs, but it hath euidẽce enough for it ſelfe, if reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect thereof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſomtimes the ſubtilitie of Satã in eagling vs, as it did a *Eue*; ſometimes the haſtines of our wils preuenting the more conſiderate aduice of ſound reaſon, as in b the Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from Heauen; ſometimes the very cuſtome of euil, making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoeuer inſtructions to the contrarie, as in them ouer whom our Sauiour ſpake weeping, *O Ieruſalem, how often, and thou wouldſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith we ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, In doing euill, wee preferre a leſſe good before a greater, the greatnes whereof is by reaſon inueſtigable and may be knowne. The ſearch of knowledge is a thing painfull; and the painfulneſſe of knowledge is that which maketh the will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The roote hereof, diuine malediction; whereby the c inſtruments being weakened wherewithall the ſoule (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth worke, it preferreth reſt in ignorance, before wearieſome labour to know. For a ſpurre of diligence therefore we haue a naturall thirſt after knowledge ingrafted in vs. But by reaſon of that originall weakneſſe in the inſtruments, without which the vnderſtanding part is not able in this World by diſcourſe to worke, the very conceit of painfulneſſe is as a bridle to ſtay vs. For which cauſe the Apoſtle who knew right well, that the wearineſſe of the fleſh is an heauie clog to the will, ſtriketh mightily vpon this Key, *Awake, thou that ſleepeſt, Caſt off all which preſſeth downe, Watch, labor, ſtriue to go forward & to grow in knowledge.*

a 2 *Cor.* 11. 3.
b *Luke* 9. 51.
c *Mat.* 23. 37.
d *Sap.* 9. 15. A corruptible bodie is heauy vnto the ſoule, & the earthly Manſion keepeth downe the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can we diſcern the things that are vpon Earth, & with great labour find we out the things which are before vs. Who can then ſeeke out the things that are in Heauen? *Epheſ.* 5. 14. *Heb.* 12. 1. 2. 1. *Cor.* 16. 15. *Pro.* 2. 4. *Luke* 13. 24.

8 Wherefore to returne to our former intent of diſcouering the naturall way, whereby Rules haue bin found out concerning that goodnes wherewith the wil of man ought to be moued in humane actions; As euery thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the vtmoſt good and greateſt perfection wherof nature hath made it capable, euen ſo man. Our felicitie therefore being the obiect and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chooſe but wiſh and couet it. All particular things which are ſubiect vnto action, the will doth ſo farre forth incline vnto, as reaſon iudgeth them the better for vs, & conſequently the more auaileable to our bliſſe. If reaſon erre, we fall into euill, and are ſo farre forth depriued of the general perfection we ſeeke. Seeing therefore that for the framing of mens actions, the knowledge of good from euill is neceſſarie; it onely reſteth that we ſearch how this may be had. Neither muſt we ſuppoſe that there needeth one rule to know the good, and another the euill by. For he that knoweth

Of the naturall way of finding out Lawes by reaſon, to guide the will vnto that which is good.

what

what is ſtraight, doth euen thereby diſcerne what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraightneſſe in bodies capable thereof is crookedneſſe. Goodneſſe in actions is like vnto ſtraitneſſe; wherfore that which is done well we terme right. For as the ſtraight way is moſt acceptable to him that trauaileth, becauſe by it he commeth ſooneſt to his iourneyes end: ſo in action, that which doth lye the euenest betweene vs and the end wee deſire, muſt needes bee the fitteſt for our vſe. Beſides which fitneſſe for vſe, there is alſo in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwiſe in obliquitie, deformitie. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not onely delight as profitable, but as amiable alſo. In which conſideration the Grecians moſt diuinely haue giuen to the actiue perfection of men, a name expreſſing both beautie and goodneſſe, becauſe goodneſſe in ordinary ſpeech is for the moſt part applyed onely to that which is beneficiall. But we in the name of goodneſſe, doe heere imply both. And of diſcerning goodneſſe there are but theſe two wayes; the one the knowledge of the cauſe whereby it is made ſuch; the other the obſeruation of thoſe ſignes and tokens, which being annexed alwayes vnto goodneſſe, argue that where they are found, there alſo goodneſſe is, although we know not the cauſe by force whereof it is there. The former of theſe is the moſt ſure and infallible way, but ſo hard that all ſhun it, and had rather walke as men doe in the darke by hap hazard, then tread ſo long and intricate Mazes for knowledge ſake. As therefore Phyſicians are many times forced to leaue ſuch Methods of curing as themſelues know to bee the fitteſt, & being ouer-ruled by their Patients impatiency are faine to try the beſt they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld vnto: in like ſort, conſidering how the caſe doth ſtand with this preſent age full of tongue and weake of braine, behold wee yeeld to the ſtreame thereof; into the cauſes of goodneſſe we will not make any curious or deepe inquirie; to touch them now and then it ſhall bee ſufficient, when they are ſo neere at hand that eaſily they may be conceiued without any farre remoued diſcourſe: that way we are contented to proue, which being the worſe in it ſelfe, is notwithſtanding now by reaſon of common imbecillity the fitter and likelier to be brookt. Signes and tokens to know good by, are of ſundry kindes: ſome more certaine, & ſome leſſe. The moſt certaine token of euident goodneſſe is, if the generall perſwaſion of all men do ſo account it. And therefore a common receiued error is neuer vtterly ouerthrowne, till ſuch times as we goe from ſignes vnto cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt roote or fountayne thereof common vnto all, whereby it may cleerly appeare how it hath come to paſſe that ſo many haue beene ouer-ſeene. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſleight probabilities will not ſerue; becauſe the vniuerſall conſent of men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind which comprehendeth onely the ſignes and tokens of goodneſſe. Things caſuall do varie, and that which a man doth but chance to thinke well of, cannot ſtill haue the like hap. Wherefore although wee know not the cauſe, yet thus much wee may know, that ſome neceſſary cauſe there is, whenſoeuer the iudgements of all men generally or for the moſt part runne one and the ſame way, eſpecially in matters of naturall diſcourſe. For of things neceſſarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, a *They keep either alwaies or for the moſt part one tenure.* The generall and perpetuall voyce of men is as the ſentence of God him-

Τῷ ἐνδέχ. ἢ ἀυτὸ ἢ τὸ ναμ. πύλογιτώσ. κομεν.

Κριτὴς γὰρ μᾶλ. φοῖνὸ καλῶν.

Ariſt. de an. l. 1.

Καλοκἀγαθίαν

a ἢ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶτοπολὺ οὕτ. ἀυτως ἀπο. βαίνει.

selfe. a For that which all men haue at all times learned, Nature her selfe must needes haue taught; and God being the Author of Nature, her voyce is but his instrument. By her from him we receiue whatsoeuer in such sort we learne. Infinite duties there are, the goodnes wherof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although wee had no other warrant besides to approoue them. The Apostle S. *Paul* hauing speech concerning the Heathen saith of them, b *They are a law vnto themselues*. His meaning is, that by force of the light of reason, wherewith God illuminateth euery one which cõmeth into the world, men being inabled to know Truth from falshood, and good from euill, doe thereby learne in many things what the will of God is; which will himselfe not reuealing by any extraordinarie means vnto them, but they by natural discourse attayning the knowledge thereof, seeme the makers of those Lawes which indeed are his, and they but onely the finders of them out. A Law therfore generally taken, is a directiue rule vnto goodnesse of operation. The rule of diuine operations outward, is the definitiue appointment of Gods owne Wisedome set downe within himselfe. The rule of naturall agents that worke by simple neeessitie, is the determination of the Wisedome of God, knowne to God himselfe the principall director of them, but not vnto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of naturall agents which worke after a sort of their owne accord, as the beasts doe, is the iudgement of common sense or fancie concerning the sensible goodnesse of those obiects wherwith they are moued. The rule of ghostly or immateriall natures, as Spirits & Angels, is their intuitiue intellectuall iudgement concerning the amiable beauty and high goodnes of that obiect, which with vnspeakeable ioy and delight doth set them on worke. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the sentence that reason giueth concerning the goodnesse of those things which they are to doe. And the sentences which reason giueth, are some more, some lesse generall, before it come to define in particular actions what is good. The main principles of reason are in themselues apparent. For to make nothing euident of it selfe vnto mans vnderstanding, were to take away all possibilitie of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophrastus* is true, *They that seeke a reason of all things doe vtterly ouerthrow reason.* In euery kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed, the mind doth presently imbrace them as free from all possibilitie of error, cleere and manifest without proose. In which kind, axiomes or principles more general are such as this, *That the greater good is to be chosen before the lesse.* If therefore it should be demanded, what reason there is why the will of man, which doth necessarily shun harme, and couet whatsoeuer is pleasant and sweete, should bee commaunded to count the pleasures of sinne, gall, and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith vertuous actions are compast, yet still to reioyce & delight in them; surely this could neuer stand with reason: but that Wisdome thus prescribing, groundeth her Lawes vpon an infallible rule of comparison, which is, that small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue; and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they draw after them is vnspeakeable, are not at all to be respected. This rule is the ground whereupon the Wisdome of the Apostle buildeth a Law, inioyning patience vnto himselfe; *The present lightnes of our affliction worketh vnto vs euen with aboundance vpon abundance an eternall*

waighs

a *Non potest error cõtingere, vbi omnes idem opinantur,* Monticat. in 1. Polit. *Quicquid in omnibus individuis vnius speciei communiter inest, id causam communem habeat oportet, quæ est eorum in duorum speciesi & natura. Idem Quod à tota ali qua specie fit, vniuersalis particularisque natura fit instinctu.* Ficin. *de Christ Relig. Si proficere cupis, primo firmè id verum puta quod sana mens omnium hominum attestatur.* Cusa, *in compend. cap.* 1. *Non licet naturale vniuersaleque hominum iudicium falsum vanumque existimare.* Telesi. Ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν, ὃ δὲ ἀναιρῶν τὰυτην τὴν πίστιν, οὐ πάνυ πιστὸν ἔρει Arist. Eth. 10, cap. 2.

b *Rom.* 2, 14.

Ἀπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. Theoph. *in Metaph.*

2. Cor. 4. 17.

waight of glory, while we looke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeen. For the things which are ſeen are temporall, but the things which are not ſeene eternall. Therefore Chriſtianitie to be embraced, whatſoeuer calamities in thoſe times it was accompanyed withall. Vpon the ſame ground our Sauiour proueth the Law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes which men for gaines ſake fall into. For a man to win the World, if it be with the loſſe of his ſoule, what benefit or good is it? Axiomes leſſe generall, yet ſo manifeſt that they need no further proofe, are ſuch as theſe, *God to be worſhipped, Parents to be honoured, Others to be vſed by vs as we our ſelues would by them.* Such things, as ſoone as they are alleaged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proofe or further diſcourſe to bee aſſured of their goodneſſe. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawne from out of the very bowels of Heauen and Earth. For we are to note, that things in the World are to vs diſcernable, not only ſo farre forth as ſerueth for our vitall preſeruation, but further alſo in a two-fold higher reſpect. For firſt if all other vſes were vtterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature ſpeculatiue and delighted with contemplation in it ſelfe, they were to bee knowne euen for meere knowledge and vnderſtanding ſake. Yea further beſides this, the knowledge of euery the leaſt thing in the World, hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit vnto vs, in as much as it ſerueth to miniſter Rules, Canons, and Lawes for men to direct thoſe actions by, which wee properly terme humane. This did the very Heathen themſelues obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis* which we call *Ius* or Right, to be the Daughter of Heauen and Earth. We know things either as they are in themſelues, or as they are in mutuall relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference vnto himſelfe, and other things in relation vnto man, I may iuſtly terme the Mother of all thoſe principles, which are as it were edicts, ſtatutes, and decrees in that law of nature, whereby humane actions are framed. Firſt therfore hauing obſerued that the beſt things, where they are not hindered, doe ſtill produce the beſt operations; (for which cauſe where many things are to concurre vnto one effect, the beſt is in all congruitie of reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it preuailing moſt, the worke principally done by it may haue greateſt perfection:) when hereupon we come to obſerue in our ſelues, of what excellencie our ſoules are in compariſon of our bodies, and the diuiner part in relation vnto the baſer of our ſoules; ſeeing that all theſe concurre in producing humane actions, it cannot bee well vnleſſe the chiefeſt doe command and direct the reſt. The ſoule then ought to conduct the bodie, & the ſpirit of our mindes the ſoule. This is therfore the firſt Law, whereby the higheſt power of the minde requireth generall obedience at the hands of all the reſt concurring with it vnto action. Touching the ſeuerall graund Mandates, which being impoſed by the vnderſtanding facultie of the mind, muſt be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our dutie towards God or towards man. Touching the one, I may not heere ſtand to open, by what degrees of diſcourſe the minds euen of meere naturall men, haue attayned to know, not onely that there is a God, but alſo what power, force, wiſedome and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore preſuppoſed, from that knowne

Matth. 16. 26.

Ariſt. polit. 1. cap. 5.

relation

relation which God hath vnto vs[a] as vnto children, and vnto all good things as vnto effects, wherof himselfe is the[b] principall cause, these axiomes and Lawes naturall concerning our dutie haue arisen; *That in all things we goe about, his aid is by praier to be craued*; [d] *That he cannot haue sufficient honor done vnto him, but the vttermost of that we can do to honour him we must*; which is in effect the same that we read,[e] *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mind.* Which Law our Sauiour doth terme the[f] *First and the great Commandement.* Touching the next, which as our Sauiour addeth is like vnto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largenes, in as much as it is the root out of which all Lawes of duty to men-ward haue growne, as out of the former all offices of Religion towards God) the like naturall inducement hath brought men to know, that it is their duty no lesse to loue others then themselues. For seeing those things which are equal, must needs all haue one measure: if I cannot but wish to receiue all good, euen as much at euery mans hand as any man can wish vnto his own soule; how should I look to haue any part of my desire herein satisfied, vnlesse my selfe bee carefull to satisfie the like desire, which is vndoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature (To haue any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needes in all respects grieue them as much as mee: so that if I doe harme, I must looke to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of loue to mee, then they haue by mee shewed vnto them. My desire therefore to be loued of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth vpon me a naturall dutie of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equalitie betweene our selues and them that are as our selues, what seuerall rules and Canons naturall reason hath drawne for direction of life, no man is ignorant; as namely,[g] *That because we would take no harme, we must therefore do none*; *That sith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we must our selues auoid all extremitie in our dealings*; *That from all violence and wrong we are vtterly to abstaine*, with such like; which further to wade in would bee tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessarie, seeing, that on these two generall heads alreadie mentioned, all other specialties are dependent. Wherefore the naturall measure whereby to iudge our doings, is the sentence of reason, determining and setting downe what is good to bee done. Which sentence is either mandatorie, shewing what must bee done; or else permissiue, declaring onely what may be done; or thirdly admonitorie, opening what is the most conuenient for vs to doe. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether betweene doing & not doing of one thing which in it selfe is absolutely good or euill; as it had beene for *Ioseph* to yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd Mistris, the one euill, the other good simply. The second is, when of diuers things euill, all being not euitable, wee are permitted to take one; which one sauing only in case of so great vrgency were not otherwise to bee taken; as in the matter of diuorce amongst the Iewes. The last, when of diuers things good, one is principall and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and layd the price at the Apostles feete, which possessions they might haue retained vnto themselues without sinne; againe in the Apostle Saint *Pauls* owne choyce to maintayne himselfe by his owne labour, whereas in

a Οὐδεὶς θεὸς φύσιν ἀνθρώποις. *Plat. in Theæt.*

b Ὁ τί γὰρ θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχήτις *Arist. Metap. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

c Αλλ' ὦ Σωκράτης τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἑνὶ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ πράγματος θεὸν αἰεὶ κελεύσει. *Plat. in Tim.*

d *Arist. Ethic. lib. 8. cap. vlt.*

e *Deut. 6. 5.*

f *Mat. 22. 28.*

g *Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse. l. in arenam C. de inof. test. Quod quisque iuris in alium statuerit. ipsum quoque eodem vti debere. l. quod quisq; Ab omni penitus iniuriâ atque vi abstinendum, l. 1 §. 1. quod vi, aut clam.*

Matth. 22. 40. On these two Commandements hang the whole law.

Gen 39. 9.
Marke 10. 4.
Acts 4. 37.
Acts 5. 4.

2. *Thes. 3. 8.*

liuing by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had beene no offence committed. In goodnes therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it commeth to passe that euen of good actions some are better then other some; whereas otherwise one man could not excell another, but all should bee either absolutely good, as hitting iumpe that indiuisible point or center wherein goodnesse consisteth; or else missing it, they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none except perhaps in the seldomnesse and oftennesse of doing well. But the nature of goodnesse being thus ample, a Law is properly that which reason in such sort defineth to bee good that it must be done. And the Law of Reason or Humane Nature is that, which men by discourse of naturall reason haue rightly found out themselues to be all for euer bound vnto in their actions. Lawes of Reason haue these marks to be knowne by. Such as keepe them, resemble most liuely in their voluntarie actions, that very manner of working which Nature her selfe doth necessarily obserue in the course of the whole World. The works of Nature are all behoouefull, beautifull, without superfluitie or defect: euen so theirs, if they be so framed according to that which the Law of Reason teacheth. Secondly, those lawes are inuestigable by reason, without the help of reuelation supernaturall and diuine. Finally, in such sort they are inuestigable, that the knowledge of them is generall, the World hath alwaies beene acquainted with them; according to that which one in *Sophocles* obserueth cõcerning a branch of this Law, *It is no Child of two daies or yester daies birth, but hath beene no man knoweth how long sithence.* It is not agreed vpon by one, or two, or few, but by all: which we may not so vnderstand, as if euery particular man in the whole World did know and confesse whatsoeuer the Law of Reason doth containe; but this Law is such, that being proposed, no man can reiect it as vnreasonable and vniust. Againe, there is nothing in it, but any man (hauing naturall perfection of wit, and ripenesse of iudgement) may by labour and trauaile find out. And to conclude, the generall principles thereof are such, as it is not easie to find men ignorant of them. Law Rationall therefore, which men commonly vse to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which humane Nature knoweth it selfe in reason vniuersally bound vnto, which also for that cause may be termed most fitly the law of Reason: this Law, I say, comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their naturall vnderstanding euidently know, or at least wise may know, to be beseeming or vnbeseeming, vertuous or vicious, good or euill for them to doe. Now, although it be true, which some haue said, that whatsoeuer is done amisse the Law of Nature and Reason therby is transgrest; because euen those offences which are by their speciall qualities breaches of supernaturall Lawes, doe also, for that they are generally euill, violate in generall that principle of Reason, which willeth vniuersally to flie from euill: yet doe we not therefore so far extend the Law of Reason, as to containe in it all manner Lawes whereunto reasonable creatures are bound; but (as hath beene shewed) we restraine it to those onely duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either doe or might vnderstand to be such duties as concerne all men. *Certayne halfe-waking men there are* (as Saint *Augustine* noteth) *who neither altogether asleepe in folly, nor yet thorowly awake in the light of true vnderstanding, haue thought that there is not at all any thing iust and righteous in it selfe; but looke wherewith Nations are inured, the*

ὐγιὲς τι τῶν τῇ νὺξ θὲς ἀλλ' ἀίσπότε ΣΦ τοῦτ' οὐδεὶς οἶδ' ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

Tho. 1. 2. q. 94. art 3. Omni peccata sunt in vniuersum contra rationem & naturæ legem, Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 12. cap. 1. *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est* De Doct. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 14.

the same they take to be right and iust. Whereupon their Conclusion is, that seeing each sort of people hath a different kinde of right from other, and that which is right of it owne nature, must be euery where one and the same, therefore in it selfe there is nothing right. These good folke (saith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with rehearsall of too many things*) *haue not looked so farre into the world as to perceiue, that,* Doe as thou wouldest be done vnto, *is a sentence whith all Nations vnder heauen are agreed vpon. Refer this sentence to the loue of God, and it extinguisheth all haynous crimes: refer it to the loue of thy Neighbour, and all grieuous wrongs it banisheth out of the world.* Wherefore, as touching the Law of Reason, this was (it seemeth) Saint *Augustines* iudgement, namely, that there are in it some things which stand as Principles vniuersally agreed vpon: and that out of those Principles, which are in themselues euident, the greatest morall duties we owe towards God or Man, may without any great difficultie be concluded. If then it be here demanded, by what meanes it should come to passe (the greatest part of the Law morall being so easie for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding haue beene ignorant euen of principall morall duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sinne: I denie not, but lewd and wicked custome, beginning perhaps at the first amongst few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force euen in plaine things to smother the light of naturall vnderstanding, because men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they haue beene accustomed, be good or euill. For examples sake, that grosser kinde of Heathenish Idolatrie, whereby they worshipped the very works of their owne hands, was an absurditie to reason so palpable, that the Prophet *Dauid* comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almost no oddes betweene them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and sense as the other, *They that make them are like vnto them, and so are all that trust in them.* That wherein an Idolater doth seeme so absurd and foolish, is by the Wiseman thus expresst, *He is not ashamed to speake vnto that which hath no life; He calleth on him that is weake, for health; He prayeth for life vnto him, which is dead; Of him, which hath no experience, he requireth helpe; For his iourney he sueth to him, which is not able to goe; For gayne, and worke, and successe in his affaires, he seeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power.* The cause of which senselesse stupiditie is afterwards imputed to custome: *When a father mourned grieuously for his sonne that was taken away suddenly, he made an Image for him that was once dead, whom now he worshipped as a God, ordayning to his seruants ceremonies and sacrifices. Thus by processe of time this wicked custome prevailed, and was kept as a Law*; the authoritie of Rulers, the ambition of Crafts-men, and such like meanes thrusting forwards the ignorant, & increasing their superstition. Vnto this which the Wiseman hath spoken, somewhat besides may be added. For whatsoeuer we haue hitherto taught, or shall hereafter, concerning the force of mans naturall vnderstanding, this wee alwayes desire withall to be vnderstood, that there is no kinde of facultie or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it, without perpetuall ayde and concurrence of that supreme cause of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as wee cause God in his iustice to with-draw, there can no other thing follow then that which the Apostle noteth, euen men indued

Psal. 115. 18.

Wisd. 13. 17.

Wisd. 14. 12.

with

with the light of Reaſon to walke notwithſtanding *in the vanitie of their minde, hauing their cogitations darkened, and being ſtrangers from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſſe of their hearts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the Prophet *Eſay*, ſpeaking of the ignorance of Idolaters, who ſee not how the manifeſt Law of Reaſon condemneth their groſſe iniquitie & ſinne. They haue not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to thinke, *Shall I bow to the Stocke of a tree? All Knowledge and Vnderſtanding is taken from them. For God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this cauſe of Idolatry, ſerueth for all other things, wherein the like kind of generall blindneſſe hath preuailed againſt the manifeſt Lawes of Reaſon. Within the compaſſe of which Lawes we doe not onely comprehend whatſoeuer may be eaſily knowne to belong to the duty of all men; but euen whatſoeuer may poſſibly be knowne to be of that qualitie, ſo that the ſame be by *neceſſarie* conſequence deduced out of cleere and manifeſt principles: For if once wee deſcend vnto probable collections what is conuenient for men, we are then in the Territorie where free and arbitrarie determinations, the Territorie where humane Lawes take place, which Lawes are after to be conſidered.

Epheſ. 4. 17.

Eſay. 44. 18. 19.

9 Now the due obſeruation of this Law which Reaſon teacheth vs, cannot but be effectuall vnto their great good that obſerue the ſame. For wee ſee the whole World and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth onely that worke which is naturall vnto it, it thereby preſerueth both other things, and alſo it ſelfe. Contrariwiſe, let any principall thing, as the Sunne, the Moone, any one of the Heauens or Elements, but once ceaſe or faile, or ſwarue; and who doth not eaſily conceiue that the ſequell thereof would be ruine both to it ſelfe, and whatſoeuer dependeth on it? And is it poſſible that man, being not onely the nobleſt Creature in the World, but euen a very World in himſelfe, his tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature ſhould draw no manner of harme after it? Yes, *tribulations and anguiſh vnto euerie ſoule that doth euill.* Good doth follow vnto all things by obſeruing the courſe of their nature, and on the contrarie ſide euill by not obſeruing it: but not vnto naturall Agents that good which wee call *Reward*, not that euill which we properly terme *Puniſhment*. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt creatures in this World, only mans obſeruation of the Law of his nature is *Righteouſneſſe*, onely mans tranſgreſſion *Sinne*. And the reaſon of this is, the difference in his manner of obſeruing or tranſgreſſing the Law of his nature. Hee doth not otherwiſe then voluntarily the one or the other. What wee doe againſt our wils, or conſtrainedly, wee are not properly ſaid to doe it; becauſe the motiue cauſe of doing it is not in our ſelues, but carrieth vs, as if the wind ſhould driue a Feather in the Aire, wee no whit furthering that whereby wee are driuen. In ſuch caſes therefore the euill which is done, mooueth compaſſion; men are pitied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect then culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their wils; as in alienation of mind, or any the like ineuitable vtter abſence of wit and iudgement. For which cauſe, no man did euer thinke the hurtfull actions of furious Men and Innocents to bee puniſhable. Againe, ſome things wee doe neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and meerely

The benefit of keeping that law which reaſon teacheth.

with

with our wills but with our wills in ſuch ſort moued, that albeit there be no impoſſibilitie but that wee might, neuertheleſſe wee are not ſo eaſily able to doe otherwiſe. In this conſideration one euill deede is made more pardonable then another. Finally, that which we doe being euill, is notwithſtanding by ſo much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of ſo doing, or the difficultie of doing otherwiſe is greater; vnleſſe this neceſſitie or difficultie haue originally riſen from our ſelues. It is no excuſe therefore vnto him, who being drunke committeth inceſt, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne; in as much as himſelfe might haue choſen whether his wits ſhould by that meane haue beene taken from him. Now rewards and puniſhments doe alwayes preſuppoſe ſome thing willingly done well or ill; without which reſpect though wee may ſometimes receiue good or harme, yet then the one is onely a benefite; and not a reward; the other ſimply an hurt, not a puniſhment. From the ſundrie diſpoſitions of mans will, which is the roote of all his actions, there groweth varietie in the ſequele of rewards and puniſhments, which are by theſe and the like rules meaſured: *Take away the will, and all acts are equall: That which we doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done.* By theſe and the like Rules mens actions are determined of and iudged, whether they be in their owne nature rewardable or puniſhable. Rewards and puniſhments are not receiued, but at the hands of ſuch as being aboue vs, haue power to examine and iudge our deedes. How men come to haue this authoritie one ouer another in externall actions, wee ſhall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this preſent, ſo much all doe acknowledge, that ſith euery mans heart and conſcience doth in good or euill, euen ſecretly committed and knowne to none but it ſelfe, either like or diſallow it ſelfe, and accordingly either reioyce, very nature exulting as it were in certaine hope of reward, or elſe grieue as it were in a ſenſe of future puniſhment; neither of which can in this caſe bee looked for from any other, ſauing onely from him, who diſcerneth and iudgeth the very ſecrets of all hearts: therefore he is the onely Rewarder and Reuenger of all ſuch actions, although not of ſuch actions onely, but of all whereby the Law of nature is broken, whereof himſelfe is Author. For which cauſe, the Romane Lawes, called the Lawes of the twelue Tables, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of man cannot reach vnto, threaten the Neglecters of them with none but diuine puniſhment.

Voluntate ſublatâ, omnem ſâctum parem eſſe l. ſœdiſſimam. C. de Adult.

Bonam voluntatem plerunq; pro facto reputari l. ſi quis in Teſtament.

Diuos caſtè adeunto, pietatem adhibento. Qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſe vindex erit.

How Reaſon doth leade men vnto the making of humane Lawes, whereby politique ſocieties are gouerned, and to agreement about Lawes, whereby the Fellowſhip or Communion of independent ſocietie ſtãdeth.

Εσὶ γὰρ ὁμαρτυρόμενοι τὶ πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη.

Ariſt Rhet. 1.

10 That which hitherto we haue ſet downe, is (I hope) ſufficient to ſhew their brutiſhnes, which imagine that Religion & Vertue are onely as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrarie, without any harme vnto our ſelues, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We ſee then how nature it ſelfe teacheth Lawes and Statutes to liue by. The lawes which haue bin hitherto mentioned, do bind men abſolutely, euen as they are men, although they haue neuer any ſetled fellowſhip, neuer any ſolemne agreement amongſt themſelues what to doo or not to doe. But forasmuch as we are not by our ſelues ſufficient to furniſh our ſelues with competent ſtore of things needfull for ſuch a life as our nature doth deſire, a life fit for the dignitie of man: therefore to ſupply thoſe defects and imperfections which are in vs liuing ſingle and ſolely by our ſelues, we are naturally induced

Ariſt. Rhet. 1.

to

to ſeeke communion and fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of mens vniting themſelues at the firſt in politique ſocieties, which ſocieties could not bee without gouernment, nor gouernment without a diſtinct kind of law from that which hath beene already declared. Two foundations there are which beare vp publique ſocieties; the one, a naturall inclination, wherby al men deſire ſociable life & fellowſhip; the other, an order expreſly or ſecretly agreed vpon, touching the manner of their vnion in liuing together. The later is that which we call the law of a common-weale, the very ſoule of a politique body, the parts wherof are by law animated, held together, & ſet on worke in ſuch actions as the common good requireth. Lawes politique, ordained for externall order and regiment amongſt men, are neuer framed as they ſhould be, vnleſſe preſuming the will of man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, & auerſe from all obedience vnto the ſacred Lawes of his nature; in a word, vnleſſe preſuming man to be in regard of his depraued minde, little better then a wild beaſt, they doe accordingly prouide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward actions, that they bee no hinderance vnto the common good for which ſocieties are inſtituted: vnleſſe they do this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therfore that we conſider how nature findeth out ſuch laws of gouernment, as ſerue to direct euen nature depraued to a right end. All men deſire to leade in this world an happy life. The life is led moſt happily, wherin al vertue is exerciſed without impediment or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting men to contentment, although they haue in this world no more then very bare food and raiment, giueth vs thereby to vnderſtand, that thoſe are euen the loweſt of things neceſſary, that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left; that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impediment, as til it be remoued, ſuffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cauſe firſt God aſſigned *Adam* maintenance of life, & then appointed him a law to obſerue. For this cauſe after men began to grow to a number, the firſt thing we reade they gaue thẽſelues vnto, was the tilling of the earth, and the feeding of cattle. Hauing by this meane whereon to liue, the principall actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their religion. True it is, that the Kingdome of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes and deſires. But in as much as righteous life preſuppoſeth life, in as much as to liue vertuouſly it is impoſſible except we liue; therefore the firſt impediment, which naturally we endeuour to remoue, is penury and want of things without which we cannot liue. Vnto life many implements are neceſſary; moe, if we ſeek (as all men naturally do) ſuch a life as hath in it ioy, comfort, delight, & pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry Arts Mechanical were found out in the verie prime of the World. As things of greateſt neceſſitie are alwayes firſt prouided for, ſo things of greateſt dignitie are moſt accounted of by all ſuch as iudge rightly. Although therefore Riches be a thing which euery man wiſheth; yet no man of iudgement can eſteeme it better to bee rich, then wiſe, vertuous, and religious. If wee bee both or eyther of theſe, it is not becauſe we are ſo borne. For into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as wee are in body. Both which neceſſities of man had at the firſt no other helpes and ſupplies, then onely domeſticall; ſuch as that which the Prophet implieth, ſaying, *Can a mother forget her childe?* Such as that

1. *Tim.* 6. 8.

Gen. 1. 29.
Gen 2. 17.
Gen. 4. 2.
Gen. 4. 26.

Mat. 6. 33.

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22.

Eſay 49. 15.

1. Tim. 5, 8. Gen. 18.19. which the Apostle mentioneth, saying, *He that careth not for his owne is worse then an Infidell*; such as that concerning ABRAHAM, *Abraham will command his sonnes and his household after him, that they keepe the way of the Lrrd.* But Neyther that which we learne of our selues, nor that which others teach vs can preuayle, where wickednesse and malice haue taken deepe roote. If therefore when there was but as yet one onely Family in the World, no meanes of instruction humane or diuine, could preuent effusion of bloud: how could it bee chosen but that when Families, were multiplied and increased vpon earth, after separation, each prouiding for it selfe, enuy, strife, contention, and violence, must grow amongst them? For hath not nature furnisht man with wit and valour, and as it were with armour, which may bee vsed as well vnto extreame euill as good? yea, were they not vsed by the rest of the world vnto euill; vnto the contrarie onely by *Seth*, *Enoch*, and those few the rest in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquitie of our times: not vniustly; for the dayes are euill. But compare them with those times, wherein there were no ciuill societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of publique regiment established, with those times wherein there were not aboue eight righteous persons liuing vpon the face of the earth: and wee haue surely good cause to thinke that God hath blessed vs exceedingly, and hath made vs behold most happy daies. To take away all such mutuall greeuance, iniuries and wrongs, there was no way but onely by growing vpon composition and agreement amongst themselues, by ordaining some kinde of gouernement publique, and by yeelding themselues subiect thereunto; that vnto whom they graunted authority to rule and gouerne, by them the peace, tranquility, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. Men alwayes knew that when force and iniury was offered, they might be defendours of themselues; they knew that howsoeuer men may seeke their owne commoditie, yet if this were done with iniury vnto others, it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good meanes to be withstood; finally, they knew that no man might in reason take vpon him to determine his own right, & according to his owne determination proceede in maintenance thereof, in as much as euery man is towards himselfe, and them whom he greatly affecteth: partil; and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endlesse, except they gaue their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree vpon: without which consent, there were no reason that one man would take vpon him to be Lord or Iudge ouer another; because although there be, according to the opinion of some verie great and iudicious men, a kinde of naturall right in the noble, wise, & vertuous, to gouerne them which are of seruile disposition; neuertheless for manifestation of this their right, and mens more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to bee gouerned, seemeth necessary. To Fathers within their priuate Families. Nature hath giuen a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the World, euen from the first foundation thereof, all men haue euer bin taken as Lords & lawfull Kings in their owne howses. Howbeit ouer a whole grand multitude, hauing no such dependency vpon any one, and consisting of so many Families as euery politique society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should haue complete lawfull power, but by consent of men, or immediate appoint-

Gen. 4. 8. Gen. 6. 5. Gen. 5. 2. Pet. 2. 5. Arist. Pol. lib. 3. & 4.

ment

ment of God; becauſe not hauing the naturall ſuperiority of Fathers, their power muſt needes be eyther vſurped, and then vnlawfull; or if lawfull, then eyther granted or conſented vnto by them ouer whom they exerciſe the ſame, or elſe giuen extraordinarily from God, vnto whom all the World is ſubiect. It is no improbable opinon therefore which the Arch-Philoſopher was of, that as the chiefeſt perſon in euery houſhold was alwayes as it were a King; ſo when numbers of houſholds ioyned themſelues in Ciuil Societies together, Kings were the firſt kind of Gouernors amongſt them. Which is alſo (as it ſeemeth) the reaſon, why the name of *Fathers* continued ſtil in them, who of Fathers were made Rulers: as alſo the ancient cuſtome of Gouernors to doe as *Melchiſedec*, and being Kings to exerciſe the office of Prieſts, which Fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion. Howbeit not this the onely kind of Regiment that hath bin receiued in the World. The inconueniences of one kind, haue cauſed ſũdry other to be deuiſed. So that in a word all publike Regiment, of what king ſoeuer, ſeemeth euidently to haue riſen from deliberate aduice, conſultation & compoſition betweene men, iudging it conuenient and behoofefull; there being no impoſſibilitie in nature conſidered by it ſelfe, but that men might haue liued without any publike Regiment. Howbeit the corruption of our nature being preſuppoſed, we may not denie but that the Law of Nature doth now require of neceſſity ſome kind of Regiment; ſo that to bring things vnto the firſt courſe they were in, and vtterly to take away all kind of publike Gouernment in the World, were apparantly to ouerturn the whole World. The caſe of mans nature ſtanding therfore as it doth, ſome kind of Regiment the Law of nature doth require, yet the kinds therof being many, nature tyeth not to any one, but leaueth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the firſt when ſome certaine kind of Regimẽt was once approued, it may be that nothing was then further thought vpon for the manner of gouerning, but all permitted vnto their wiſdome and diſcretion which were to rule; till by experience they found this for all parts verie inconuenient, ſo as the thing which they had deuiſed for a remedie, did indeed but increaſe the ſore which it ſhould haue cured. They ſaw that to liue by one mans will, became the cauſe of all mens miſerie. This conſtrained them to come vnto Lawes, wherein all men might ſee their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them. * If things be ſimply good or euill, & withall vniuerſally ſo acknowledged, there needs no new Law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kind therefore of things appointed by Lawes humane, containeth whatſoeuer being in it ſelfe naturally good or euill, is notwithſtanding more ſecret then that it can be diſcerned by euery mans preſent conceit, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and iudgement. In which Diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficultie & poſſibility many waies to erre, vnleſſe ſuch things were ſet downe by Lawes, many would bee ignorant of their duties which now are not; and many that know what they ſhould do, would neuertheleſſe diſſemble it, & to excuſe themſelues pretend ignorance and ſimplicitie, which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt part of men are ſuch as preferre their owne priuate good before all things, euen that good which is ſenſuall, before whatſoeuer is moſt Diuine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleaſure ariſing from the contrary, doth make men for the moſt part ſlower to the one, and proner to the other,

Ariſt. Polit. l. 1. cap. 3. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

* *Cùm premeretur initio multitudo abiis qui maiores opes habebant, ad vnum aliquem confugiebant, virtute præſtantem; qui cũ prohiberet in iuriâ tenuiores, æquitate conſtituendâ ſummos cum infimis pari iure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges ſunt inuentæ* Cic. Offic. lib. 2.

τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὁμοία οὐ προσέταξεν οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγραφα καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. *Ariſt. Rhet. ad. Alex.*

* *Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum, vt & ignorantiã protulerit in occaſionem, & conſcientiam corrumpat in diſſimulationẽ.* Tertull. lib. de Spectacul.

other then that duty prescribed thē by Law can preuaile sufficiently with them: therefore vnto Lawes that men doe make for the benefit of men, it hath seemed alwayes needfull to adde Rewards, which may more allure vnto good then any hardnesse deterreth from it; & punishments, which may more deterre from euill then any sweetnesse thereto allureth. Wherein as the gèneralitie is naturall, *Vertue rewardable, & Vice punishable*: so the particular determination of the reward or punishment, belongeth vnto them by whom Lawes are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kind of punishment is Positiue, and such lawful, as men shall thinke with discretion conuenient by Law to appoint. In Lawes that which is naturall bindeth vniuersally, that which is positiue not so. To let goe those kind of Positiue Lawes, which men impose vpon themselues, as by vow vnto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make vnto our purpose, a little more fully to consider, what things are incident into the making of the Positiue Lawes for the Gouernment of them that liue vnited in publike Societie. Lawes doe not onely teach what is good, but they inioyne it, they haue in them a certaine constraining force. And to constraine men vnto any thing inconuenient, doth seeme vnreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is, that to deuise Lawes which all men shall be forced to obey, none but Wisemen be admitted. Lawes are matters of principall consequence; men of common capacitie, and but ordinary iudgement, are not able (for how should they) to discerne what things are fittest for each kind and state of Regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience vnto Lawes dependeth vpon this point. Let a man, though neuer so iustly, oppose himselfe vnto them that are disordered in their wayes, and what one amongst them commonly doth not stomake at such contradiction, storme at reproofe, and hate such as would reforme them? Notwithstanding euen they which brooke it worst that men should tel them of their duties, when they are told the same by a Law, thinke very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the Law doth speake with all indifferency, that the Law hath no side-respect to their persons, that the Law is as it were an Oracle proceeded from wisdome & vnderstanding. Howbeit, Lawes do not take their constraining force from the qualitie of such as deuise them, but from that power which doth giue them the strength of Lawes. That which wee spake before concerning the power of Gouernment, must here be applyed vnto the power of making Lawes whereby to gouerne; which power God hath ouer all; & by the natural Law wherunto he hath made all subiect, the lawfull power of making Lawes, to command whole Politike Societies of men, belongeth so properly vnto the same intire Societies, that for any Prince or Potētate, of what kind soeuer vpon earth, to exercise the same of himselfe, and not eyther by expresse Commission immediatly & personally receiued from God, or else by authoritie deriued at the first from their consent vpon whose persons they impose Lawes, it is no better then meere tyrannie. Lawes they are not therefore which publike Approbation hath not made so. But Approbation not onely they giue who personally declare their assent by voyce, signe, or act, but also when others doe it in their names, by right originally at the least deriued from them. As in Parliaments, Councels, and the like Assemblies, although we be not personally our selues present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of others agents there

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in our behalfe. And what wee doe by others, no reaſon but that it ſhould ſtand as our deed, no leſſe effectually to bind vs then if our ſelues had done it in perſon. In many things aſſent is giuen, they that giue it not imagining they doe ſo, becauſe the maner of their aſſenting is not apparent. As for example, when an abſolute Monarke cõmandeth his ſubiects that which ſeemeth good in his owne diſcretion, hath not his edict the force of a law, whether they approue or diſlike it? Againe, that which hath been receiued long ſithence, and is by cuſtome now eſtabliſhed, we keepe as a Law which we may not tranſgreſſe; yet what conſent was euer thereunto ſought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that ſith men naturally haue no full and perfect power to command whole politique multitudes of men; therfore vtterly without our conſent, we could in ſuch ſort be at no mans commandement liuing. And to be commaunded we doe conſent, when that ſociety whereof we are part, hath at any time before conſented, without reuoking the ſame after by the like vniuerſall agreemẽt. Wherefore as any mans deed paſt is good as long as himſelfe continueth: ſo the acte of a publique ſociety of men done fiue hundred yeares ſithence, ſtandeth as theirs, who preſently are of the ſame ſocieties, becauſe corporations are immortall: we were then aliue in our Predeceſſors, and they in their Succeſſors do liue ſtill. Lawes therefore humane, of what kinde ſoeuer, are auaileable by conſent. If here it be demanded how it commeth to paſſe, that this being common vnto all Lawes which are made, there ſhould be found euen in good Lawes ſo great variety as there is: we muſt note the reaſon hereof to be, the ſundrie particular end, whereunto the different diſpoſition of that ſubiect or matter for which Lawes are prouided, cauſeth them to haue eſpeciall reſpect in making Lawes. A Law there is mentioned amongſt the Grecians, whereof *Pittacus* is reported to haue beene Authour: and by that Law it was agreed, that he which being ouercome with drinke did then ſtrike any man, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment double as much as if he had done the ſame being ſober. No man could euer haue thought this reaſonable, that had intended thereby onely to puniſh the iniury committed, according to the grauity of the fact. For who knoweth not, that harm aduiſedly done is naturally leſſe pardonable, & therefore worthy of ſharper puniſhment? But for as much as none did ſo vſually this way offend as men in that caſe, which they wittingly fell into, euen becauſe they would be ſo much the more freely outragious: it was for their publique good where ſuch diſorder was growne, to frame a poſitiue law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertaine thoſe knowne lawes of making lawes; as that Law-makers muſt haue an eye to the place where, and to the men amongſt whom; that one kind of lawes cannot ſerue for all kinds of regiment: that where the multitude beareth ſway, lawes that ſhall tend vnto the preſeruation of that ſtate, muſt make common ſmaller offices to goe by lot, for feare of ſtrife and diuiſion likely to ariſe, by reaſon that ordinary qualities ſufficing for diſcharge of ſuch offices, they could not but by many be deſired, & ſo with danger contended for, & not miſſed without grudge and diſcontentment, whereas at an vncertaine lot none can finde themſelues grieued on whomſoeuer it lighteth; contrariwiſe the greateſt, whereof but few are capable, to paſſe by popular election, that neither the people may enuie ſuch as haue thoſe honours, in as much as themſelues beſtow them, and

Ariſt. polit. lib. 2. cap. vlt.

that the chiefeſt may bee kindled with deſire to exerciſe all parts of rare and beneficiall vertue; knowing they ſhall not loſe their labour by growing in fame and eſtimation amongſt the people: if the helme of chiefe gouernement bee in the handes of a few of the wealthieſt, that then Lawes prouiding for continuance thereof muſt make the puniſhment of contumely and wrong offered vnto any of the common ſort, ſharpe and grieuous, that ſo the euill may bee preuented, whereby the rich are moſt likely to bring themſelues into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take ſo great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their perſons are contumeliouſly troden vpon. In other kindes of regiment the like is obſerued concerning the difference of poſitiue Lawes, which to be euery where the ſame is impoſſible and againſt their nature. Now as the learned in the Lawes of this Land obſerue, that our Statutes ſometimes are onely the affirmation or ratification of that which by common Law was held before: ſo heere it is not to be omitted, that generally all Lawes humane which are made for the ordering of politique Societies, be either ſuch as eſtabliſh ſome dutie whereunto all men by the Law of Reaſon did before ſtand bound; or elſe ſuch as make that a dutie now which before was none. The one ſort wee may for diſtinction ſake call *mixedly*, and the other *meerely* humane. That which playne or neceſſarie reaſon bindeth men vnto, may bee in ſundrie conſiderations expedient to be ratified by humane law. For example, if confuſion of bloud in marriage, the libertie of hauing many wiues at once, or any other the like corrupt and vnreaſonable cuſtome doth happen to haue preuayled farre, and to haue gotten the vpper hand of right reaſon with the greateſt part; ſo that no way is left to rectifie ſuch foule diſorder, without preſcribing by law the ſame things which reaſon neceſſarily *doth* enforce, but is not perceiued that ſo it doth; or if many be growne vnto that which the Apoſtle did lament in ſome, concerning whom he writeth, ſaying, that *Euen what things they naturally know, in thoſe verie things as Beaſts voide of reaſon, they corrupted themſelues*; or if there be no ſuch ſpeciall accident, yet for as much as the common ſort are led by the ſway of their ſenſuall deſires, and therefore doe more ſhun ſinne for the ſenſible euils which follow it amongſt men, then for any kind of ſentence which reaſon doth pronounce againſt it: this verie thing is cauſe ſufficient why duties belonging vnto each kinde of vertue, albeit the law of reaſon teach them, ſhould notwithſtanding be preſcribed euen by humane Law. Which Law in this caſe we terme *mixt*, becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the ſame which reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reaſon it differeth in the manner of binding onely. For whereas men before ſtood bound in conſcience to doe as the Law of Reaſon teacheth; they are now by vertue of humane Law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſſe, puniſhable. As for Lawes which are *meerely* humane, the matter of them is any thing which Reaſon doth but probably teach to be fit and conuenient; ſo that till ſuch time as Law hath paſſed amongſt men about it, of it ſelfe it bindeth no man. One example whereof may bee this: Landes are by humane Law in ſome places after the owners deceaſe, diuided vnto all his children; in ſome, all deſcendeth to the eldeſt ſonne. If the Law of Reaſon did neceſſarily require

but

Staundf. pref. to the Pleas of the Crowne.

Epiſt. Iud. v. 10 ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἴδασιν βλασφημοῦσιν, ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ἐπίστανται ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.

Ariſt. Ethi. lib. 10. cap. 10. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος ἢ μᾶλλον οὐ πείθει τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς νέους διὰ τὸ ἐν ἤθεσι ζῆν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μανθάνουσι τὸ ποιητέον καὶ φευκτέον.

but the one of theſe two to be done, they which by Law haue receiued the other, ſhould be ſubiect to that heauy ſentence, which denounceth againſt all that decree wicked, vniuſt, and vnreaſonable things, *woe*. Whereas now which ſoeuer be receiued, there is no law of reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more then probable reaſon there is not to be found. Lawes whether mixtly or meerly humane are made by politique ſocieties: ſome, onely as thoſe ſocieties are ciuilly vnited; ſome, as they are ſpiritually ioyned and make ſuch a body as wee call the Church. Of Lawes humane in this latter kind wee are to ſpeake in the third Booke following. Let it therefore ſuffice thus farre to haue touched the force wherewith Almightie God hath graciouſly endued our nature, and thereby inabled the ſame to find out both thoſe Lawes which all men generally are for euer bound to obſerue, and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoofe who leade their liues in any ordered State of Gouernment. Now beſides that Law which ſimply concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth vnto them as they are men linked with others in ſome forme of politique ſocietie; there is a third kinde of Law which toucheth all ſuch ſeuerall bodies Politicke, ſo farre forth as one of them hath publike commerce with another. And this third is the *Law of Nations*. Betweene men and beaſts there is no poſſibilitie of ſociable communion; becauſe the wel-ſpring of that communion is a naturall delight which man hath to transfuſe from himſelfe into others, and to receiue from others into himſelfe, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellency of this kinde doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt inſtrument of humane communion therefore is ſpeech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reaſonable vnderſtanding. And for that cauſe ſeeing beaſts are not hereof capable, for as much as with them wee can vſe no ſuch conference, they being in degree although aboue other creatures on Earth to whom Nature hath denyed ſenſe, yet lower then to be ſociable companions of man to whom Nature hath giuen reaſon; it is of *Adam* ſaid that amongſt the beaſts *He found not for himſelfe any meete companion*. Ciuill ſociety doth more content the nature of man, then any priuate kind of ſolitary liuing; becauſe in ſociety this good of mutuall participation is ſo much larger then otherwiſe. Herewith notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we couet (if it might be) to haue a kinde of ſociety and fellowſhip euen with all Mankinde. Which thing *Socrates* intending to ſignifie, profeſſed himſelfe a Citizen, not of this or that Commonwealth, but of the World. And an effect of that very naturall deſire in vs, (a manifeſt token that wee wiſh after a ſort an vniuerſall fellowſhip with all men), appeareth by the wonderful delight men haue, ſome to viſit forreine Countries, ſome to diſcouer Nations not heard of in former Ages; wee all to know the affaires and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for trafficks ſake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo as mooued the Queene of Saba to viſit *Salomon*; and in a word becauſe Nature doth preſume that how many men there are in the World, ſo many Gods as it were there are, or at leaſt wiſe ſuch they ſhould be towards men. Touching Lawes which are to ſerue men in this behalfe; euē as thoſe Laws of reaſon, which (man retaining his ori-

Eſay 10. 1.

Ariſt. pol. 1. *c.* 2.

Gen. 2. 20.

Cic. Tuſc. 5. & 1. *de Legib.*

1. *Reg.* 10. 1. 2. *Chron.* 9. 1. *Mat.* 13. 42. *Luke* 11. 31.

originall integrity) had bin ſufficient to direct each particular perſon in al his affaires & duties, are not ſufficient but require the acceſſe of other laws, now that man and his of ſpring are growne thus corrupt & ſinfull; againe as thoſe lawes of Polity & Regiment, which would haue ſerued men liuing in publike ſociety together with that harmleſſe diſpoſition which then they ſhould haue had, are not able now to ſerue whē mens iniquity is ſo hardly reſtrained within any tollerable bounds: in like manner the nationall lawes of naturall cōmerce betweene ſocieties of that former & better quality might haue bin other then now, when nations are ſo prone to offer violence, iniury & wrong. Hereupon hath growne in euery of the three kindes, that diſtinction betweene *Primary* and *Secundary* Lawes; the one grounded vpon ſincere, the other built vpon depraued nature. Primary lawes of nations are ſuch as concerne embaſſage, ſuch as belong to the courteous entertainment of Forreiners & Srangers, ſuch as ſerue for rcommodious traffick, & the like. Secundary lawes in the ſame kind, are ſuch as this preſent vnquiet world is moſt familiarly acquainted with, I meane lawes of Armes; which yet are much better known thē kept. But what matter the law of nations doth cōtaine I omit to ſearch. The ſtrength & vertue of that law is ſuch, that no particular nation can lawfully preiudice the ſame by any their ſeueral lawes and Ordinances, more then a man by his priuate reſolutions the Law of the whole Common-wealth or State wherin he liueth. For as ciuill Law being the act of a whole body Politique, doth therefore ouer-rule each ſeuerall part of the ſame body: ſo there is no reaſon that any one Commonwealth of it ſelf, ſhould to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed; For which cauſe the Lacedemonians forbidding al acceſſe of ſtrangers into their Coaſts, are in that reſpect both by *Ioſephus* & *Theodoret* deſeruedly blamed, as being enemies to that hoſpitality which for common humanities ſake al the nations on earth ſhould embrace. Now as there is great cauſe of common, and conſequently of lawes for the maintenance of communion amongſt Nations: ſo among Nations Chriſtian the like in regard euen of Chriſtianity hath beene alwaies indged needful. And in this kind of correſpondence amongſt nations, the force of general Councels doth ſtand. For as one & the ſame law diuine, whereof in the next place we are to ſpeake, is vnto al Chriſtian Churches a rule for the chiefeſt things, by meanes whereof they all in that reſpect make one Church, as hauing all but *one Lord, one Faith, & one Baptiſme*: ſo the vrgent neceſſitie of mutuall communion for preſeruation of our vnitie in theſe things, as alſo for order in ſome other things conuenient to be euery where vniformly kept, maketh it requiſite that the Church of God here on earth haue her Lawes of ſpiritual cōmerce betweene Chriſtian Nations Lawes, by vertue wherof al Churches may enioy freely the vſe of thoſe reuerend religious and ſacred conſultations, which are termed Councels generall. A thing wherof Gods own bleſſed Spirit was the Author; a thing practiſed by the holy Apoſtles themſelues; a thing alwayes afterwards kept and obſerued throughout the World; a thing neuer otherwiſe then moſt highly eſteemed of, till pride, ambition & tyranny began by factious & vile endeuors, to abuſe that diuine inuention vnto the furtherance of wicked purpoſes. But as the iuſt authority of ciuill Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be abolieſhd, becauſe ſometime there is cunning vſed to frame them accor-

Ioſe. lib. 2. cōtra Appion.

Theod. lib. 9. de ſanand. Græc. affect.

Epheſ. 4. 5.

Acts 15. 28.

cording to the priuate intents of men ouer-potent in the Common-wealth: So the grieuous abuse which hath beene of Councels, should rather cause men to studie how so gracious a thing may againe bee reduced to that first perfection, then in regard of staines and blemishes sithence growing, be held for euer in extreme disgrace. To speake of this matter as the cause requireth, would require very long discourse. All I will presently say, is this: Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto diuine Law bindeth vs, but yet in such sort, that men are not thereof on all sides resolued; or for the setting downe of some vniforme iudgement to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessitie, are notwithstanding offensiue and scandalous when there is open opposition about them; bee it for the ending of strifes touching matters of Christian beleefe, wherin the one part may seeme to haue probable cause of dissenting from the other; or bee it concerning matters of Politie, order and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselues to those heauenly precepts, which our Lord and Sauiour with so great instancie gaue as concerning peace & vnitie, if we did all concurre in desire to haue the vse of ancient Councels againe renued, rather then these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endlesse, or bring them to ouerthrowne determination, and that of all other the worst, which is by sword. It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adioyne hereunto that which commeth in the next place to be spoken of, namely, wherfore God hath himselfe by Scripture made knowne such lawes as serue for direction of men. *Iob.* 14. 27.

11 All things (God onely excepted) besides the nature which they haue in themselues, receiue externally some perfection from other things, as hath beene shewed. In so much as there is in the whole world no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of vse, it may vnto our perfectiō adde somwhat. And whatsoeuer such perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the same wee properly terme our good; our soueraigne *good* or *blessednes*, that wherin the highest degree of al our perfection consisteth, that which being once attained vnto, there can rest nothing further to be desired, & therfore with it our soules are fully content & satisfied, in that they haue they reioyce & thirst for no more: wherfore of good things desired, some are such that for themselues we couet them not, but only because they serue as instrumēts vnto that for which we are to seeke; of this sort are riches: another kinde there is, which although we desire for it self, as health, & vertue, & knowledge, neuertheles they are not the last marke wherat we aime, but haue their further end whereunto they are referred; so as in them we are not satisfied as hauing attained the vt most we may, but our desires doe still proceede. These things are linked, and as it were chained one to another: we labour to eate, and wee eate to liue, and wee liue to doe good, and the good which we doe, is as seede sowne[a] with reference vnto a future haruest. But we must come at the length to some pawse. For if euery thing were to bee desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certaine end proposed vnto our actions, we should goe on we know not whither, yea whatsoeuer wee doe, were in vaine, or rather nothing at al were possible to bee done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being, were to annihilate vtterly our persons;

Wherfore God hath by Scripture further made knowne such supernaturall lawes, as doe serue for mens direction.

[a] *Gal.* 6. 8. He that soweth to the Spirit, shal of the Spirit reap life euerlasting.

persons; so we cannot remoue the last finall cause of our working, but wee shall cause whatsoeuer we worke to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for it selfe simply and for no other. That is simply for it selfe desireable, vnto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation vnto any other. The Oxe and the Asse desire their food, neither propose they vnto themselues any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for it selfe; but why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it: whereas that which is desired simply for it selfe, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred vnto a further end. Now that which man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is vnto that end conuenient: but what he coueteth as good in it selfe, towards that his desire is euer infinite. So that vnlesse the last good of all which is desired altogether for it selfe, be also infinite; wee doe euill in making it our end: euen as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honor, or pleasure, or any thing here attayned; because in desiring any thing as our finall perfection, which is not so, we do amisse. Nothing may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite. For the better, the more desireable; that therefore most desireable, wherin there is infinite of goodnesse so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needes be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only, God; therefore he our felicitie and blisse. Moreouer desire tendeth vnto vnion with that it desireth. If thē in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and coniunction with him. Againe, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which haue it, vnles they inioy the thing wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enioy God, as an obiect wherein the powers of our soules are satisfied euen with euerlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being vnto God vnited, we liue as it were the life of God. Happines therefore is that estate whereby we attaine, so far as possibly may be attained the full possession of that which simply for it selfe is to be desired, & containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of al our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, we are subiect vnto sundrie * imperfections, griefe of body, defects of minde; yea, the best things we doe are painefull, & the exercise of them grieuous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist, forced we are with very wearinesse, and that often, to interrupt them; which tedionsnesse cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of blisse, when our vnion with God is complete. Complete vnion with him must be according vnto enery power and facultie of our minds, apt to receiue so glorious an obiect. Capable we are of God both by vnderstanding and will; by vnderstanding, as he is that Soueraigne truth, which cōprehendeth the rich treasures of all wisedome: by will, as he is that Sea of goodnesse, whereof whoso tasteth, shall thirst no more. As the will doth now worke vpon that obiect by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet vnobtayned; so likewise vpō the same hereafter receiued it shal worke also by loue. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, saith S. AVGVSTINE: *The longing disposition of them that thirst, is changed into the sweet affection of them that taste and are repleniſhed.*

Vide Arist. Eth. 10 cap 10. & Metaph. 12. cap. 6. & cap. 4. & cap. 30.

* Μόνον ὦ Ασκληπιε τὸ ὄνομα τῦ ἀγαθῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον δὲ οὐδαμῦ, τὸ μὲν λίαν καλὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν. μόρτον τῦ καλῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδωατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, Καγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς νῦν μοι βαλόντι τί τε γνώσεως τῦ ἀγαθῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ κοσμος πλήρωμα ἐστι τῆς κακίας; ὁδὲ θεὸς ἀγαθῦ ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεῦ, *Mercur. Trismeg. Aug. de Trin. lib. 9. cap. vlt.*

Where-

Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good especially in respect of benefit vnto vs; we shall then loue the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodnes of beauty in it selfe. The soule being in this sort as it is actiue perfected by loue of that infinite good; shall as it is receptiue, be also perfected with those supernaturall passions of ioy, peace, and delight. All this endlesse and euerlasting. Which perpetuitie, in regard whereof our blessednes is termed a *crowne which withereth not*, doth neither depend vpon the nature of the thing it selfe, nor proceede from any naturall necessitie that our soules should so exercise themselues for euer in beholding and louing God, but from the wil of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it so perfected. Vnder man no creature in the world is capable of felicitie and blisse; first, because there chiefest perfection consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that which is simply best, as ours doth; secondly, because whatsoeuer externall perfection they tend vnto, it is not better then themselues, as ours is. How iust occasion haue wee therefore euen in this respect with the Prophet to admire the goodnesse of God; Lord, what is man that thou shouldest exalt him aboue the workes of thy handes, so farre as to make thy selfe the inheritance of his rest, and the substance of his felicity? Now if men had not naturally this desire to be happy, how were it possible that all men should haue it? All men haue. Therefore this desire in man is naturall. It is not in our power not to doe the same: how should it then be in our power to doe it godly or remissely? So that our desire being naturall, is also in that degree of earnestnesse whereunto nothing can bee added. And is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtaine? It is an axiome of nature, that naturall desire cannot vtterly be frustrate. This desire of ours being naturall should be frustrate, if that which may satisfie the same were a thing impossible for man to aspire vnto. Man doth seeke a triple perfection, first a sensuall, consisting in those things which very life it selfe requireth, eyther as necessary supplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectuall, consisting in those things which none vnderneath man is eith capable of, or acquainted with; lastly, a spirituall and diuine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural meanes here, but cannot here attaine vnto them. They that make the first of these three the scope of their whole life, are said by the Apostle to haue no God, but only their belly, to be earthly minded men. Vnto the second they bend themselues, who seeke especially to excell in all such knowledge and vertue as doth most commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of morall and ciuill perfection. That there is somewhat higher then either of these two, no other proofe doth need, then the very processe of mans desire, which being naturall should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot doe. For man doth not seeme to rest satisfied either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserued, or with performance of such actions as aduance him most deseruedly in estimation; but doth further couet, yea oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestnes, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vital vse; that which exceedeth the reach of sense, yea somewhat aboue capacity of reason, somewhat diuine and heauenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth then conceiueth; somwhat it seeketh, & what that

Mat. 25. The iust shall goe iuto life euerlasting. *Mat.* 22. They shallbe as the Angels of God 2. *Tim.* 4. 8. 1. *Pet.* 1. 4.

Psal. 8.

Comment. in proam. 2. Metaph.

Phil. 3. 19.

is directly it knoweth not; yet very intentiue desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other knowne delights and pleasures are laide aside, they giue place to the search of this but onely suspected desire. If the soule of man did serue onely to giue him being in this life, then things appertayning vnto this life would content him, as wee see they doe other creatures: which creatures inioying what they liue by, seeke no further, but in this contentation doe shew a kinde of acknowledgemẽt, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong vnto them. With vs it is otherwise. For although the Beauties, Riches, Honors, Sciẽces, Vertues, and perfections of all men liuing, were in the present possession of one: yet somewhat beyond and aboue all this there would still bee sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature euen in this life doth plainly claime & call for a more diuine perfection, then either of these two that haue beene mẽtioned. This last and highest estate of perfection, whereof we speake, is receiued of men in the nature of a [a] reward. Rewards doe alwayes presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our naturall meanes therfore vnto blessednesse are our workes: nor is it possible that nature should euer find any other way to saluation then onely this. But examine the workes which we do, and since the first foundation of the World what one can say, My wayes are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatned eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to bee saued? There resteth therefore either no way vnto saluation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernaturall, a way which could neuer haue entred into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or imagine, if God himselfe had not reuealed it extraordinarily. For which cause wee terme it the mysterie or secret way of saluation. And therfore S. *Ambrose* in this matter appealeth iustly from man to God, [b] *Cœli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignorauit, Let God himselfe that made mee, let not man that knowes not himselfe, bee my instructour concerning the mysticall way to Heauen.* [c] *When men of excellent wit* (saith Lactantius) *had wholly betaken themselues vnto studie, after farewell bidden vnto all kind as well of priuate as publike actions, they spared no labour that might be spent in the search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to seeke and to find out the reason of all affaires, as well Diuine as Humane, then to sticke fast in the toyle of piling vp riches, and gathering together heapes of Honors. Howbeit they both ded faile of their purpose, and got not so much as to quit their charges; because truth which is the secret of the most high God, whose proper handy worke all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our owne. For God and man should be very neere Neighbours, if mans cogitations were able to take a suruey of the counsels and appointments of that Maiesty euerlasting. Which being vtterly impossible, that the eye of man by it selfe should looke into the bosome of diuine Reason; God did not suffer him being desirous of the light of wisdome, to stray any longer vp and downe, and with bootlesse expense of trauell, to wander in darknesse that had no passage to get*

[a] *Mat* 5. 12. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heauen *Aug de doct. christ cap.* 6 *Summa merces est vt ipso perfruamur.*

[b] *Ambros. contra Sym.*

[c] *Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinæ penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & priuatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium contulerunt; existimantes multò esse præclarius humanarum diuinarumq; rerum inuestigare ac scire rationem, quàm struendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neq; adepti sunt id quod volebam, & operum simul atq; industriam perdiderunt: quia veritas, id est, arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia ingenio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominem; differret, si consilia & dispositiones illius mobilitatis æternæ cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit vt homini per seipsũ ratio diuina non teseret, non est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine vllo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos eius aliquando, & notionem veritatis cuiusque suum fecit, vt & humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, & erroris ac vagi viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet, Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and bestow vpon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donatine, to the end that man might both be cleerely conuicted of folly, and being through errour out of the way, haue the path that leadeth vnto immortalitie laid plaine before him: Thus far *Lactantius Firmianus*, to shew, that God himselfe is the Teacher of the Truth, wherby is made knowne the supernaturall way of Saluation and Law for them to liue in that shall be saued. In the naturall path of euerlasting life, the first beginning is that abilitie of doing good, which God in the day of mans Creation indued him with; from hence obedience vnto the wil of his Creator, absolute righteousnesse and integrity in al his actions; & last of all, the Iustice of God rewarding the worthinesse of his deserts with the Crowne of eternall glory. Had *Adam* continued in his first estate, this had bin the way of life vnto him and all his Posterity. Wherein I confesse notwithstanding with the* wittyest of the Schoole Diuines, that if we speake of strict Iustice, God could no way haue bin bound to require mans labours in so large & ample manner as humane felicity doth import: in as much as the dignity of this exceedeth so far the others value. But be it that God of his great liberalitie had determined in lieu of mans endeuours to bestow the same, by the rule of that iustice which best beseemeth him, namely, the iustice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with pressed and heaped and euen ouer-inlarged measure: yet could it neuer hereupon necessarily be gathered, that such iustice should adde to the nature of that reward the property of euerlasting continuãce, sith possession of blisse, though it should be but for a moment, were an aboundãt retribution. But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might still appeare in so rewarding the sonnes of men, albeit they should exactly performe whatsoeuer duty their Nature bindeth them vnto. Howsoeuer God did propose this reward, we that were to be rewarded, must haue done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that the other should be looked for. The light of Nature is neuer able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of blisse, but by performing exactly the duties and workes of righteousnesse. From Saluation therefore and life all flesh being excluded this way, behold, how the wisedome of God hath reuealed a way mysticall and supernaturall, a way directing vnto the same end of life, by a course which groundeth it selfe vpon the guiltinesse of sinne, and through sinne desert of condemnation and death. For in this way the first thing is the tender compassion of God respecting vs drowned and swallowed vp in misery; the next is Redemption out of the same by the precious death & merit of a mightie Sauiour, which hath witnessed of himselfe, saying, [a] *I am the way*, the way that leadeth vs from misery into blisse. This supernaturall way had God in himselfe prepared before all Worlds. The way of supernaturall dutie which to vs he hath prescribed, our Sauiour in the Gospell of Saint *Iohn* doth note, terming it by an excellency, The Worke of God: [b] *This is the Worke of God, that yee beleeue in him whom he hath sent.* Not that God doth require nothing vnto happinesse at the hands of men, sauing only a naked beliefe (for Hope and Charity we may not exclude:) but that without beliefe all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of those other diuine Vertues. Concerning Faith, the principall obiect whereof is that eternall Veriry

* Scot. lib. 4. Sent. dist. 49. 6. *Loquendo de stricta iustitia, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddende tam intensæ, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis vltra illa merita. Sed esto quòd ex liberalitate sua determinasset meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem iustitiæ qualis decet eum, scilicet supererogantis in præmiis: tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessariò, quòd per illam iustitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquã præmium; imò abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine vnius momenti.*

[a] *Iohn* 14. 6.

[b] *Iohn* 6. 29.

which hath discouered the Treasures of hidden Wisdome in Christ; concerning Hope, the highest obiect whereof is that euerlasting goodnesse which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning Charitie, the finall obiect whereof is that incomprehensible beautie which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Sonne of the liuing God: concerning these vertues, the first of which beginning heere with a weake apprehension of things not seene, endeth with the intuitiue Vision of God in the World to come; the second beginning heere with a trembling expectation of things farre remoued, and as yet but onely heard of, endeth with reall and actuall fruition of that which no tongue can expresse; the third beginning heere with a weake inclination of heart towards him vnto whom we are not able to approch, endeth with endlesse vnion, the mysterie whereof is higher then the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope and Charitie, without which there can be no Saluation; was there euer any mention made sauing only in that Law which God himselfe hath from heauen reuealed? There is not in the Word a syllable muttered with certaine truth concerning any of these three, more then hath bin supernaturally receiued from the mouth of the eternall God Lawes therefore concerning these things are supernaturall, both in respect of the manner of deliuering them which is diuine, and also in regard of the things deliuered, which are such as haue not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained besides the course of Nature, to rectifie Natures obliquitie withall.

a The cause why so many naturall or rationall Lawes are set downe in holy Scripture

12 a When supernaturall duties are necessarily exacted, naturall are not reiected as needlesse. The Law of God therefore is, though principally deliuered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with Precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught euen with Lawes of Nature. In so much that b *Gratian* defining naturall right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those generall duties, that concerne men naturally euen as they are men) termeth naturall right that which the Bookes of the Law and the Gospell doe containe. Neither is it vaine that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of Lawes in this kind. For they are either such as wee of our selues could not easily haue found out, and then the benefit is not small to haue them readily set downe to our hands; or if they bee so cleere and manifest that no man indued with reason can lightly bee ignorant of them, yet the Spirit as it were borrowing them from the Schoole of Nature as seruing to proue things lesse manifest, and to induce a perswasion of somewhat which were in it selfe more hard and darke, vnlesse it should in such sort be cleered, the very applying of them vnto cases particular is not without most singular vse and profit many wayes for mens instruction. Besides, bee they plaine of themselues or obscure, the euidence of Gods owne testimonie added vnto the naturall assent of Reason concerning the certaintie of them, doth not a little comfort and confirme the same. Wherfore in as much as our actions are conuersant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to bee also of sundry iudgements concerning that which ought to bee done: requisite it cannot but seeme the Rule of Diuine Law should herein helpe our imbecillitie, that wee might the more infallibly vnderstand what is good and what euill. The first Principles of the Law of Nature are easie, hard it were to find men ignorant of them: but concerning

b *Ius naturale est quod in lege & Euangelio continetur, pag. 3. d. 1.*

the

the dutie which Natures Law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, so farre hath the naturall vnderstanding euen of sundry whole Nations beene darkned, that they haue not discerned, no, not grosse iniquitie to bee sinne. Againe, being so prone as wee are to fawne vpon our selues, and to bee ignorant as much as may bee of our owne deformities, without the feeling sense whereof wee are most wretched, euen so much the more, because not knowing them we cannot as much as desire to haue them taken away: how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath deliuered a Law as sharp as the two-edged Sword, piercing the very closest & most vnsearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, humane Lawes by no means possible reach vnto? Hereby wee know euen secret concupiscence to be sinne, and are made fearefull to offend, though it bee but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needfull, and not impossible to be discerned by the Light of Nature it selfe, are there not many which few mens naturall capacitie, and some which no mans hath beene able to find out? They are, saith Saint *Augustine*, but a few, and they induced with great ripenesse of wit and iudgement, free from all such affaires as might trouble their Meditations, instructed in the sharpest and the subtilest points of Learning, who haue, and that very hardly, beene able to find out but onely the immortalitie of the Soule. The resurrection of the flesh what man did euer at any time dreame of, hauing not heard it otherwise then from the Schoole of Nature? Whereby it appeareth how much wee are bound to yeeld vnto our Creator the Father of al mercy eternal thanks, for that he hath deliuered his Law vnto the World, a Law wherein so many things are laid open, cleere and manifest; as a Light which otherwise would haue beene buried in darknesse, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certaine losse of infinite thousands of Soules most vndoubtedly now saued. Wee see therefore that our soueraigne good is desired naturally, that God the Author of that naturall desire had appointed naturall meanes whereby to fulfil it; that man hauing vtterly disabled his nature vnto those meanes, hath had other reuealed from God, and hath receiued from Heauen a Law to teach him, how that which is desired naturally, must now supernaturally be attained; finally, wee see that because those later exclude not the former quite and cleane as vnnecessarie, therefore together with such supernaturall duties as could not possibly haue beene otherwise knowne to the World, the same Law that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such naturall duties as could not by Light of Nature easily haue beene knowne.

13 * In the first Age of the World God gaue Lawes vnto our Fathers, & by reason of the number of their daies, their memories serued in stead of Bookes; whereof the manifold imperfections & defects being knowne to God, he mercifully relieued the same by often putting them in mind of that wherof it behoued them to be specially mindfull. In which respect we see how many times one thing hath beene iterated vnto sundry euen of the best & wisest amongst them. After that the liues of Men were shortned, meanes more durable to preserue the Lawes of God from oblition and corruption grew in vse, not without pre-

a Iosephus *lib. secundo contra Appio. Lacædemonii quomodo nõ sunt ob inhospitalitatẽ reprehendendi, sæuúmq; neglectum nuptiarum? Elienses verò & Thebani ob coitum cum masculis planè impudentem & contra naturã; quẽ frequẽtẽ & vtiliter exercere putabant? cũq; hæc omninò perpetrarent, etiam suis legibus miscuere. Vide* Th. 12. quæst. 49. 4. 5. 6. *Lex naturæ sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, vt latrocinia non reputarent peccatum. August. aut quisquis author est, lib. de quæst. nou. & vet. test. quòd nesciat quid bonæ vitæ conueniat, aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri nouit, alijs minimè debent facere? At verò vbi naturalis lex euanuit oppressa consuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifestari scripturis, vt Dei iudicium omnes audirent non quòd penitus obliterata est, sed quia maximè eius authoritate carebat, idololatriæ studebatur, timor Dei in terrã non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi auida erat cõcupiscentia. Data ergo lex est, vt quæ sciebantur authoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cæperant, manifestarentur.*

* The benefit of hauing Diuine Lawes written,

cise direction from God himselfe. First therefore of *Moses* it is said, that hee *wrote all the words of God*; not by his owne priuate motion and deuice: for God taketh this act to himselfe, *I haue written*. Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to do the like? Vnto the Holy Euangelist Saint *Iohn* how often expresse charge is giuen, *Scribe: write these things*? Concerning the rest of our Lords Disciples, the words of Saint *Augustine* are, *Quicquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperauit.* Now although we doe not deny it to be a matter meerely accidentall vnto the Law of God to bee written; although Writing bee not that which addeth authoritie and strength thereunto: finally, though his Lawes doe require at our hands the same obedience howsoeuer they be deliuered; his prouidence notwithstanding which hath made principall choice of this way to deliuer them, who seeth not what cause we haue to admire and magnifie? The singular benefit that hath growne vnto the World by receiuing the Lawes of God; euen by his owne appointment committed vnto Writing, wee are not able to esteeme as the value thereof deserueth. When the question therefore is, whether wee bee now to seeke for any reuealed Law of God otherwhere then only in the Sacred Scripture, whether wee doe now stand bound in the sight of God to yeeld to Traditions vrged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reuerence wee doe to his written Law, honouring equally, and adoring both as diuine: our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authoritie of Tradition, as if nothing were more safely conueyed then that which spreadeth it selfe by report, & descendeth by relation of former Generations vnto the Ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple, as thus to perswade themselues; howsoeuer if the simple were so perswaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enioy the benefit, as they account it, of that common errour. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becommeth; they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this minde, consider but onely that little of things Diuine, which the *Heathen haue in such sort receiued. How miserable had the state of the Church of God beene long ere this, if wanting the Sacred Scripture, we had no Record of his Lawes but only the memory of man, receiuing the same by report and relation from his Predecessors? By Scripture it hath in the wisedome of God seemed meet to deliuer vnto the World much but personally expedient to be practised of certaine men; many deepe and profound points of Doctrine, as being the maine originall ground whereupon the Precepts of dutie depend; many Prophecies, the cleere performance whereof might confirme the World in beliefe of things vnseene; many Histories to serue as looking Glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousnesse of God towards all that faithfully serue, obey and honour him; yea many intire Meditations of Pietie, to be as Patternes and Presidents in cases of like nature; many things needfull for explication, many for application vnto particular occasions, such as the prouidence of God from time to time hath taken to haue the seuerall Bookes of his holy Ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principall necessarie Lawes of God, there are sundrie other things written, whereof wee might haply bee ignorant, and yet bee saued:

What?

Exod. 24.4. Ose. 8.12.

Apoc. 1.11. & 14.13.

Aug. lib 1. de cons. Euang. cap. vlt.

* I meane those historicall matters concerning the ancient state of the first World, the Deluge, the Sonnes of *Noah*, the children of Israels deliuerance out of Egypt, the life & doings of *Moses* their Captain, with such like: the certaine truth whereof deliuered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them onely by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to bee seene, is the shew of darke and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone,

What? ſhall we hereupon thinke them needleſſe? ſhall we eſteeme them as riotous branches wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant vines ouergrowne? Surely no more then we iudge our hands, or our eies ſuperfluous, or what part ſoeuer, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithſtanding any ſuch defect reteine ſtill the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither deſtitute of any part neceſſary, and hath ſome parts whereof though the want could not depriue him of his eſſence, yet to haue them ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpeciall vſes for which they ſerue: in like ſort all thoſe writings which conteine in them the law of God, all thoſe venerable bookes of Scripture, all thoſe ſacred tomes and volumes of holy writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lacke whereof might depriue vs of life; nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needleſſe, we ſhould thinke it no loſſe or danger at all if we did want it.

14 Although the ſcripture of God therefore be ſtored with infinite varietie of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of lawes, yet the principall intent of ſcripture is to deliuer the lawes of duties ſupernaturall. Oftentimes it hath bene in very ſolemne maner diſputed, whether all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation be neceſſarily ſet downe in the holy Scriptures or no. If we define that neceſſary vnto ſaluation, whereby the way to ſaluation is in any ſort made more plaine, apparent, and eaſie to be knowne; then is there no part of true Philoſophie, no art of account, no kind of ſcience rightly ſo called, but the Scripture muſt conteine it. If onely thoſe things be neceſſary, as ſurely none elſe are, without the knowledge and practiſe whereof it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinary graunt of ſaluation; it may be notwithſtanding, and oftentimes hath bene demanded, how the bookes of holy Scripture conteine in them all neceſſary things, when of things neceſſary the very chiefeſt is to knowe what bookes wee are bound to eſteeme holie; which point is confeſt impoſſible for the Scripture it ſelfe to teach. Whereunto wee may anſwere with truth, that there is not in the world any Arte or Science, which propoſing vnto it ſelfe an end (as euery one doth ſome end or other) hath bene therefore thought defectiue, if it haue not deliuered ſimply whatſoeuer is needfull to the ſame end: but all kinds of knowledge haue their certaine bounds and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſary things learned in other ſciences and knowne before hand. He that ſhould take vpon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needes deliuer vnto them whatſoeuer precepts are requiſite vnto that end, otherwiſe he doth not the thing which he taketh vpon him. Seeing then no man can pleade eloquently, vnleſſe he be able firſt to ſpeake, it followeth that habilitie of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſary. Notwithſtanding euery man would thinke it ridiculous, that he which vndertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliuer all the precepts of Gammar; becauſe his profeſſion is to deliuer precepts neceſſarie vnto eloquent ſpech, yet ſo, that they which are to receiue them be taught before hand, ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſarie as comprehendeth the skill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit Scripture do profeſſe to conteine in it all things which are neceſſarie vnto ſaluation; yet

The ſufficiencie of Scripture vnto the end for which it was inſtituted.

Vtrum cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori, ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacrâ ſcripturâ

This queſtion propoſed by Scotus, is affirmatiuely concluded.

the meaning cannot be ſimply of all things which are neceſſarie, but all things that are neceſſarie in ſome certaine kind or forme; as all things that are neceſſarie, and either could not at all, or could not eaſily be knowne by the light of naturall diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſarie to be knowne that wee may be ſaued, but knowne with preſuppoſall of knowledge concerning certaine principles, wherof it receaueth vs already perſwaded, and then inſtructeth vs in all the reſidue that are neceſſary. In the number of theſe principles one is the ſacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore perſwaded by other meanes that theſe Scriptures are the oracles of God, themſelues do then teach vs the reſt, and lay before vs all the duties which God requireth at our hands as neceſſary vnto ſaluation. Further, there hath bene ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *conteining in ſcripture* do import expreſſe ſetting downe in plaine tearmes, or elſe *comprehending* in ſuch ſort that by reaſon we may from thence conclude all things which are neceſſary. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtance hath ſundrie wayes bene giuen. For our beliefe in the Trinity, the Coeternity of the Sonne of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Sonne, the duty of baptizing infants, theſe with ſuch other principall points, the neceſſity whereof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in Scripture no where to be found by expreſſe literall mention, onely deduced they are out of ſcripture by collection. This kind of comprehenſion in ſcripture being therefore receiued, ſtill there is no doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete meaſure of things neceſſary be made vp. For let vs not thinke that as long as the world doth endure, the wit of man ſhall be able to ſound the bottome of that which may be concluded out of the ſcripture; eſpecially if things conteined by collection do ſo far extend, as to draw in whatſoeuer may be at any time out of ſcripture but probably and coniecturally ſurmiſed. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, and we may boldly deny, that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſitie vrged vpon this Church vnder the name of reformed Church-diſcipline, there is any one which their bookes hitherto haue made manifeſt to be conteined in the Scripture. Let them if they can alleage but one properly belonging to their cauſe, and not common to them and vs, and ſhew the deduction thereof out of ſcripture to be neceſſarie. It hath beene alreadie ſhewed, how al things neceſſarie vnto ſaluation in ſuch ſort as before we haue maintained, muſt needs be poſſible for men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſarie, the knowledge whereof is by the light of nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all fleſh is excluded from poſſibilitie of ſaluation, which to thinke were moſt barbarous; or elſe that God hath by ſupernaturall meanes reuealed the way of life ſo far forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe God hath ſo many times and waies ſpoken to the ſonnes of men. Neither hath he by ſpeech onely, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath bene to the end that things by him reuealed vnto the world, might haue the longer continuance, and the greater certaintie of aſsurance; by how much that which ſtandeth on record, hath in both thoſe reſpects preeminence aboue that which paſseth from hand to hand, and hath no pennes but the tongues, no booke but the eares

of

of men to record it. The ſeuerall Bookes of Scripture hauing had each ſome ſeuerall occaſion and particular purpoſe which cauſed them to bee written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpeciall end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that euery Booke of holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, [a] naturall, [b] hiſtoricall, [c] forreine, [d] ſupernaturall, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there hath beene reaſons alleaged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſarie vnto ſaluation muſt bee made knowne, and that God himſelfe hath therefore reuealed his will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not haue knowne ſo much as is neceſſarie; his ſurceaſing to ſpeake to the world ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and the deliuerie of the ſame in writing, is vnto vs a manifeſt token that the way of ſaluation is now ſufficiently opened, and that wee neede no other meanes for our full inſtruction, then God hath alreadie furniſhed vs withall. The maine drift of the whole newe Teſtament, is that which Saint *Iohn* ſetteth downe as the purpoſe of his owne Hiſtorie, *Theſe things are written, that yee might beleeue that Ieſus is Chriſt the Sonne of God, and that in beleeuing yee might haue life through his name.* The drift of the olde, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to *Timothie*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe vnto ſaluation.* So that the generall ende both of olde and newe is one; the difference betweene them conſiſting in this, that the olde did make wiſe by teaching ſaluation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the newe by teaching that Chriſt the Sauiour is come, and that Ieſus whom the Iewes did crucifie, and whom God did raiſe againe from the dead, is hee. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth vnto *Timothie*, that the olde was able to make him wiſe to ſaluation, it was not his meaning that the olde alone can doe this vnto vs which liue ſithence the publication of the newe. For he ſpeaketh with preſuppoſall of the doctrine of Chriſt knowne alſo vnto *Timothie*; and therefore firſt it is ſaid, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned and art perſwaded, knowing of whom thou haſt beene taught them.* Againe, thoſe Scriptures hee graunteth were able to make him wiſe to ſaluation; but hee addeth, *through the faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the doctrine of the newe Teſtament teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the redemption of the world, which redemption the olde did foreſhew he ſhould worke; it is not the former alone which can on our behalfe performe ſo much as the Apoſtle doth auouch, who preſuppoſeth this when hee magnifieth that ſo highlie. And as his words concerning the bookes of auncient Scripture, doe not take place but with preſuppoſall of the Goſpell of Chriſt embraced: ſo our owne words alſo when wee extoll the complete ſufficiencie of the whole intire body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be vnderſtood with this caution, that the benefite of natures light be not thought excluded as vnneceſſarie, becauſe the neceſſitie of a diuiner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man what place or calling ſoeuer he hold in the Church of God, may haue thereby the light of his naturall vnderſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieued by the other, there can want no part of needfull inſtruction vnto any good worke which God himſelfe requireth, bee it naturall or ſupernaturall, belonging ſimply vn-

[a] *Eph.* 5.19.
[b] 2. *Tim.* 3.8.
[c] *Tit.* 1.12.
[d] 2. *Pet.* 2.4.

Iohn 23.31.

2. *Tim* 3.15.

2. *Tim.* 3.14.

Verſe 15.

to

to men as men, or vnto men as they are vnited in whatsoeuer kind of societie. It sufficeth therefore that nature and Scripture doe serue in such full sort; that they both ioyntly, and not seuerally either of them, be so complete, that vnto euerlasting felicitie we neede not the knowledge of any thing more then these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides: and therefore they which adde traditions as a part of supernaturall necessarie truth, haue not the truth, but are in errour. For they onely pleade, that whatsoeuer God reueleth as necessary for all Christian men to doe or beleeue, the same wee ought to embrace, whether wee haue receiued it by writing or otherwise; which no man denieth: when that which they should confirme who claime so great reuerence vnto traditions is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged diuine and holie. For wee doe not reiect them onely because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proued to be of God. That which is of God, and may be euidently proued to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although vnwritten, yet the selfe same force and authoritie with the written lawes of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *that the Apostles did in euery Church institute and ordeine some rites and customes seruing for the seemelinesse of Church regiment, which rites and customes they haue not committed vnto writing.* Those rites and customes being knowne to be Apostolicall, and hauing the nature of things changeable, were no lesse to be accompted of in the Church then other things of the like degree, that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set downe in the Apostles writings. For both being knowne to be Apostolicall, it is not the manner of deliuering them vnto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth giue them their force and credite.

Whitakerus aduersus Bellarmin. quæst. 6. cap. 6.

Of lawes positiue cõceiued in scripture, the mutability of certaine of them, and the generall vse of scripture.

15 Lawes being imposed either by each man vpon himselfe, or by a publique societie vpon the particulars thereof, or by all the nations of men vpon euery seuerall societie, or by the Lord himselfe vpon any or euery of these; there is not amongst these foure kinds any one, but containeth sundry both naturall and positiue lawes. Impossible it is but that they should fall into a number of grosse errors, who onely take such lawes for positiue, as haue bene made or inuented of men, and holding this position hold also, that all positiue and none but positiue lawes are mutable. Lawes naturall doe alwayes bind; lawes positiue not so, but onely after they haue beene expresly and wittingly imposed. Lawes positiue there are in euery of those kindes before mentioned. As in the first kinde the promises which we haue past vnto men, and the vowes we haue made vnto God; for these are lawes which we tye our selues vnto, and till we haue so tied our selues they bind vs not. Lawes positiue in the second kind are such as the ciuill constitutions peculiar vnto each particular common weale. In the third kind the law of Heraldry in warre is positiue: and in the last all the iudicials which God gaue vnto the people of *Israell* to obserue. And although no lawes but positiue be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be positiue. Positiue lawes are either permanent or else changeable, according as the matter it selfe is concerning which they were first made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit,

Poſitiue; and either concerne men ſupernaturally as men, or elſe as parts of a ſupernaturall Societie, which ſocietie wee call the Church. To concerne men as men ſupernaturally, is to concerne them as duties which belong of neceſſitie to all, and yet could not haue beene knowne by any to belong vnto them, vnleſſe God had opened them himſelfe, in as much as they doe not depend vpon any naturall ground at all out of which they may bee deduced; but are appointed of God to ſupply the defect of thoſe naturall wayes of ſaluation, by which wee are not now able to attaine thereunto. The Church being a ſupernaturall ſocietie, doth differ from naturall ſocieties in this; that the perſons vnto whom wee aſſociate our ſelues, in the one are men ſimply conſidered as men; but they to whom wee bee ioyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holy Men. Againe, the Church being both a ſocietie, and a ſocietie ſupernaturall; although as it is a ſocietie, it haue the ſelfe-ſame originall grounds which other politique ſocieties haue, namely, the naturall inclination which all men haue vnto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certayne bond of aſſociation, which bond is the Law that appointeth what kinde of order they ſhall be aſſociated in: yet vnto the Church, as it is a ſocietie ſupernaturall, this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their aſſociation which belong to the Church of God, muſt be a Law ſupernaturall, which God himſelfe hath reuealed concerning that kinde of worſhip which his people ſhall do vnto him. The ſubſtance of the ſeruice of God therefore, ſo far-forth as it hath in it any thing more then the Law of reaſon doth teach, may not be inuented of men, as it is amongſt the Heathens; but muſt bee receiued from God himſelfe, as alwayes it hath beene in the Church, ſaning onely when the Church hath beene forgetfull of her duetie. Wherefore to end with a generall Rule concerning all the Lawes which God hath tyed men vnto: thoſe Lawes diuine that belong whether naturally or ſupernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they liue in politique ſocietie, or to men as they are of that politique ſocietie which is the Church, without any further reſpect had vnto any ſuch variable accident, as the ſtate of men, and of ſocieties of men, and of the Church it ſelfe in this world is ſubiect vnto; all Lawes that ſo belong vnto men, they belong for euer, yea although they be poſitiue Lawes, vnleſſe being Poſitiue God himſelfe which made them alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubiect or matter of Lawes in generall is thus farre forth conſtant; which matter is that for the ordering whereof Lawes were inſtituted, and being inſtituted are not changeable without cauſe, neither can they haue cauſe of change, when that which gaue them their firſt inſtitution, remayneth for euer one and the ſame. On the other ſide, Lawes that were made for Men or Societies or Churches, in regard of their being ſuch as they doe not alwayes continue, but may perhapt bee cleane otherwiſe awhile after, and ſo may require to bee otherwiſe ordered then before; the Lawes of God himſelfe which are of this nature, no man indued with common ſenſe will euer denie to bee of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the ones conſtancie, and the mutabilitie of the other. And this doth ſeeme to haue beene the very cauſe why *S. Iohn* doth ſo peculiarly terme the doctrine that teacheth ſaluation by Ieſus Chriſt, *Euangelium æternum*; *An eternall Goſpell*, becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore

Iſa. 29. 13. Their feare towards mee was taught by the precept of men.

Apoc. 14. 6.

wherefore the publishing thereof should bee taken away, and any other in stead of it proclaymed, as long as the World doth continue: whereas the whole Law of Rites and Ceremonies, although deliuered with so great solemnitie, is notwithstanding cleane abrogated, in as much as it had but temporarie cause of Gods ordayning it. But that we may at the length conclude this first generall introduction vnto the nature and originall birth, as of all other Lawes, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture contayneth, concerning the Author whereof, euen Infidels haue confessed, that he can neither erre nor deceiue; albeit about things easie and manifest vnto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation, because as a man whose wisedome is in waightie affaires admired, would take it in some disdayne to haue his counsel solemnely asked about a toy, so the meanenesse of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reuerend authoritie and dignitie of the Scripture, no lesse then they doe by whom Scriptures are in ordinarie talke very idly applyed vnto vaine and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious, then prophane; to take from thence our direction euen in all things great or small, then to wade through matters of principall waight and moment, without euer caring what the Law of God hath, either for or against our designes. Concerning the custome of the very Paynims, thus much *Strabo* witnesseth, * *Men that are ciuill, deuide their liues after one common Law appointing them what to doe. For that otherwise a multitude should without harmonie amongst themselues, concurre in the doing of one thing, (for this is ciuilly to liue) or that they should in any sort menage communitie of life, it is not possible. Now Lawes or Statutes are of two sorts. For they are either receiued from gods, or else from men. And our ancient Predecessors did surely most honor and reuerence that which was from the gods; for which cause consultation with Oracles was a thing very vsuall and frequent in their times.* Did they make so much account of the voyce of their gods, which in truth were no Gods: and shall wee neglect the precious benefite of conference with those Oracles of the true and liuing God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plaine, and so easie accesse for all men? a *By thy Commandements* (this was *Dauids* confession vnto God) *thou hast made me wiser then mine Enemies.* Againe, *I haue had more vnderstanding then all my Teachers; because thy testimonies are my Meditations.* What paynes would not they haue bestowed in the studie of these Bookes, who trauailed Sea and Land to gaine the treasure of some few dayes talke with men, whose wisedome the World did make any reckoning of? b That little which some of the Heathens did chance to heare, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully contayneth, they did in wonderfull sort affect; their speeches as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselues could not vtter as they did other things, but still acknowledge that their wits which did euery-where else conquer hardnesse, were with profoundnesse here ouer-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense, to the end that wee might perceiue such things as this present life doth neede, and with reason, left that which sense cannot reach vnto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessarie to bee knowne, should lye obscure: finally, with the heauenly

support

Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἐν τε ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ ἔστε ἑαυτὸς μεθίσεται, οὔτε ἄλλως ἐξαπατᾶ, οὔτε καλὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε καλὰ λόγους, οὔτε καλὰ σημεῖον προμπάς, οὐδ' ὑπὰρ οὐδ' ὄναρ, *Plato in fine. 2 Polit.*

* Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προστάγματος κοινοῦ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ οἰόντε τὸς πολλὸς ἕν τι κατὰ ταυτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἰδίᾳ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως τῶς νόμους βίον κοινόν. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἄσμα διττὸν, ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μᾶλλον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρησμῳδούμενος ἰδίᾳ τότε πολύς, *Strabo Geor. lib. 16.*

a *Psal. 119. 98.*

b *Vide Orphei Carmina.*

support of a propheticall reuelation, which doth open those hidden mysteries that reason could neuer haue beene able to find out, or to haue knowne the necessity of them vnto our euerlasting good: vse wee the precious gifts of God vnto his glory and honour that gaue them, seeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truely and faithfully doe it.

a οὐ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἀτελέστερος, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπροφητεία φάναι, Philo de Mos.

16 Thus farre therefore we haue endeuoured in part to open, of what nature and force Lawes are, according vnto their seuerall kindes; the Law which God with himselfe hath eternally set downe to follow in his owne workes; the Law which he hath made for his creatures to keepe; the Law of naturall and necessary Agents; the Law which Angels in heauen obey; the Law whereunto by the light of Reason men finde themselues bound in that they are men; the Law which they make by composition for multitudes and politique Societies of men to be guided by; the Law which belongeth vnto each Nation; the Law that concerneth the fellowship of all; and lastly, the Law which God himselfe hath supernaturally reuealed. It might peraduenture haue beene more popular and more plausible to vulgar eares, if this first discourse had beene spent in extolling the force of Lawes, in shewing the great necessity of them when they are good, and in aggrauating their offence by whom publique Lawes are iniuriously traduced. But for as much as with such kind of matter the passions of men are rather stirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way set forward vnto the tryall of that whereof there is doubt made; I haue therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen, though a lesse easie, yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should maruaile whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose of all is this, euen to shew in what manner as euery good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect Lawes is deriued from the Father of lights; to teach men a reason why iust and reasonable Lawes are of so great force, of so great vse in the world, and to enforme their mindes with some method of reducing the Lawes, whereof there is present controuersie, vnto their first originall causes, that so it may be in euery particular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable, iust and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thorowly vnderstood, or soundly iudged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth bee made manifest? If all parts of knowledge haue beene thought by wise men to bee then most orderly deliuered and proceeded in, when they are drawne to their first originall; seeing that our whole question concerneth the qualitie of Ecclesiasticall Lawes, let it not seeme a labour superfluous, that in the entrance thereunto all these seuerall kinds of Lawes haue been considered; in as much as they all concurre as principles, they all haue their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner. By meanes whereof it commeth to passe, that the force which they haue, is not obserued of many. Easier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to doe, then instructed how to iudge as they should doe of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally vnto all, the other such as none but the wiser and more iudicious sort can performe. Yea the wisest are alwaies touching this point the readiest to

A conclusion shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

Iam. 1. 17.

Arist. Phys. lib. 1. cap. 1.

acknow-

Arist. Ethic. 10. τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς, μέγιστον. *Intelligit de legum qualitate iudicium.*

acknowledge, that soundly to iudge of a Law, is the waightiest thing which any man can take vpon him. But if wee will giue iudgement of the Lawes vnder which we liue, first, let that Law eternall be alwayes before our eyes, as being of principall force and moment to breede in religious mindes a dutifull estimation of all Lawes, the vse and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that Lawes apparantly good, are (as it were) things coppied out of the very Tables of that high euerlasting Law, euen as the Booke of that Law hath

Prou. 8.15. said concerning it selfe, *By me Kings reigne, and by me Princes decree iustice.* Not as if men did behold that Booke, & accordingly frame their Lawes, but because it worketh in them, because it discouereth, & (as it were) readeth it selfe to the world by them, when the Lawes which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceiue not the goodnesse of Lawes made; neuertheless, sith things in themselues may haue that which wee peraduenture discerne not; should not this breed a feare in our hearts, how we speake or iudge in the worse part concerning that, the vnaduised disgrace whereof may be no meane dishonor to him, towards whom we professe all submission and awe? Surely, there must be very manifest iniquity in Lawes, against which we shal be able to iustifie our contumelious inuectiues. The chiefest roote whereof, when we vse them without cause, is ignorance, how Lawes inferior are deriued from that supreme or highest Law. The first that receiue impression frō thence, are natural agents. The Law of whose operations might be haply thought lesse pertinent, when the question is about Lawes for humane actions, but that in those very Actions which most spiritually & supernaturally concerne men, the Rules & Axiomes of naturall operations haue their force. What can be more immediate to our saluation, then our perswasion concerning the Law of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of loue towards his Church, then the knowledge of that mysticall Vnion whereby the Church is become as neere vnto Christ, as any one part of his flesh is vnto other? That the Church being in such sort his, he must needes protect it; what proofe more strong, then if a manifest Law so require, which Law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other Law doth the Apostle for this alleage, but such as is both common vnto

Ephes. 5. 29. Christ with vs, and vnto vs with other things naturall, *No man hateth his owne flesh, but doth loue and cherish it?* The Axiomes of that Law therefore, whereby naturall Agents are guided, haue their vse in the morall, yea, euen in the spirituall actions of men; and consequently in all Lawes belonging vnto men howsoeuer. Neither are the Angels themselues so farre seuerred from vs in their kinde and manner of working, but that betweene the Law of their heauenly operations, and the actions of men in this our state of mortality, such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge

Apoc. 19. 10. themselues Fellow-seruants with the sonnes of men, but that both hauing one One Lord, there must be some kinde of Law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a

1. Pet. 1. 12. patterne and a spurre? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which be-

Ephes. 3. 10. longeth vnto Saints, as they are linked together in the bond of spirituall so-

1. Tim. 5. 21. ciety, so often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things

publiquely

publikely done by the Church wee are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of Heauen doe? Yea ſo farre hath the Apoſtle S. *Paul* proceeded, as to ſignifie that euen about the outward orders of the Church which ſerue but for comelineſſe ſome regard is to bee had of Angels; who beſt like vs when wee are moſt like vnto them in all parts of decent demeanor. So that the Law of Angels wee cannot iudge altogether impertinent vnto the affaires of the Church of God. Our largeneſſe of ſpeech, how men doe find out what things reaſon bindeth them of neceſsitie to obſerue, and what it guideth them to chuſe in things which are left as arbitrary; the care wee haue had to declare the different nature of Lawes which ſeuerally concerne all men, from ſuch as belong vnto men eyther ciuilly or ſpiritually aſſociated, ſuch as pertain to the fellowſhip which Nations, or which Chriſtian Nations haue amongſt themſelues, & in the laſt place ſuch as concerning euery or any of theſe God himſelfe hath reuealed by his holy Word; all ſerueth but to make manifeſt, that as the actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kindes, ſo the Lawes thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men operations ſome naturall, ſome rationall, ſome ſupernaturall, ſome politique, ſome finally Eccleſiaſticall. Which if wee meaſure not each by his owne proper Law, whereas the things thēſelues are ſo different; there will be in our vnderſtanding and iudgement of them confuſion. As that firſt errour ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe haue grounded themſelues. For as they rightly maintayne, that God muſt bee glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend vnto his glory, vnleſſe they be framed after his Law: So it is their error, to thinke that the only Law which God hath appointed vnto men in that behalfe is the ſacred Scripture. By that which wee worke naturally, as when we breathe, ſleepe, mooue, wee ſet forth the glory of God as naturall agents doe, albeit wee haue no expreſſe purpoſe to make that our end, nor any aduiſed determination therein to follow a Law, but do that we do (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and morall actions another Law taketh place, a Law by the obſeruatiō wherof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort, as no creature elſe vnder man is able to doe; becauſe other creatures haue not iudgement to examine the quality of that which is done by them, & therefore in that they doe, they neither can accuſe nor approue themſelues. Men doe both, as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea, thoſe men which haue no written Law of God to ſhew what is good or euill, carrie written in their hearts the vniuerſall Law of Mākind, the Law of reaſon, wherby they iudge as by a rule which God hath giuen vnto men for that purpoſe. The Law of Reaſon doth ſomewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creatour; but how to glorifie God in ſuch ſort as is required to the end he may be an euerlaſting Sauiour, this we are taught by diuine Law, which Law both aſcertaineth the truth & ſupplieth vnto vs the want of that other Law. So that in morall actions, diuine Law helpeth exceedingly the Law of reaſon to guide mans life; but in ſupernaturall it alone guideth. Proceede wee further, let vs place man in ſome publike ſocietie with others, whether Ciuill or Spirituall: and in this caſe there is no remedie but we muſt adde yet a further Law. For although euen here likewiſe the Lawes of Nature and reaſon be of neceſſary vſe; yet ſomewhat ouer and beſides them is neceſſary, namely humane and poſitiue Law, together with that Law which is

1. *Cor.* 11, 10.

Pſal. 148. 7, 8, 9

Rom. 1, 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

of commerce betweene grand ſocieties, the Law of Nations & of Natiõs Chriſtian. For which cauſe the Law of God hath likewiſe ſaid, *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers.* The publike power of all ſocieties is aboue euery ſoule contayned in the ſame ſocieties. And the principall vſe of that power is to giue Lawes vnto al that are vnder it; which Lawes in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, vnleſſe there be reaſon ſhewed which may neceſſarily inforce, that the Law of Reaſon or of God doth inioyne the contrary. Becauſe except our owne priuate, & but probable reſolutions, bee by the Law of publike determinations ouer-ruled; we take away all poſſibilitie of ſociable life in the World. A playner Example wherof than our ſelues we cannot haue. How commeth it to paſſe that wee are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutuall contentions, and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the Politie of the Church? No doubt, if men had beene willing to learne how many Lawes their actions in this life are ſubiect vnto, & what the true force of each Law is, all theſe controuerſies might haue dyed the very day they were firſt brought forth. It is both commonly ſaid, and truely, that the beſt men otherwiſe, are not alwayes the beſt in regard of ſocietie. The reaſon whereof is, for that the Law of mens actions is one, if they bee reſpected only as men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a politike body. Many men there are, then whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled. And yet in ſocietie with others, none leſſe fit to anſwere the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am perſwaded, that of them with whom in this cauſe we ſtriue, there are whoſe betters amongſt men would bee hardly found, if they did not liue amongſt men, but in ſome Wilderneſſe by themſelues. The cauſe of which their diſpoſition ſo vnframeable vnto ſocieties wherein they liue, is for that they diſcerne not aright what place and force theſe ſeuerall kindes of Lawes ought to haue in all their actions. Is there queſtion either concerning the Regiment of the Church in generall, or about Conformitie betweene one Church & another, or of Ceremonies, Offices, Powers, Iuriſdiction in our owne Church? Of all theſe things they iudge by that rule which they frame to themſelues with ſome ſhew of probabilitie; and what ſeemeth in that ſort conuenient, the ſame they thinke themſelues bound to practiſe, the ſame by all meanes they labour mightily to vphold; whatſoeuer any Law of man to the contrarie hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the Law of priuate reaſon, where the Law of publike ſhould take place, they breede diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of mens mindes with the true diſtinction of Lawes and of their ſeuerall force, according to the different kind and qualitie of our actions, it ſhall not peraduenture be amiſſe to ſhew in ſome one example how they all take place. To ſeeke no further; let but that be conſidered, than which there is not any thing more familiar vnto vs, our foode. What things are foode, and what are not, wee iudge naturally by ſenſe, neither need we any other Law to be our directer in that behalfe than the ſelfeſame which is common vnto vs with beaſts. But when wee come to conſider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodneſſe hath prouided for al things liuing, the Law of reaſon doth here require the dutie of thankefulneſſe at our hands, towards him at whoſe hands wee haue it. And leſt appetite in the vſe of foode, ſhould leade vs beyond that which is meete; wee owe in this

Rom. 13. 1.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δυνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐνδὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι, Arist. Eth. 5. cap. 3.

Iob. 34. 3. Pſal. 145. 15, 16.

this caſe obedience to that Law of reaſon, which teacheth mediocrity in meates and drinkes. The ſame things Diuine Law teacheth alſo, as at large wee haue ſhewed it doth all parts of morall dutie, whereunto we all of neceſſitie ſtand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certaine kinds of food the Iews ſometime had, and wee our ſelues likewiſe haue a Myſtical, religious, and ſupernaturall vſe; they of their Paſcall Lambe and Oblations; wee of our Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt; which vſe none but Diuine Law could inſtitute. Now as we liue in ciuill ſociety, the ſtate of the Common-wealth wherein we liue, both may and doth require certaine Lawes concerning food; which Lawes, ſauing onely that we are members of the Common wealth where they are of force, we ſhould not need to reſpect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kind they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelfe-ſame matter is alſo a ſubiect wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſticall Lawes haue place; ſo that vnleſſe wee will be Authours of confuſion in the Church, our priuate diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide vs a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelfe to bee that way guided, which the publike iudgement of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe that of *Zonaras* concerning Faſts may bee remembred. *Faſtings are good, but let good things be done in good & conuenient manner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his faſting the orders of the holy Fathers,* the poſitiue Lawes of the Church of Chriſt, muſt be plainely told *that good things doe loſe the grace of their goodneſſe, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here mens priuate phanſies muſt giue place to the higher iudgement of that Church which is in authority a Mother ouer them: ſo the very actions of whole Churches haue, in regard of commerce and followſhip with other Churches, beene ſubiect to Lawes concerning food, the contrary vnto which Lawes had elſe beene thought more conuenient for them to obſerue; as by that order of abſtinence from ſtrangled and bloud may appeare; an order grounded vpon that fellowſhip which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Iewes. Thus we ſee how euen one and the ſelfe-ſame thing is vnder diuers conſiderations conueyed through many Lawes, & that to meaſure by any one kind of Law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath diſpoſed all Lawes, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here wee may briefly end, of Law there can bee no leſſe acknowledged, than that her ſeate is the boſome of God, her voyce the harmony of the World, all things in Heauen and Earth doe her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her power; both Angels and men and creatures of what condition ſoeuer, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all with vniforme conſent, admiring her as the Mother of their peace and ioy.

ἔστιν οὖν καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται. Zonar. in Can. Apoſt. 66.

Acts 15. 20.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE:

The ſecond Booke.

Concerning their Firſt Poſition who vrge Reformation in the Church of England:

Namely, That Scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done by men.

The matter contayned in this ſecond Booke.

1 AN *Anſwere to their firſt proofe brought out of Scripture,* Prou. 2.9.
2 *To their ſecond,* 1. Cor. 10. 31.
3 *To their third,* 1. Tim. 4. 5.
4 *To their fourth,* Rom. 14. 23.
5 *To their proofes out of Fathers, who diſpute negatiuely from the authoritie of holy Scripture.*
6 *To their proofe by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from Diuine authoritie negatiuely.*
7 *An examination of their opinion concerning the force of Arguments, taken from humane authoritie, for the ordering of mens actions and perſwaſions.*
8 *A Declaration what the truth is in this matter,*

AS that which in the title hath beene propoſed for the matter whereof wee treate, is only the Eccleſiaſticall Law whereby wee are gouerned; So neyther is it my purpoſe to maintayne any other thing, than that which therein truth and reaſon ſhall approoue. For concerning the dealings of men who adminiſter Gouernment, and vnto whom the execution of that Law belongeth; they haue their Iudge who ſitteth in Heauen, and before whoſe Tribunall Seate they are accountable for whatſoeuer abuſe or corruption, which (being worthily miſliked in this Church) the want eyther of care or of conſci-

ence in them hath bred. Wee are no Patrones of those things therefore; the best defence whereof is speedie redresse and amendment. That which is of God wee defend, to the vttermost of that habilitie which hee hath giuen: that which is otherwise, let it wither euen in the root from whence it hath sprung. Wherfore al these abuses being seuered and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men, and not from the Lawes themselues: come we to those things which in the very whole intire forme of our Church-Politie haue bin (as wee perswade our selues) iniuriously blamed by them who indeuor to ouerthrow the same, and in stead thereof to establish a much worse; onely through a strong misconceit they haue, that the same is grounded on diuine authoritie. Now, whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters wherof we contend, to be fewer thē indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discust by reason, than otherwise they seeme, when by heate of contention they are deuided into many slips, and of euery branch an heape is made: surely, as now we haue drawne them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to bee seuerally all discust, and omitting such meane specialties as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themselues; I know no cause why either the number or the length of the Controuersies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and loue on all sides; which of his infinite loue and goodnesse the Father of all peace and vnitie grant. Vnto which scope that our indeuour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things bee examined, which are as seedes from whence the rest that ensue haue growne. And of such the most generall is that, wherewith wee are here to make our entrance; a question not mooued (I thinke) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to bee soone (I trust) determined: the rather for that it hath growne from no other roote, then only a desire to enlarge the necessarie vse of the Word of God; which desire hath begotten an errour inlarging it further then (as wee are perswaded) soundnesse of truth will beare. For whereas God hath left sundry kindes of Lawes vnto men, and by all those Lawes the actions of men are in some sort directed: they hold that one onely Law, the Scripture, must bee the rule to direct in all things, euen so farre as to the *taking vp of a Rush or Straw*. About which point there should not need any question to grow, and that which it growne might presently end, if they did yeeld but to these two restraints. the first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speake, so low as that instance doth import, of taking vp a Strawe, but rather keepe themselues, at the least within the compasse of morall actions, actions which haue in them Vice or Vertue; The second, not to exact at our handes for euery action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which wee stand bound to deduce it, as by diuers testimonies they seeke to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions bee framed according to the Law of Reason; the generall Axiomes, Rules, and Principles of which Law being so frequent in holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, euen out of Scripture such duties may bee deduced by some kind of consequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may bee that euen al truth out of any truth may bee concluded) howbeit no man bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of

T.C.l.1.p.59.60

Scrip-

Scripture, as if either the place be to him vnknowne whereon they may be concluded, or the reference vnto that place not presently considered of, the action shall in that respect be condemned as vnlawfull. In this we dissent, and this wee are presently to examine.

1 In all parts of knowledge rightly so termed, things most generall are most strong. Thus it must be, in as much as the certainty of our perswasion touching particulars, dependeth altogether vpon the credit of those generalites out of which they grow. Albeit therefore euery cause admit not such infallible euidence of proofe, as leaueth no possibility of doubt or scruple behind it; yet they who claime the general assent of the whole World vnto that which they teach, and do not feare to giue very hard and heauy sentence vpon as many as refuse to embrace the same, must haue speciall regard that their first foundations and grounds bee more then slender probabilities. This whole question which hath beene mooued about the kind of Church Regiment, wee could not but for our owne resolutions sake, endeuour to vnrip and sift; following therein as neere as we might, the conduct of that iudiciall method which serueth best for inuention of truth. By meanes whereof hauing found this the head Theoreme of all their Discourses, who plead for the change of Ecclesiasticall gouerment in Englād, namely, *that the Scripture of God is in such sort the rule of humane actions, that simply whatsoeuer we doe, & are not by it directed thereunto, the same is sin*; we hold it necessary that the proofes hereof be weighed: be they of weight sufficient or otherwise, it is not ours to iudge and determine: onely what difficulties there are, which as yet with-hold our assent, till wee bee further and better satisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongst them will scorne or refuse to heare. First, therefore, whereas they alleage *that wisdome* doth teach men *euery good way*, & haue thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action; vnlesse wisdome do by Scripture leade vnto it: see they not plainely how they restraine the manifold wayes which wisdome hath to teach men by, vnto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wisdome are large, and within them much is cōtained. Wisdome was *Adams* Instructer in Paradise: Wisdome indued the Fathers who liued before the Law, with the knowledge of holy things: by the wisdome of the Law of God, *Dauid* attained to excell others in vnderstanding; & *Salomō* likewise to excell *Dauid*, by the selfe same wisdome of God, teaching him many things besides the Law. The waies of wel-doing are in number euen as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions: so that whatsoeuer we doe in this World and may do it ill, we shew our selues therein by wel-doing to be wise. Now if wisedome did teach men by Scripture not only all the wayes that are right and good in some certaine kind, according to that of * S. *Paul*, cōcerning the vse of Scripture; but did simply without any maner of exception, restraint, or distinction, teach euery way of doing wel; there is no art but scripture shold teach it, because euery art doth teach the way how to do some thing or other wel. To teach men therfore wisdome professeth, and to teach thē euery good way: but not euery good way

The first pretended proofe of the first Position out of Scripture *Pro.* 1. 9. *T. C.* l. 1 *p.* 20. I say that the Word of God contayneth whatsoeuer things can fall into any part of mans life. For so *Salomon* saith in the second Chapter of the *Prouerbs My Son, if thou receiue my words, &c. then thou shalt vnderstand Iustice, and iudgement, and equitie, and euery good way.*

Psal. 119. 98.

* 2. Tim. 3. 16. *The whole Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and to instruct in righteousnesse, that the Man of God may bee absolute, being made perfect vnto all good workes.* Hee meaneth all and only those good workes which belong vnto vs as we are men of God, and which vnto saluation are necessary. Or if we vnderstand by men of God, Gods Minister; there, is not required in them an vniuersall skill of euery good worke or way, but an abilitie to teach whatsoeuer men are bound to doe that they may be saued. And with this kinde of knowledge the Scripture sufficeeth to furnish them as touching matter.

way by one way of teaching. Whatſoeuer either men on Earth, or the Angels of Heauen doe know, it is as a drop of that vnemptiable Fountaine of wiſdome; which wiſedome hath diuerſly imparted her treaſures vnto the World. As her wayes are of ſundry kindes, ſo her manner of teaching is not meerely one and the ſame. Some things ſhee openeth by the ſacred Bookes of Scripture; ſome things by the glorious Workes of Nature: with ſome things ſhe inſpireth them from aboue by ſpirituall influence; with ſome things ſhee leadeth and trayneth them onely by wordly experience and practice. We may not ſo in any one ſpeciall kind admire her, that wee diſgrace her in any other; but let all her wayes be according vnto their place and degree adored.

The ſecond proofe out of Scripture. 1. *Cor.* 10. 31. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 26. S. *Paul* ſayth that whether wee eat or drink or whatſoeuer we do, we muſt doe it to the glorie of God. But no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; & there is no obedience but in reſpect of the Commandement and Word of God: Therefore it followeth that the Word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

2 That *all things be done to the glory of God*, the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellencie of that vertue diuine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth Men and Angels to extoll his Greatneſſe, and in regard thereof to feare him. By being glorified, it is not meant that hee doth receiue any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his Name wee glorifie, when wee teſtifie our acknowledgement of his glorie. Which albeit wee moſt effectually doe by the vertue of obedience: neuertheleſſe it may bee perhaps a queſtiō, whether Saint *Paul* did meane that we ſinne as oft as euer we go about any thing, without an expreſſe intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſaith of himſelfe, *I doe in all things pleeſe all men, ſeeking not mine owne commoditie, but* rather *the good of many, that they may bee ſaued.* Shall it hereupon bee thought, that Saint *Paul* did not moue either hand or foot, but with expreſſe intent euen thereby to further the common ſaluation of men? Wee mooue, wee ſleepe, wee take the Cuppe at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes doe, onely to ſatisfie ſome naturall deſire, without preſent expreſſe and actuall reference vnto any Commandement of God. Vnto his glorie euen theſe things are done which wee naturally performe, and not onely that which morally and ſpiritually wee doe. For by euery effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of Nature, his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow, that of neceſſitie wee ſhall ſinne, vnleſſe wee expreſly intend this in euery ſuch particuler. But bee it a thing which requireth no more than onely our generall preſuppoſed willingneſſe to pleaſe God in all things; or bee it a matter wherein wee cannot ſo glorifie the Name of God as wee ſhould, without an actuall intent to doe him in that particular ſome ſpeciall obedience: yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alleaged to the contrarie, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will bee performed with an actuall intelligent deſire to fulfill that Law which maketh knowne what his will is, although no ſpeciall clauſe or ſentence of Scripture be in euery ſuch action ſet before mens eyes to warrant it. For ſcripture is not the onely Law wherby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinde of Lawes which notifie the will of God, as in the former Booke hath bin prooued at large: Nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. *Doe therefore all things vnto the glory of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *be inoffenſiue both to the Iewes and Grecians, and the Church of God; euen as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine owne commoditie, but manies that, they may be ſaued.* In the leaſt

thing

thing done diſobediently towardes God, or offenſiuely againſt the good of men whoſe benefit we ought to ſeeke for as for our owne, wee plainely ſhew that wee doe not acknowledge God to bee ſuch as indeed hee is, and conſequently that we glorifie him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth: but doth any Apoſtle teach, that wee cannot glorifie God otherwiſe, than onely in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth vs to doe? The Churches diſperſed amongſt the Heathen in the Eaſt part of the World, are by the Apoſtle Saint *Peter* exhorted to haue their *conuerſation honeſt amongſt the Gentiles, that they which ſpake euill of them as of euil doers, might by the good workes which they ſhould ſee, glorifie God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubiect to iuſt reproofe, their vertuous conuerſation was a meane to worke the Heathens conuerſion vnto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had beene a thing altogether impoſſible, but that Infidels themſelues did diſcerne, in matters of life and conuerſation, when Beleeuers did well, and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their heauenly Father, and when not: it followeth that ſome things wherein God is glorified, may be ſome other way knowne, then onely by the ſacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being vtterly ignorant, did notwithſtanding iudge rightly of the qualitie of Chriſtian mens actions. Moſt certaine it is that nothing but onely ſinne, doth diſhonour God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to doe nothing whereby the Name of God may bee blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſaluation of Iew or Grecian or any in the Church of Chriſt may bee let or hindred, nothing whereby his Law is tranſgreſt. But the queſtion is, whether onely Scripture do ſhew whatſoeuer God is glorified in.

1. *Pet.* 2. 12.

Rom. 2. 34.

1. *Cor.* 10 32. *Rom.* 2. 23.

3 And though meates and drinkes be ſaid to bee ſanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer: yet neyther is this a reaſon ſufficient to prooue, that by Scripture wee muſt of neceſſitie be directed, in euery light and common thing which is incident into any part of mans life. Onely it ſheweth that vnto vs the Word, that is to ſay, the Goſpell of Chriſt, hauing not deliuered any ſuch difference of things cleane and vncleane, as the Law of *Moſes* did vnto the Iewes; there is no cauſe but that we may vſe indifferently all things, as long as we doe not (like Swine) take the benefit of them, without a thankefull acknowledgement of his liberalitie and goodneſſe, by whoſe prouidence they are inioyed: and therefore the Apoſtle gaue warning before hand to take heed of ſuch as ſhould inioyne to *abſtaine from meates, which God hath created to bee receiued with thankeſgiuing, by them which beleeue and know the Truth. For euery creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it bee receiued with thankeſgiuing, becauſe it is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.* The Goſpell, by not making many things vncleane, as the Law did, hath ſanctified thoſe things generally to all, which particularly each man vnto himſelfe muſt ſanctifie by a reuerend and holy vſe: which will hardly be drawne ſo farre, as to ſerue their purpoſe, who haue imagined the Word in ſuch ſort to ſanctifie all things, that neither food can be taſted, nor rayment put on, nor in the World any thing done, but this deed muſt needs be ſinne in them, which doe not firſt know it appointed vnto them by Scripture before they doe it.

The third Scripture proofe. 1. *Tim.* 4. 5. And that which S. *Paul* ſaid of meates and drinkes; that they are ſanctified vnto vs by the word of God, the ſame is to bee vnderſtanded of all things elſe whatſoeuer wee haue the vſe of *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 20. 1. *Tim.* 4.

4. But

The fourth Scripture proofe.

4. But to come vnto that which of all other things in Scripture is moſt ſtood vpon, that place of Saint *Paul* they ſay, is *of all other moſt cleere, where ſpeaking of thoſe things which are called indifferent, in the end hee concludeth, that whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſinne. But faith is not but in reſpect of the Word of God. Therfore what ſoeuer is not done by the Word of God, is ſinne.* Whereunto we anſwere, that albeit the name of faith being properly and ſtrictly taken, it muſt needs haue reference vnto ſome vttered word, as the obiect of beliefe: neuertheleſſe ſith the ground of credit is the credibilitie of things credited; and things are made credible, eyther by the knowne condition and qualitie of the vtterer, or by the manifeſt likelihood of Truth which they haue in themſelues; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoeuer wee are perſwaded of, the ſame wee are generally ſaid to beleeue. In which generalitie the obiect of faith may not ſo narrowly bee reſtrained, as if the ſame did extend no further than to the onely Scriptures of God. *Though* (ſaith our Sauiour) *ye beleeue not mee, beleeue my workes, that ye may know and beleeue that the Father is in mee, and I in him. The other Diſciples ſaid vnto* THOMAS, *We haue ſeene the Lord*; but his anſwer vnto them was, *Except I ſee in his hands the print of the nailes, and put my finger into them, I wil not beliue.* Can there be any thing more plaine, than that which by theſe two ſentences appeareth, namely, that there may bee a certaine beliefe grounded vpon other aſſurance than Scripture; any thing more cleere, than that wee are ſaid not onely to beleeue the things which we know by anothers relation, but euen whatſoeuer we are certainely perſwaded of, whether it bee by reaſon, or by ſenſe? For as much therefore as [h] it is granted that Saint *Paul* doth meane nothing elſe by *Faith*, but onely *a full perſwaſion that that which wee do is well done*; againſt which kinde of faith or perſwaſion as Saint *Paul* doth count it ſinne to enterprize any thing, [i] ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen haue taught, as TVLLY, *that nothing ought to bee done whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong; wherby it appeareth that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equitie of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man:* I hope wee ſhall not ſeeme altogether vnneceſſarily to doubt of the ſoundneſſe of their opinion, who thinke ſimply that nothing but onely the Word of God, can giue vs aſſurance in any thing we are to do, and reſolue vs that we doe wel. For might not the Iewes haue beene fully perſwaded that they did well to thinke (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the Father was, although the only groũd of this their faith, had beene the wonderfull workes they ſaw him doe? Might not, yea, did not *Thomas* fully in the end, perſwade himſelfe, that he did wel to thinke that body, which now was rayſed, to be the ſame which had beene crucified? That which gaue *Thomas* this aſſurance was his ſenſe; THOMAS, *becauſe thou haſt ſeene, thou beleeueſt*, ſaith our Sauiour. What Scripture had *Tully* for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who alleage him, thinke hee did well to ſet

Rom. 14. 23. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 27.

Pſal. 19. 8. *Apoc.* 3. 14. 2. *Cor.* 1. 18.

Iob. 10. 38.

Iob. 20. 25.

John 20. 21.

h And if any will ſay, that S. *Paul* meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and perſwaſion that that which he doth is well done, I grant it. But from whence can that ſpring but from Faith? how can we perſwade and aſſure our ſelues that we do wel, but wheras we haue the Word of God for our warrãt? *T. C. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

i What alſo that ſome euen of thoſe Heathen men haue taught, that nothing ought to be done, wherof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equitie of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man: and that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent men for the difference of good & euill to the light of reaſon in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the Schole of Chriſt in his Word, which only is able through faith to giue them aſſurãce & reſoluciõ in their doings. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 60

downe in writing a thing ſo conſonant vnto truth. Finally, we all beleeue that the Scriptures of God are Sacred, and that they haue proceeded from God, our ſelues we aſſure that wee do right well in ſo beleeuing. We haue for this point a demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or poſſibly can aſſure vs, that wee doe well to thinke it his Word. For if any one Booke of Scripture did giue teſtimonie to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giueth credit to the reſt, would require another Scripture to giue credit vnto it: neyther could we euer come vnto any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way: ſo that vnleſſe beſides Scripture there were ſome thing which might aſſure vs that we doe well, we could not thinke we doe well, no not in being aſſured that Scripture is a ſacred and holy Rule of well doing. On which determination wee might bee contented to ſtay our ſelues without further proceeding herein, but that wee are drawne on into larger ſpeech by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtneſſe, who beate more and more vpon theſe laſt alledged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas therefore, they ſtill argue, that *whereſoeuer Faith is wanting, there is ſinne*, and *in euery action not commanded, Faith is wanting*; Ergo, *in euery action not commanded, there is ſinne*: I would demand of them; firſt, for as much as the nature of things indifferent is neyther to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrarie; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith ſinne be committed, when any thing not commanded is done? So that of neceſſitie they muſt adde ſomewhat, and at leaſt wiſe thus ſet it downe: In euerie action nor commanded of God or permitted with approbation, Faith is wanting, and for want of Faith there is ſinne. The next thing we are to enquire is, what thoſe things bee which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be ſo permitted. When there are vnto one end ſundrie meanes, as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our bodies many kindes of food, many ſorts of rayment to cloath our nakednеſſe, and ſo in other things of like condition: here the end it ſelfe being neceſſarie, but not ſo any one meane thereunto; neceſſarie that our bodies ſhould be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or rayment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their owne nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our owne diſcretion, except a principall bond of ſome higher duetie remoue the indifferencie that ſuch things haue in themſelues. Their indifferencie is remoued, if eyther wee take away our owne libertie, as *Ananias* did, for whom to haue ſold or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his ſolemne Vow and Promiſe vnto God had ſtrictly bound him one onely way: or if God himſelfe haue preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtrayning vs vnto, or by barring vs from ſome one or more things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelues altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of Prieſtly attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his Sonne might haue had their free choice without ſinne, but that God expreſſely tyed them vnto one. All meats indifferent vnto the Iew, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as Swines fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe thinke, than that what things God doth neyther command nor forbid, the ſame he permitteth with approbation eyther to be done or left vndone. *All things are lawfull vnto me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile for maintenance of libertie in things indifferent: whereunto his

T.C. l.1.p.58.

Act.5.

Exod.39.1.43. Leuit.11.

1.Cor.6.12.

anſwere

answere is, that neuertheleſſe *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not alwaies equally expediēt. Now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawful becauſe they are permitted, the queſtion is, what light ſhall ſhew vs the conueniencie which one hath aboue another. For anſwer, their finall determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth vs to the Schoole of Chriſt in his Word, which only is able through faith to giue vs aſſurance and reſolution in our doings.* Which word *Only*, is vtterly without poſſibility of euer being proued. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that vnleſſe the Word of the Lord had determined of the free vſe of them, there could haue bin no lawful vſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is vntrue; becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting downe ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting downe as neceſſary, that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerueth nothing at all? Wee inquire not now whether any thing be free to be vſed, which Scripture hath not ſet downe as free: but concerning things knowne and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in chooſing any one of them before another we ſinne, if any thing but Scripture direct vs in this our choice. When many meates are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none vnlawfull; I take one as moſt conuenient. If Scripture require me ſo to doe, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt doe what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any, Scripture doth not require of mee to make any ſpeciall choice of one: I doe notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to doe. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be iuſtly condemned of ſin. Nor let any man think, that following the iudgement of naturall diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can haue no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the author and God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in naturall ſort, be in that reſpect vnacceptable? The nature which himſelfe hath giuen to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exerciſe the ſame any way without Commandement of his to the contrary. My deſire is to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame, might remayne in any mans cogitation. Some truths there are, the veritie whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was liuing on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be knowne therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinfull ſtaine of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertaine vnto vs only, or a perpetual truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the world vnto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath bin, nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtraine this vnto any particular time; how they can think it true now and not alwaies true, that in euery action not commanded there is for want of faith ſinne. Then let them caſt backe their eies vnto former generations of men, and marke what was done in the prime of the World, *Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Iob*, and the reſt that liued before any ſyllable of the Law of God was written, did they not ſinne as much as we doe in euery action not commanded? That which God is vnto vs by his Sacred Word, the ſame he was vnto them by ſuch like meanes as *Eliphas* in *Iob* deſcribeth. If therefore we ſinne in euery action which the Scripture commandeth vs not, it followeth that they did the

Iob. 4. 19.

like

like in all ſuch actions as were not by Reuelation from Heauen exacted at their hands. Vnleſſe God from Heauen did by Viſion ſtill ſhew them what to doe, they might doe nothing, not eate, not drinke, not ſleepe, not mooue. Yea, but euen as in darkeneſſe, candlelight may ſerue to guide mens ſteps, which to vſe in the day were madneſſe; ſo when God had once deliuered his Law in Writing, it may be, they are of opinion, that it muſt needes be ſinne for men to doe any thing, which was not there commanded them to doe, whatſoeuer they might doe before. Let this be graunted, and it ſhall hereupon plainely enſue, eyther that the light of Scripture once ſhining in the World, all other light of nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now wee need it not, neyther may we longer vſe it; or if it ſtand vs in any ſtead, yet as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of men whom Nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſeruitude, ſaying, *They haue no reaſon ſo far forth as to conceiue when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themſelues by themſelues; ſo likewiſe our naturall capacitie and iudgement muſt ſerue vs onely for the right vnderſtanding of that which the Sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes*, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, bin ſetled in this perſwaſion, neuer would they haue taken ſo great paines in gathering together naturall Arguments, thereby to teach the faithfull their duties. To vſe vnto them any other motiue then *Scriptum eſt, Thus it is written*, had bin to teach them other grounds of their actions then Scripture; which I grant, they alleage commonly but not onely. Onely Scripture they ſhould haue alleaged, had they bin thus perſwaded, that ſo farre forth we doe ſinne, as we doe any thing otherwiſe directed then by Scripture. Saint *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianitie to credite none, how godly & learned ſoeuer he were, vnleſſe he confirmed his ſentence by the Scriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrarie to them*. Let them therefore with S. *Auguſtine*, reiect and condemne that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrarie to Scripture, & we are readie to giue them our hands in token of friendly conſent with them.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

Auguſt. Ep. 18.

5. But againſt this it may be obiected, and is, that the Fathers doe nothing more vſually in their Books, then draw arguments from the Scripture negatiuely in reproofe of that which is euil; *Scriptures teach it not, auoid it therfore*; theſe Diſputes with the Fathers are ordinarie, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Prophets themſelues haue ſo reaſoned. Which Arguments being ſound and good, it ſhould ſeeme that it cannot be vnſound or euill to hold ſtill the ſame aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we haue diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, Such a thing is not taught vs in Scripture, therefore we may not receiue or allow it: how ſhould it ſeeme vnreaſonable to thinke, that whatſoeuer we may lawfully doe, the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawfull? But how far ſuch Arguments doe reach, it ſhall the better appeare by conſidering the matter wherein they haue beene vrged. Firſt therefore, this we conſtantly deny, that of ſo many teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of negatiue arguments, any one doth generally (which is the poynt in queſtion) condemne eyther all opinions as falſe, or all actions as vnlawfull, which the Scripture teacheth vs not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is onely, that in ſome caſes a negatiue argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong; wherof no mã indued with iudgement can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome negatiue Argument

The firſt aſſertion indeuoured to be proued by the vſe of taking arguments negatiuely from the authoritie of Scripture: which kinde of diſputing is vſuall in the Fathers.

proue this kind of negatiue Argument ſtrong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture preſcribeth not, condemned? The queſtion betweene vs is concerning matter of action, what things are lawfull or vnlawfull for men to doe. The ſentences alleaged out of the Fathers, are as peremptorie and as large in euery reſpect for matter of opinion, as of action: which argueth that in truth they neuer meant any otherwiſe to tye the one then the other vnto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tyed, as farre as each is required in the ſame kind of neceſſitie vnto Saluation. If therefore it be not vnlawfull to know, and with ful perſwaſion to beleeue, much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be againſt all ſenſe and reaſon to condemne the knowledge of ſo many Artes and Sciences as are otherwiſe learned than in Holy Scripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt ſpeeches of ancient Catholicke Fathers which ſeeme to cloſe vp within the boſome thereof all manner good and lawful knowledge: wherefore ſhould theſe wordes be thought more effectuall, to ſhew that we may not in deeds and practice, then they are to proue that in ſpeculation and knowledge, we ought not to goe any further then the Scripture? Which Scripture being giuen to teach matters of beliefe no leſſe than of action; the Fathers muſt needs be, and are euen as plaine againſt credit, beſides the relation; as againſt practice, without the Iniunction of the Scripture.

Aug. contr. liter. Petil. l. 3. c. 6. Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, *Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoeuer the queſtion be; I ſay not if we but, if an Angell from Heauen ſhall tell vs any thing beſide that you haue receiued in the Scripture vnder the Law and Goſpell, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort TERTVLLIAN, *We may not giue our ſelues this libertie to bring in any thing of our will, nor chooſe any thing that other men bring in of their will; we haue the Apoſtles themſelues for Authors, which themſelues brought nothing of their owne will, but the diſcipline which they receiued of Chriſt, they deliuered faithfully vnto the people.*

Tertull. de præſcript. aduerſ.

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. *Auguſtine* ſaith, whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it bee queſtion of his Church, &c. And leſt the Anſwerer ſhould reſtraine the generall ſaying of *Auguſtine* vnto the Doctrine of the Goſpel, ſo that hee would thereby ſhut out the Diſcipline; euen *Tertullian* himſelfe before he was embrued with the Hereſie of *Montanus*, giueth teſtimonie vnto the Diſcipline in theſe words, *We may not giue our ſelues, &c.*

in which place the name of diſcipline importeth not as they who alleage it would faine haue it conſtrued; but as any man who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of vttering the words, will eaſily acknowledge; euen the ſelfe-ſame thing it ſignifieth, which the name of Doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there haue been vſed. To helpe them farther, doth not S. *Ierome* after the ſelfe-ſame manner diſpute, *We beleeue it not becauſe we reade it not?* Yea, *We ought not ſo much as to know the things which the Booke of the Law containeth not*, ſaith S. *Hilarie.*

Hieron. contra Heluid.

Hilar. in Pſ. 131

Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or giue credit vnto any thing, which ſenſe, or experience, or report, or art doth propoſe, vnleſſe wee finde the ſame in Scripture? No, it is too plaine that ſo farre to extend their ſpeeches, is to wreſt them againſt their true intent and meaning, To vrge any thing vpon the Church, requiring thereunto that Religious aſſent of Chriſtian beliefe, wherewith the words of the Holy Prophets are receiued; to vrge any thing as part of that ſupernaturall and Celeſtially reuealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers euermore thinke vnlawfull, impious, execrable, And thus as their ſpeeches were meant, ſo by vs they muſt be reſtrained. As for thoſe alleaged words

of

of CYPRIAN, *The Chriſtian Religion ſhall find, that out of this Scripture Rules of all Doctrines haue ſprung, and that from hence doth ſpring, and hither doth returne whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline doth containe*: ſurely this place would neuer haue beene brought forth in this cauſe, if it had bin but once read ouer in the Author himſelfe, out of whom it is cited. For the words are vttered concerning that one principall commandement of loue, in the honour whereof hee ſpeaketh after his ſort: *Surely this commandement containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one Word is the Abridgement of all the Volumes of Scripture: This Nature, and Reaſon, and the authoritie of thy Word, o Lord, doth proclaime, this we haue heard out of thy mouth, herein the perfection of all Religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt commandement and the laſt: this being written in the Booke of Life, is (as it were) an euerlaſting leſſon both to Men and Angels. Let Chriſtian Religion reade this one Word, and meditate vpon this Commandement, and out of this Scripture it ſhall find the Rules of all Learning to haue ſprung, and from hence to haue riſen, and hither to returne whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vaine and beotleſſe which Charitie confirmeth not.* Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to proue that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby euen as wel proue, that one Commandement of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the Scripture, as now they doe all meanes beſides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeech rather to paſſe by number, than to ſtay for waight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this caſe ſpeake yet more plainely: *The Scripture* (ſaith he) *denieth what it noteth not:* which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the Scripture reckoneth vp the Kings of Iſrael, and amongſt thoſe Kings *Dauid*: the Scripture reckoneth vp the ſons of *Dauid*, and amongſt thoſe ſonnes *Salomon*. To proue that amongſt the Kings of Iſrael, there was no *Dauid* but only one, no *Salomon* but one in the ſons of *Dauid*, *Tertullians* Argument will fitly proue. For in as much as the Scripture did propoſe to reckon vp all, if there were moe, it would haue named them. In this caſe *the Scripture doth denie the thing it noteth not*. Howbeit I could not but thinke that man to doe mee ſome piece of manifeſt iniury, which would hereby faſten vpon me a generall opinion, as if I did thinke the Scripture to denie the very reigne of King *Henry* the Eight, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch King did reigne. *Tertullians* ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as hee there ſpeaketh of. There was, ſaith *Tertullian*, no ſecond *Lamech*, like to him that had two wiues; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noth one ſuch to haue bin in that Age of the World; ſo had there beene moe, it would by likelihood as well haue noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* Were it conſonant vnto reaſon to diuorce theſe two ſentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the later is reſtrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the later of them, that ſimply whatſoeuer any man at this day doth thinke true, is by the Scripture denied, vnleſſe it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a caſe ſo weake and feeble

T.C.lib.2.pag.8. Let him heare what *Cyprian* ſayth: The Chriſtian Religion (ſayth hee) ſhall find, that &c.

Verè hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audiuimus, hic inuenit conſummationem omnis Religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum & vltimum; hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc vnum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana Religio, & inueniet ex HAC Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanaſſe, & hinc naſci & huc reuerti quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus irritum eſſe & friuolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

Tertull. lib. de Monog.

T.C.lib.2.p.81. And in another place *Tertullian* ſaith that the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

hath bin so much persisted in. But to come vnto those their sentences, wherein matters of action are more apparantly touched, the name of *Tertul.* is as before, so here againe pretended; who writing vnto his wife two Bookes, and exhorting her in the one to liue a widow, in case God before her should take him vnto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry, yet not to ioyne her selfe to an Infidel, as in those times some Widowes Christian had done for the aduancement of their estate in this present World, hee vrgeth very earnestly Saint *Pauls* words, *Onely in the Lord*: whereupon he demandeth of them that thinke they may doe the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispensed & granted licence to doe against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth inioyne. And because in defence it might perhaps be replyed, seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are Infidels, if either partie chaunce to bee after conuerted vnto Christianitie, this should not make separation betweene them, as long as the vnconuerted was willing to retaine the other on whom the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore then should that let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolue marriage being made? after great reasons shewed why God doth in Converts being married, allow continuance with Infidels, and yet disallow that the faithfull when they are free should enter into bonds of Wedlocke with such, concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, *They that please not the Lord, doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themselues into euill*, that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they doe that whereby they incurre his displeasure, they make an offer of themselues into the seruice of that enemy with whose seruants they linke themselues in so neere a bond. What one syllable is there in all this, preiudiciall any way to that which we hold? For the words of *Tertullian* as they are by them alleged, are two waies misunderstood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of womens persons; and in the later, where *receiued with hurt*, is put in stead of *wilful incurring that which is euil*. And so in summe, *Tertullian* doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, *Whatsoeuer pleaseth not the Lord displeaseth him, and with hurt is receiued*; but *Those women that please not the Lord* by their kind of marrying, *doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themselues into euill*. Somewhat more shew there is in a second place of *Tertullia*, which notwithstanding when we haue examined it, will be found as the rest are. The Roman Emperours custome was at certaine solemne times to bestow on his Souldiers a donatiue; which donatiue they receiued, wearing Garlands vpon their heads. There were in the time of the Emperours *Seuerus* and *Antoninus*, many who being Souldiers, had bin conuerted vnto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still in that Militarie course of life. In which number, one man there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time comming

T.C.l.2.p.80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not against the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appeare by other places, where he saith, that whatsoeuer pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is receiued, *Lib. 2. ad vxorem.*

Que Domino non placent, vtiq; Dominum offendunt, vtiq; malose inserunt

T.C.l.2.p.81. And to come yet neerer, wher he disputeth against the wearing of Crown or Garland (which is indifferent in it selfe) to those which obiecting asked, where the Scripture saith that a man might not weare a Crowne; he answereth by asking, where the Scripture saith that they may weare? And vnto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, he answereth that it is forbidden which is not permitted. Wherby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatiuely, holdeth not only in the Doctrine & Ecclesiastical discipline, but euen in matters arbitrary & variable by the aduice of the church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, vnlesse there be some word which doth permit the vse of them: it is not enough that the Scripture speaketh not against them, vnlesse it speake for them; and finally, where it displeaseth the Lord which pleaseth him not, wee must of necessitie haue the Word of his mouth to declare his pleasure,

to

to the Tribune of the Army to receiue his Donatiue, came but with a Garland in his hand, and not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demandeth what this great ſingularitie would meane. To whom the Souldier, *Chriſtianus ſum, I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time; whereupon grew a queſtion, whether a Chriſtian Souldier might herein do as the vnchriſtian did, and weare as they wore. Many of them, which were verie ſound in Chriſtian Beliefe, did rather commend the zeale of this man, than approue his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemie vnto the Church for condemning that propheticall ſpirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had receiued; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their perfecter & final inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of minde, made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, & to gall their minds who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his Book *De corona militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomack wherewith he wrote it. For firſt the man hee commended as one more conſtant than the reſt of his Brethren, *Who preſumed*, ſaith he, *that they might well enough ſerue two Lords.* Afterwards, choler ſomewhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth euen remaine that they ſhould alſo deuiſe how to rid themſelues of his Martyrdome, towards the Propheſies of whoſe Holy Spirit they haue already ſhewed their diſdaine. They matter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſſe vp bag and baggage, make themſelues in a readineſſe, that they may flie from Citie to Citie. For that is the onely poynt of the Goſpel which they are carefull not to forget. I know euen their Paſtors very well what they are, in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and feare.* Now theſe men, ſaith *Tertullian*, *They muſt be anſwered, Where doe we finde it written in Scripture*, that a Chriſtian man may not weare a Garland? And as mens ſpeeches vttered in heat of diſtempered affection, haue oftentimes much more eagerneſſe than waight; ſo he that ſhall marke the proofes alleaged, and the anſwers to things obiected in that Booke, will now and then perhaps eſpy the like imbecillitie. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads Garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſors of Natures Law, and guilty of Sacriledge againſt God the Lord of Nature, in as much as Flowers in ſuch ſort worne, can neither be ſmelt nor ſeene well by thoſe that weare them: and God made Flowers ſweet and beautifull, that being ſeene and ſmelt vnto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weakneſſe in ſtriking only, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whom he cõtendeth. They ask, ſaith, he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrary part the ayde of Scripture, they doe giue ſentence before-hand that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be ayded.* Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſſe I ought not to doe that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould thereby acknowledge my ſelfe bound to doe nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements beſides Scripture may leade me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all giue place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectuall to perſwade. Which thing himſelfe well enough vnderſtanding, & being not ignorant that Scripture in many

Tert. de coron. milit.

things doth neither command nor forbid, but vſe ſilence; his reſolution in fine is, that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictly obſerued, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once receiued and confirmed by vſe, long vſage is a Law ſufficient; that in ciuill affaires when there is no other Law, cuſtome it ſelfe doth ſtand for Law; that in as much as Law doth ſtand vpon reaſon, to alledge reaſō ſerueth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatſoeuer is reaſonable, the ſame is lawfull whoſoeuer is Author of it; that the authoritie of cuſtome is great; finally, that the cuſtome of Chriſtians was then and had bin a long time not to weare Garlands, and therefore that vndoubtedly they did offend, who preſumed to violate ſuch a cuſtome by not obſeruing that thing: the verie inueterate obſeruation whereof was a Law ſufficient to bind all men to obſerue it, vnleſſe they could ſhew ſome higher Law, ſome Law of Scripture to the contrarie. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then verie well with ſtrength and ſoundneſſe of reaſon, euen thus to anſwer; *Whereas they aske what Scripture forbiddeth them to weare a Garland, wee are in this caſe rather to demand what Scripture commandeth them. They cannot here alleage that that is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long receiued cuſtome forbidding them to doe as they did, (if ſo be it did forbid them) there was no excuſe in the World to iuſtifie their act, vnleſſe in the Scripture they could ſhew ſome Law that did licence them thus to breake a receiued cuſtome. Now whereas in al the Bookes of *Tertullian* beſides, there is not ſo much found as in that one, to proue not onely that we may doe, but that we ought to doe ſundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very Booke theſe ſentences are brought to make vs beleeue that *Tertullian* was of a cleane contrarie minde. We cannot therefore hereupon yeeld, we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifeſt the argument of Scripture negatiue to be of force, not onely in Doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrarie. For *Tertullian* doth plainly hold euen in that Booke, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary but neceſſary, in as much as the receiued cuſtome of the Church did tie & bind them not to weare Garlands as the Heathens did; yea, & further alſo he reckoneth vp particularly a number of things, whereof he expreſly concludeth, *Harum & aliarum eiuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullã inuenies*; which is as much as if he had ſaid in expreſſe words, Many things there are which concerne the diſcipline of the Church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scriptures negatiuely vrged may not in any caſe perſwade vs, but they muſt be obſerued, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. *Tertullian* therefore vndoubtedly doth not in this Booke ſhew himſelfe to be of the ſame minde with them by whom his name is pretended.

The firſt aſſertion endeauoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from Diuine authority negatiuely. 1. *Ioh.* 1. 5. God is light, and there is in him no darkeneſſe at all. *Heb.* 6. 18. It is impoſſibible that God ſhould ly, *Numb.* 23. 19. God is not as man that he ſhould ley.

6 But ſith the Sacred Scriptures themſelues affoord oftentimes ſuch Arguments as are taken from diuine authority both one way & other, *The Lord hath comanded, therfore it muſt be:* And again, in like ſort, *He hath not, therfore it muſt not be:* ſome certainty concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet downe, God himſelfe can neither poſſibly erre, nor leade into errour. For this cauſe his teſtimonies, whatſoeuer he affirmeth, are alwaies truth and moſt infallible certainty

tainty. Yea further, becauſe the things that proceed from him are perfect without any maner of defect or maime; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, & lacke nothing which they ſhould haue, for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his ſpeech, the argument negatiuely is euermore ſtrong and forcible, concerning thoſe things that are apparantly requiſit vnto the ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet downe ſundrie times that which in Angels, is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of thē as he hath of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt; therefore they are not in dignitie equall vnto him. It is the Apoſtle S. *Pauls* argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his People, both vnto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burne their ſons in fire vnto *Baal* he did not command them, hee ſpake no ſuch thinge, neyther came it into his minde: therefore this they ought not to haue done. Which argument the Prophet *Ieremie* vſeth more then once, as being ſo effectual & ſtrong, that although the thing he reproueth were not only commanded but forbidden them, and that expreſly; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law vnto themſelues, than the crime of tranſgreſſing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord had once himſelfe preciſely ſet downe a forme of executing that wherein we are to ſerue him, the fault appeareth greater to doe that which we are not, than not to doe that which we are commanded. In this we ſeeme to charge the Law of God with hardneſſe onely, in that with fooliſhneſſe; in this we ſhew our ſelues weake and vnapt to de doers of his Will, in that we take vpon vs to be Controllers of his wiſedome: in this we faile to performe the thing which God ſeeth meete, conuenient, and good; in that we preſume to ſee what is meete and conuenient better than God himſelfe. In thoſe actions therefore, the whole forme whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet downe to be obſerued, we may not otherwiſe doe than exactly, as he hath preſcribed: in ſuch things negatiue Arguments are ſtrong. Againe, with a negatiue argument *Dauid* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe hee had to build a Temple vnto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou ſhalt not build me an houſe to dwell in. Wherſoeuer I haue walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Iudges of Iſrael, whom I commanded to feede my people, ſaying. Why haue yee not built me an houſe?* The Iewes vrged with a negatiue argument touching the ayde which they ſought at the hands of the King of Egypt, *Woe to thoſe rebellious children* (ſaith the Lord) *which walke forth to go down into Egypt, and haue not asked counſell at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſtrength of* PHARAOH. Finally, the league of *Ioſhua* with the Gibeonites is likewiſe with a negatiue Argument touched. It was

T. C. l. 2. p. 48. It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets haue reaſoned negatiuely. As when in the perſon of the Lord the Prophet ſaith, Whereof I haue not ſpoken. *Ierem.* 19. 5. and. Which neuer entred into my heart, *Ierem* 7. 31. 32. and where he condemneth them, becauſe they haue not asked counſell at the mouth of the Lord, *Eſay* 30 2. And it may be ſhewed, that the ſame kinde of argument hath beene vſed, in things which are not of the ſubſtance of Saluation or Damnation, and whereof there was no cōmandement to the contrarie (as in the former there was, *Leuit.* 18. 21. & 20. 3. *Deut.* 17. 16.) In *Ioſua* the children of Iſrael are charged by the Prophet, that they asked not counſell of the mouth of the Lord, when they entred into couenant with the Gibeonites, *Ioſh.* 9. 14. And yet that Couenant was not made contrarie vnto any Commandement of God. Moreouer, wee reade that when *Dauid* had taken this counſell to build a Temple vnto the Lord, albeit the Lord had reuealed before in his Word that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding place, where the Arke of the Couenant and the ſeruice ſhould haue a certayne abiding, and albeit there was no Word of God which forbad *Dauid* to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection & zeale hee had to the aduancement of his glory) concludeth againſt *Dauids* reſolution to build the Tēple, with this reaſon, namely, that he had giuen no cōmandement of this who ſhould build it, 1. *Chr.* 17. 6.

Leuit. 18. 21. & 20. 3. *Deut.* 28. 10.

1. *Chron.* 17. 6.

Eſay 30. 1.

Iosh. 9. 14. was not as it ſhould be: And why? The Lord gaue them not that aduice: *They ſought not counſel at the mouth of the Lord.* By the vertue of which exaples, if any man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of negatiue arguments approued, when they are taken from Scripture in ſuch ſort as wee in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceiue themſelues. For vnto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſſe in purpoſing to doe, or in doing any thing at all which *the Scripture* commanded them not? Our queſtion is, whether all be ſinne which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the Iſraelites did at any time amiſſe by following their owne mindes, without asking counſell of God. No, it was that peoples ſingular priuiledge, a fauour which God vouchſafed them aboue the reſt of the world, that in the affaires of their Eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelfe gaue them extraordinarily direction & counſell, as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech vnto *Moſes*; after by *Vrim* & *Thummim* vnto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreames and viſions vnto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receiue the anſwer of God. Concerning *Ioſua* therefore, thus ſpake the Lord vnto *Moſes*, ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before* ELEAZAR *the Prieſt, who ſhall aske counſell for him by the iudgement of* VRIM *before the Lord*: whereof had *Ioſua* been mindfull, the fraud of the Gibeonites could not ſo ſmoothly haue paſt vneſpied till there was no helpe. The Iewes had Prophets to haue reſolued them from the mouth of God himſelfe, whether Egyptian aides ſhould profit them, yea or no: but they thought themſelues wiſe enough, and him vnworthie to be of their counſell. In this reſpect therefore was their reproofe, though ſharpe, yet iuſt, albeit there had beene no charge preciſely giuen them that they ſhould alwaies take heed of Egypt. But as for *Dauid*, to thinke that he did euill in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no commaundement that he ſhould build it, were very iniurious: the purpoſe of his hart was religious and godly, the act moſt worthy of honour and renowne; neither could *Nathan* chooſe but admire his vertuous intent, exhort him to goe forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſſe troubles which *Dauid* ſhould be ſubiect vnto during the whole time of his Regiment, and therefore gaue charge to deferre ſo good a worke till the dayes of tranquillitie and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *Dauid* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duetie which he owed vnto God, to ſet himſelfe in an houſe of Cedar trees, and to behold the Arke of the Lords Couenant vnſetled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainely, that it ſhould be no more imputed vnto him for a fault, than it had beene vnto the Iudges of Iſrael before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more vnquit than his, nor more vnfit for ſuch an action. Wherfore concerning the force of negatiue Arguments ſo taken from the authoritie of Scripture, as by vs they are denied, there is in all this leſſe than nothing. And touching that which vnto this purpoſe is borrowed from the Controuerſies ſometimes handled betweene Mr. *Harding*, and the worthieſt Diuine that Chriſtendome

Num. 27. 21.

1. *Chron.* 17.

T. C. lib. 2. p. 50, M. Harding reprocheth the B. of Salisburie with this kinde of reaſoning: vnto whom the B. anſwereth, The argument of authoritie negatiuely, is taken to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods Word, & is vſed not onely by vs, but alſo by many of the Catholike Fathers. Alitle after he ſheweth the reaſon why the argument of authoritie of the Scripture negatiuely is good, namely, for that the Word of God is perfect. In another place vnto *M. Harding*, caſting him in the teeth with negatiue arguments, he alleageth places out of *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Leo*, which reaſoned negatiuely of the authoritie of the Scripture. The places which he alleageth be very full and plaine in generalitie, without any ſuch reſtraint as the Anſwerer imagineth, as they are there to be ſeene.

ſtendome hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of yeares, who beeing brought vp together in one Vniuerſitie, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others; * *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary Campes they did practiſe,* Of theſe two, the one obiecting that with vs Arguments taken from authoritie negatiuely are ouer-common, the Biſhops anſwer hereunto is, that *this kinde of argument is thought to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods Word, and is vſed not onely by vs, but alſo by* S. PAVL, *and by many of the Catholike Fathers.* S. PAVL *ſaith, God ſaid not vnto* ABRAHAM, *In thy ſeedes all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed, but, In thy ſeede, which is Chriſt, and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewiſe, ſaith* ORIGEN, *The bread which the Lord gaue vnto his Diſciples, ſaying vnto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reſerued till the next day. Such arguments* ORIGEN *and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoeuer miſliking* Mr HARDING *hath found in them. This king of proofe is thought to hold in Gods Commandements, for that they be ful and perfect: and God hath ſpecially charged vs, that we ſhould neyther put to them, nor take from them: and therefore it ſeemeth good vnto them that haue learned of Chriſt,* Vnus eſt magiſter veſter Chriſtus, *and haue heard the voice of God the Father from heauen,* Ipſum audite. *But vnto them that adde to the Word of God what them liſteth, and make Gods will ſubiect vnto their wil, & breake Gods Commandements for their owne Traditions ſake, vnto them it ſeemeth not good.* Againe, the Engliſh Apologie alleaging the example of the Greekes, how they haue neither priuate Maſſes, nor mangled Sacramẽts, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Mr *Hurding* to ieſt out the matter, to vſe the helpe of his wits where ſtrength of truth failed him, & to anſwer with ſcoffing at negatiues. The Biſhops defence in this caſe is, *The ancient learned Fathers hauing to deale with politique Heretikes, that in defence of their errors anouched the iudgement of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had beene before them, and the generall conſent of the Primitiue and whole vniuerſall Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfull as you doe now; the better to diſcouer the ſhameleſſe boldneſſe, and nakedneſſe of their doctrine, were often-times likewiſe forced to vſe the negatiue, and ſo to driue the ſame Heretikes as we doe you, to proue their affirmatiues; which thing to doe was neuer poſſible. The auncient Father* IRENAEVS *thus ſtayed himſelfe, as we doe by the negatiue* Hoc neq; Prophetæ prædicauerunt, neq; Dominus docuit, neq; Apoſtoli tradiderunt; *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliuer. By like negatiue* CHRYSOSTOME *ſaith, This tree neither* PAVL *planted, nor* APOLLOS *watered, nor* GOD *increaſed. In like ſort* LEO *ſaith, What needeth it to beliue that thing that neyther the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets haue ſpoken, nor the Goſpel hath preached, nor the Apoſtles haue deliuered? And againe, How are the new deuices brought in that our Fathers neuer knew?* S. AVGVSTINE *hauing reckoned vp a great number of the Biſhops of Rome, by a generall negatiue ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt. Saint* GREGORIE *being himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the Title of Vniuerſall Biſhop, ſaith thus, None of all my Predeceſſors euer conſented to vſe this vngodly Title; No Biſhop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of Singularitie. By ſuch negatiues, Maſter* HARDING, *wee reproue the vanitie and nouelrie of your Religion; we tell you, none of the Catholike ancient learned Fathers*

* *Vell. Paterc. Iugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in iiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea in contrarijs facerent.*

Art. 1. Diuiſ. 29 Gal. 3.

Orig. in Leuit. Hom. 5.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 17.

Defens. par. 5. ed. 15. diuiſ. 1.

Lib. 1. cap.

De incomp. nat. Dei, hom. 3.

Epiſt. 93. c. 12.

Epiſt. 97. cap. 3.

Epiſt. 165.

Lib. 4. Ep. 32.

Fathers

Fathers eyther Greeke or Latine, euer vſed eyther, your priuate Maſſe, or your halfe Communion, or your barbarous vnknowne prayers. PAVL *neuer planted them,* APOLLOS *neuer watered them,* GOD *neuer increaſed them, they are of your ſelues, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a ſyllable which any way croſſeth vs. For concerning arguments negatiue taken from humane authoritie, they are here proued to bee in ſome caſes verie ſtrong and forcible. They are not in our eſtimation idle reproofes, when the Authors of needleſſe innouations are oppoſed with ſuch negatiues, as that of LEO, *How are theſe new deuices brought in which our fathers neuer knew?* when their graue and reuerend Superiors doe reckon vp vnto them, as *Auguſtine* did vnto the *Donatiſts*, large Catalogues of Fathers, wondred at for their wiſdome, pietie, and learning, amongſt whom for ſo many ages before vs, no one did euer ſo thinke of the Churches affaires, as now the world doth begin to be perſwaded; ſurely, by vs they are not taught to take exception hereat, becauſe ſuch arguments are negatiue. Much leſſe when the like are taken from the ſacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it ſelfe doe beare them. For in truth the queſtion is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatiuely may be good, but whether it bee ſo generally good, that in all actions men may vrge it. The Fathers, I grant, doe vſe very generall and large termes, euen as *Hiero* the King did in ſpeaking of ARCHIMEDES, *From hence forward whatſoeuer* ARCHIMEDES *ſpeaketh, it muſt be beleeued.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could ſimply in nothing be deceiued, but that he had in ſuch ſort approued his skil, that he ſeemed worthy of credit for euer after in matters appertayning vnto the ſcience hee was skilfull in. In ſpeaking thus largely it is preſumed, that mens ſpeeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they ſpeake. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of iudgment, peruſe the Biſhops ſpeeches, and conſider well of thoſe negatiues concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Leo*, which three are choſen from amongſt the reſidue, becauſe the ſentences of the others (euen as one of theirs alſo) doe make for defence of negatiue arguments taken from humane authority, and not from diuine only. They mention no more reſtraint in the one than in the other: yet I thinke themſelues will not hereby iudge, that the Fathers tooke both to be ſtrong without reſtraint vnto any ſpeciall kinde of matter, wherein they held ſuch argument forcible. Nor doth the Biſhop either ſay or proue any more, than that an argument in ſome kindes of matter may be good, although taken negatiuely from Scripture.

Their opinion cõcerning the force of Arguments, taken from humane authoritie for the ordering of mens actions or perſwaſions.

7 An earneſt deſire to draw all things vnto the determination of bare & naked ſcripture, hath cauſed here much paynes to be taken in abating the eſtimation & credit of man. Which if we labour to maintaine as far as truth & reaſon wil beare, let not any thinke that we trauel about a matter not greatly needfull. For the ſcope of all their pleading againſt mans authoritie is, to ouer-throw ſuch Orders, Lawes, & Conſtitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they ſhould therefore be taken away, would peraduenture leaue neither face nor memorie of Church to continue long in the world, the world eſpecially being ſuch as now it is. That which they haue in this caſe ſpo-

T.C.l.1.p.95. When the queſtion is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely. The reaſon is, becauſe the infirmitie of man can neither attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might ſpeake all things that are to be ſpoken of it; neither yet be free frõ error in thoſe things which he ſpeaketh or giueth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely cõpelleth the Hearer, but only inducеth him to ſome liking or diſliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perſwade the ſimpler ſort, than for a diſputer to enforce him that is learned.

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ken, I would for breuities ſake let paſſe, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherfore to ſay that ſimply an Argument taken from mans authority doth hold no way, neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely, is hard. By a mans authority we here vnderſtād, the force which his word hath for the aſſurance of anothers minde that buildeth vpon it; as the Apoſtle ſomewhat did vpon their report of the houſe of *Cloe*, and the Samaritanes in a matter of farre greater moment vpon the report of a ſimple woman. For ſo it is ſaid in S. *Johns* Goſpel, *Many of the Samaritanes of that Citie beleeued in him for the ſaying of the woman, which teſtified, He hath told me all things that euer I did.* The ſtrength of mans authority is affirmatiuely ſuch, that the waighties affaires in the world depend thereon. In Iudgement & Iuſtice are not here-vpon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law, that *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, euery word ſhal be cōfirmed*? This the law of God would not ſay, if there were in a mans teſtimonie no force at all to proue any thinge. And if it bee admitted that in matter of fact there is ſome credit to be giuen to the teſtimonie of man, but not in matter of opinion and iudgement; we ſee the contrarie both acknowledged, and vniuerſally practiſed alſo throughout the world. The ſentences of wiſe and expert men were neuer but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in queſtion; are we not bold to relye and build vpon the iudgement of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the laws of this Land? In matter of State, the waighe many times of ſome one mans authority is thought reaſon ſufficient, euen to ſway ouer whole Nations. And this not onely with the ſimpler ſort; but the learneder and wiſer wee are, the more ſuch arguments in ſome caſes preuaile with vs. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moued with authoritie, is the conſcience of their owne ignorance; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that hauing learned men in admiration, they rather feare to diſlike them, than know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their iudgements. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilfull, authoritie is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcerne how iuſt cauſe there is, why to ſome mens authoritie ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectuall to perſwade euen ſuch men as *Galen* himſelfe, then to moue a ſilly Empirick. So that the very ſelfe-ſame argumēt in this kinde, which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtraine the wiſer to yeeld. And therefore not Orators onely with the people, but euen the verie profoundeſt Diſputers in all faculties haue hereby often with the beſt learned preuailed moſt. As for Arguments taken from humane authoritie, and that negatiuely; for example ſake, if we ſhould thinke the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a Bell, the preſenting of Infants at the holy Font, by ſuch as commonly we cal their God fathers, or any other the like receiued cuſtome to bee impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we thinke very reuerendly, haue in their bookes and writings no where mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe, it were but feeble, weake, and vnſound. Notwithſtanding euen negatiuely an argument from humane authoritie may be ſtrong, as namely thus; The Chronicles of England mention no moe than onely ſix Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, ſince the time of the laſt Conqueſt; therfore it cannot be there

I.Cor.1.11.

Iohn.4.39.

Deut.19.15.

Matth.18.16.

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ſhould be more. So that if the queſtion be of the authority of a mans teſtimonie, wee cannot ſimply auouch, eyther that affirmatiuely it doth not any way hold, or that it hath onely force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtraine men of vnderſtanding and ripe iudgement to yeeld aſſent, or that negatiuely it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For vnto euery of theſe the contrarie is moſt plaine. Neither doth that which is alleaged concerning the infirmitie of men, ouerthrow or diſproue this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things may eſcape them, and in many things they may be deceiued; yea, thoſe things which they doe know, they may either forget, or vpon ſundrie indirect conſiderations let paſſe, and although themſelues do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanitie, euen of purpoſe deceiue others. Howbeit infinite caſes there are wherin all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of man wil ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a Citie of Rome, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, and others, haue been Popes of Rome, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion, who neuer ſaw the place nor perſons before named, can be nothing but mans teſtimonie. Will any man here notwithſtanding alleage thoſe mentioned humane infirmities as reaſons, why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? Yea, that which is more, vtterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of mans teſtimonie, were to ſhake the very Fortreſſe of Gods truth. For whatſoeuer we beleeue concerning ſalnation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our beliefe; yet the authoritie of man is, if we marke it, the key which openeth the dore of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach vs the things that are of God, vnleſſe we did credit men who haue taught vs that the words of Scripture doe ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therfore, notwithſtanding mans infirmity, yet his authority may enforce aſſent.

T.C.l.1.p.16. Although that kinde of argument of authoritie of men is good neither in humane not diuine ſciẽces: yet it hath ſome ſmal force in humane ſciences, for as much as naturally & in that he is a man, he may come to ſome ripenes of iudgment in thoſe ſciences, which in diuine matters hath no force at all: as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more iudge of them then a blinde man of colours. Yea, ſo farre is it from drawing credit, if it be barely ſpoken without reaſon and teſtimonie of Scripture, that it carrieth alſo a ſuſpition of vntruth whatſoeuer proceedeth from him: which the Apoſtle did well note, when to ſignifie a thing corruptly ſpoken and againſt the truth, he ſaith, that it is ſpoken according to man, *Rom.*3. He ſaith not as a wicked and lying man, but ſimply as a man. And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is moſt aduanced, there remaineth both ignorance and diſordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth:) no mans authoritie, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called & perſwaded of the authority of the Word of God, can bring any aſſurance vnto the conſcience.

Vpon better aduice and deliberation ſo much is perceiued, and at the length confeſt, that Arguments taken from the authoritie of men, may not onely ſo farre forth as hath beene declared, but further alſo be of ſome force in *humane ſciences*; which force be it neuer ſo ſmall, doth ſhew that they are not vtterly naught. But in *matters diuine* it is ſtill maintayned ſtifly, that they haue no manner force at all. Howbeit the very ſelfe ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yeeld that they are of ſome force in the one, will, at the length conſtraine alſo to acknowledge, that they are not in the other altogether vnforcible. For if the naturall ſtrength of mans wit may by experience and ſtudie attaine vnto ſuch ripeneſſe in the knowledge of things humane, that men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat vpon their iudgement; what reaſon haue we to thinke but that euen in matters diuine, the like wits furniſht with neceſſarie helps, exerciſed in Scripture with

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like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of Almightie God, may grow vnto ſo much perfection of knowledge, that men ſhall haue iuſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent vnto faith and Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the ſentence of ſo graue, wiſe and learned in that facultie ſhall iudge moſt ſound. For the controuerſie is of the waight of ſuch mens iudgements. Let it therefore be ſuſpected, let it be taken as groſſe, corrupt, repugnant vnto the truth, whatſoeuer concerning things diuine aboue nature ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the mouthes of meere naturall men, which haue not the eyes wherewith heauenly things are diſcerned. For this we contend not. But whom God hath indued with principall gifts to aſpire vnto knowledge by; whoſe exerciſes, labours, and diuine ſtudies he hath ſo bleſt, that the world for their great and rare skil that way, hath them in ſingular admiration; may we reiect euen their iudgement likewiſe, as being vtterly of no moment? For mine owne part I dare not ſo lightly eſteeme of the Church, & of the principall pillars therein. The truth is, that the minde of man deſireth euermore to know the truth according to the moſt infallible certaintie which the nature of things can yeeld. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all men, is that which we haue by plaine aſpect and intuitiue beholding. Where wee cannot attaine vnto this; there what appeareth to be true by ſtrong and inuincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceiued, thereunto the mind doth neceſſarily aſſent, neither is it in the choice thereof to doe otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both doe faile; then which way greateſt probabilitie leadeth, thither the mind doth euermore incline. Scripture with Chriſtian men being receiued as the word of God; that for which we haue probable, yea that which we haue neceſſarie reaſon for, yea that which we ſee, with our eyes, is not thought ſo ſure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; becauſe we hold that his ſpeech reuealeth there what himſelfe ſeeth, and therefore the ſtrongeſt proofe of all, and the moſt neceſſarily aſſented vnto by vs (which doe thus receiue the Scripture) is the Scripture. Now it is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we ſhould yeeld vnto any thing other aſſent, then ſuch as doth anſwer the euidence which is to be had of that wee aſſent vnto. For which cauſe euen in matters diuine, concerning ſome things wee may lawfully doubt and ſuſpend our iudgement, inclining neyther to one ſide or other, as namely touching the time of the fall both of man and Angels; of ſome things we may very well retaine an opinion that they are probable & not vnlikely to be true, as when wee hold that men haue their ſoules rather by creation then propagation, or that the mother of our Lord liued alwayes in the ſtate of Virginitie as well after his birth as before (for of theſe two, the one her virginitie before, is a thing which of neceſſitie we muſt beleeue; the other, her continuance in the ſame ſtate alwaies, hath more likelihood of truth then the contrary;) finally in al things then are our conſciences beſt reſolued, and in moſt agreeable ſort vnto God and nature ſetled, when they are ſo farre perſwaded as thoſe grounds of perſwaſion which are to be had will beare. Which thing I doe ſo much the rather ſet downe, for that I ſee how a number of ſoules are, for want of right information in this poynt, oftentimes grieuouſly vexed. When bare and vnbuilded concluſions are put into their minds, they finding not themſelues to haue thereof any great certaintie, imagine that this proceedeth onely from lacke of faith, and that the Spirit of God

doth not worke in them, as it doeth in true beleeuers; by this meanes their hearts are much troubled, they fal into anguish & perplexitie: whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soeuer wee may bee in words, when it commeth to the point of triall, such as the euidence is which the truth hath eyther in it selfe or through proofe, such is the hearts assent thereunto, neyther can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be. I grant that proofe deriued from the authoritie of mans iudgement, is not able to worke that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proofe, and therefore although ten thousand general Councels would set downe one & the same definitiue sentence concerning any poynt of religion whatsoeuer, yet one demonstratiue reason alledged, or one manifest testimony cited from the moued of God himselfe to the contrarie, could not chuse but ouerweigh them all; in as much as for them to haue beene deceyued, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstratiue reason or testimonie diuine should deceiue. Howbeit in defect of proofe infallible, because the minde doth rather follow probable perswasions, then approue the things that haue in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a question concerning matter of doctrin were proposed, and on the one side no kind of proofe appearing, there should on the other be alledged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest Diuines in the world haue euer thought; although it did not appeare what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that iudgement, yet to their very bare iudgement somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecillities which are incident into our nature. And whereas it is thought, that especially with the Church, and those that are called and perswaded of the authoritie of the word of God, mans authoritie with them especially should not preuaile; it must and doth preuaile euen with them, yea with them especially as far as equitie requireth, & farther we maintaine it not. For men to be tyed & led by authority, as it were with a kind of captiuity of iudgement, & though there be reason to the cõtrary, not to listen vnto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the heard, they know not nor care nor whither, this were brutish. Againe, that authority of men should preuaile with men eyther against or aboue reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men be they neuer so great and reuerend, are to yeeld vnto reasõ; the waight whereof is no whit preiudiced by the simplicity of his persõ which doth allege it, but being fouũd to be sound & good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, must of necessity stoop & giue place. *Irenæus* writing against *Marciõ*, which held one God author of the old testament, & another of the new; to proue that the Apostles preached the same God which was known before to the Iewes, he copiously alleageth sundry their Sermons

T.C.l.2 p.21. Of diuers sentences of the fathers themselues (where by some haue likened them to brute beasts without reason, which suffer themselues to bee led by the iudgement and authoritie of others, some haue preferred the iudgement of one simple rude man alleaging reason, vnto companies of learned men) I wil contẽt my selfe at this time with two or three sentences. *Irenæus* saith whatsoeuer is to be shewed in the Scripture, cannot be shewed but out of the Scriptures themselues, *lib.3. cap.12. Jerome* saith. No man be he neuer so holy or eloquent, hath any authoritie after the Apostles, in *Psal.86. Augustine* saith, that he wil beleiue none, how godly and learned soeuer he be, vnlesse he confirm his sentence by the scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them. *Epist.*18. And in another place, Heare this, the Lord saith; heare not this, *Donatus* saith *Rogatus* saith, *Vincentius* saith, *Hilarius* saith, *Ambrose* saith, *Augustine* saith, but hearken vnto this, the Lord saith, *Epist* 48. And again, hauing to doe with an Arrian, he affirmeth that neither he ought to bring forth the councel of Nice, nor the other the councel of Arimine, thereby to bring preiudice each to other; neither ought the Arrian to be holden by the authoritie of the one, nor himselfe by the authority of the other, but by the scriptures which are witnesses proper to neither, but common to both; matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason ought to be debated, *Contra Maxim. Arian.*3.14.*ca.* And in another place against *Petilian* the Donatist, he saith, Let not these words be heard betweene vs, I say, you say; let vs heare this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and by speaking of the Scriptures he saith, There let vs seeke the Church, there let vs trie the cause. *De vnita. Eccles cap.*3. Hereby it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatiuely is nothing worth.

mons and ſpeeches vttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And leſt any ſhould be wearied with ſuch ſtore of allegations, in the end he concludeth, *While we labour for theſe demonſtrations out of Scripture, and doe ſummarily declare the things which many waies haue bin ſpoken, be contented quietly to heare, and doe not thinke my ſpeech tedious: Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in Scripturis non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis Scripturis; Becauſe demonſtrations that are in Scripture, may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, then by citing them out of the Scriptures themſelues where they are.* Which words make ſo little vnto the purpoſe, that they ſeeme as it were offended at him which hath called them thus ſolemnely forth to ſay nothing. And cõcerning the verdict of *Ierome*, If no man be he neuer ſo well learned, haue after the Apoſtles any authoritie to publiſh new doctrine as from Heauen, and to require the Worlds aſſent as vnto truth receyued by propheticall reuelation; doth this preiudice the credite of learned mens iudgements in opening that truth, which by being conuerſant in the Apoſtles writings, they haue themſelues from thence learned? Saint *Auguſtine* exhorteth not to heare men; but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I thinke) that wee ſhould ſtop our eares againſt his owne exhortation, and therefore he cannot meane ſimply that audience ſhould altogether bee denied vnto men; but eyther that if men ſpeake one thing, and God himſelfe teach another, then he, not they to bee obeyed; or if they both ſpeake the ſame thing, yet then alſo mans ſpeech vnworthie of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea but wee doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this caſe forbidden to heare what men of iudgement thinke it to bee? If not, then this allegation alſo might very well haue beene ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was betweene the Catholique Fathers and Arrians, Donatiſts, and others of like peruerſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councels alleaged on the one ſide, the like by the contrarie ſide were impoſed; impoſſible it was that euer the queſtion ſhould by this meane grow vnto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both beleeued; the Scripture they knew could not giue ſentence on both ſides, by Scripture the controuerſie betweene them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madneſſe was it with ſuch kindes of proofes to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectual meanes to end all controuerſie that was between them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appeare, that an argument of authoritie of man affirmatiuely is in matters diuine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inſerted into the mindes of the vulgar ſort, what it may grow vnto God knoweth. Thus much wee ſee, it hath alreadie made thouſands ſo headſtrong euen in groſſe and palpable errors, that a man whoſe capacity wil ſcarce ſerue him to vtter fiue wordes in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea* as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, graue and learned iudgements that are in the whole world. Which inſolencie muſt be repreſt, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian religion. Our Lords Diſciples marking what ſpeech hee vttered vnto them, and at the ſame time calling to minde a common opinion held by the Scribes, betweene which opinion and the wordes of their Maiſter, it ſeemed vnto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not them-

themſelues anſwere with full ſatisfaction of their owne mindes; the doubt they propoſe to our Sauiour, ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* They knew that the Scribes did erre greatly, and that many waies euen in matters of their owne profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the iudgement of the verie Scribes in matters diuine to bee of ſome value; ſome probabilitie they thought there was that *Elias* ſhould come, in as much as the Scribes ſaid it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; deſirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might ſtand together; that which they knew could not be falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeeme true, onely becauſe the Scribes had ſaid it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. Wee doe not finde that our Sauiour reprooued them of errour, for thinking the iudgement of Scribes to be worth the obiecting, for eſteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perſwaded that the will of God is we ſhould ſo farre reiect the authoritie of men, as to reckon it nothing. No; it may be a queſtion, whether they that vrge vs vnto this be themſelues ſo perſwaded indeed. Men doe ſometimes bewray that by deedes, which to confeſſe they are hardly drawne. Marke then if this bee not generall with all men for the moſt part. When the iudgement of learned men are alledged againſt them; what doe they but either eleuate their credite, or oppoſe vnto them the iudgements of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them ſome force and waight, for which they are loath the cauſe they maintaine ſhould be ſo much weakned as their teſtimonie is auailcable. Againe what reaſon is there why alleaging teſtimonies as proofes, men giue them ſome title of credite, honour and eſtimation whom they alledge, vnleſſe beforehand it be ſufficiently knowne who they are; what reaſon hereof but onely a common ingrafted perſwaſion, that in ſome men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to counteruaile thoſe exceptions which might bee taken againſt them, and that ſuch mens authority is not lightly to be ſhaken off? ſhall I adde further, that the force of arguments drawne from the authority of Scripture it ſelfe, as Scriptures commonly are alledged, ſhall (being ſifted) bee found to depend vpon the ſtrength of this ſo much deſpiſed and debaſed authoritie of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner then we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proofe which is taken from thence muſt needes be of all other moſt inuincible; yet this ſtrength it hath not, vnleſſe it auouch the ſelfe-ſame thing for which it is brought. If there be either vndeniable apparance that ſo it doth, or reaſon ſuch as cannot deceiue, then Scripture-proofe (no doubt) in ſtrength and value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, euen ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing fiue hundred ſentences of holy Scripture; what warrant haue they, that any one of them doth meane the thing for which it is alledged? Is not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, eyther ſome probable coniecture of their owne, or the iudgement of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they doe? Which notwithſtanding to meane otherwiſe then they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelues on humane authoritie, euen when they moſt pretend diuine. Thus it fareth euen cleane throughout the whole controuerſie about that diſcipline

which

which is ſo earneſtly vrged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleaged to proue that the whole Chriſtian World for euer ought to embrace it. Herevpon men terme it, *The Diſcipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, ſift and reſolue their alledged prooſes, till you come to the very roote from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lyeth; and it ſhall cleerely appeare vnto any man of iudgement, that the moſt which can bee inferred vpon ſuch plentie of Diuine Teſtimonies is onely this, That *ſome things* which they maintaine as farre as *ſome men* can *probably coniecture*, doe *ſeeme* to haue been out of Scripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any mans conſcience to build ſuch proceedings vpon, as haue beene and are put in vre for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly vnderſtand how it commeth to paſſe, that they which ſo peremptorily doe maintaine that Humane authority is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they fauor ſo careful to haue the common ſort of men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt, the godlieſt, and the beſt Learned in all Chriſtendome are that way giuen, ſeeing they iudge this to make nothing in the World for them? Againe, how commeth it to paſſe, they cannot abide that Authoritie ſhould be alleaged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in Authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labour they to ſtrip their Aduerſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not help? Why take they ſuch needleſſe paines to furniſh alſo their owne cauſe with the like? If it be void and to no purpoſe that the names of men are ſo frequent in their Bookes; what did moue them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is ſalued, *They doe it but after the truth made manifeſt; firſt, by reaſon or by Scripture, they doe it not but to controll the enemies of truth, who beare themſelues bold vpon humane Authoritie, making not for them but againſt them rather.* Which anſweres are nothing. For in what place or vpon what conſideration ſoeuer it bee they doe it, were it in their owne opinion of no force being done, they would vndoubtedly reframe to doe it.

T.C. l. 2. 21. If at any tyme it happened vnto *Auguſtine* (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alleage the authoritie of the Ancient Fathers which had beene before him; yet this was not done before hee had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being prouoked by the Aduerſaries of the truth who bare themſelues high of ſome Councell, or of ſome man of name that had fauoured that part.

8 But to the end it may more plainly appeare, what wee are to iudge of their ſentences, and the cauſe it ſelfe wherein they are alleaged; firſt, it may not well be denied, that al actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon, are generally either good or euill. For, although it be granted that no action is properly termed good or euill, vnleſſe it be voluntarie; yet this can be no let to our former aſſertion, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon are generally either good or euil; becauſe euen thoſe things are done voluntarily by vs, which other creatures doe naturally, in as much as wee might ſtay our doing of them if we would. Beaſts naturally doe take their food and reſt, when it offereth it ſelfe vnto them. If men did ſo too, and could not doe otherwiſe of themſelues; there were no place for any ſuch reproofe as that of our Saviour Chriſt vnto his Diſciples, *Could yee not watch with me one houre?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it bee well done, muſt needes bee done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore we rather ſhould doe it then not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions onely thoſe are ſaid to be good or euill, which are capable of deliberation. So that many things being hourely done by men, wherein they neede not vſe with themſelues any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeeme

A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

Mat. 26. 40.

that well or ill doing belongeth onely to our waightier affaires, and to thoſe deedes which are of ſo great importance that they require aduice. But thus to determine were perillous, and peraduenture vnſound alſo. I doe rather incline to thinke, that ſeeing all the vnforced actions of men are voluntarie; and all voluntarie actions tending to the end haue choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore we make it: where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth it ſelfe, that it needeth not bee ſought for; in thoſe things though we doe not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the wil which may incline eyther way, and would not any one way bend it ſelfe, if there were not ſome apparant motiue to lead it. Deliberation actuall we vſe, when there is no doubt what we ſhould incline our wils vnto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent vnto the thing, but as needles in regard of the agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolue vpon. It hath no apparant abſurdity therfore in it to thinke, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon, are generally either good or euil. Whatſoeuer is good; the ſame is alſo approued of God: and according vnto the ſundry degrees of goodnes, the kinds of Diuine approbation are in like ſort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in ſo meane a degree of goodneſſe, that men are only not diſprooued nor diſallowed of God for them. No man hateth his owne fleſh. If yee do good vnto them that do ſo to you, the very Publicans themſelues do as much. They are worſe then Infidels that haue no care to prouide for their owne. In actions of this ſort, the very light of Nature alone may diſcouer that which is ſo farre forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some things in ſuch ſort are allowed, that they be alſo required as neceſſarie vnto Saluation, by way of direct, immediate and proper neceſſity finall; ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary courſe be ſaued, no by any means be excluded from life obſeruing them. In actions of this kinde, our chiefeſt direction is from Scripture, for Nature is no ſufficient Teacher what we ſhould doe that may attaine vnto life euerlaſting. The vnſufficiency of the light of Nature, is by the light of Scripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplied, that further light then this hath added, there doth not need vnto that end. Finally, ſome things although not ſo required of neceſſitie, that to leaue them vndone excludeth from ſaluation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignitie and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in heauen is laid vp for them. Herof we haue no Commandement either in nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands: yet thoſe Motiues there are in both, which draw moſt effectually our minds vnto them. In this kind there is not the leaſt action, but it doth ſomewhat make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſſe. For which cauſe our Sauiour doth plainely witneſſe, that there ſhould not be as much as a cup of cold water beſtowed for his ſake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatſoeuer difference there is betweene the ſtates of Saints in glory: hither we referre whatſoeuer belongeth vnto the higheſt perfection of man by way of ſeruice towards God: hereunto that feruour and firſt loue of Chriſtians did bend it ſelfe, cauſing them to ſel their poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles feet. hereat S. *Paul* vndoubtedly did ayme, in ſo far abridging his owne liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſarie and enioyned dutie tied him vnto.

Epheſ. 5. 29.
Mat 5. 46.
1. *Tim.* 5. 8.

Mat. 10. 42.

Act 31.
1. *Theſ.* 2. 7. 9.

Where-

Wherfore ſeeing that in all theſe ſeuerall kinds of actions, there can be nothing poſſibly euil which God approueth; and that he approueth much more then he doth command; & that his very Commandements in ſome kind, as namely, his Precepts comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwiſe knowne then onely by Scripture; and that to doe them, howſoeuer wee know them, muſt needs be acceptable in his ſight: let them, with whom wee haue hitherto diſputed, conſider well, how it can ſtand with reaſon to make this bare mandate of Sacred Scripture the onely Rule of all good and euill in the actions of mortal men. The Teſtimonies of God are true, the Teſtimonies of God are perfect, the Teſtimonies of God are al-ſufficient vnto that end for which they were giuen. Therefore accordingly we do receiue them, we do not thinke that in them God hath omitted any thing needful vnto his purpoſe, & left his intent to be accompliſhed by our deuiſings. What the Scripture purpoſeth, the ſame in all points it doth performe. Howbeit, that here wee ſwarue not in iudgement, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerue, namely, that the abſolute perfection of Scripture is ſeene by Relation vnto that end whereto it tendeth. And euen hereby it commeth to paſſe, that firſt ſuch as imagine the generall and maine drift of the body of Sacred Scripture not to be ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliuer, as in truth he doth, a full inſtruction in all things vnto Saluation neceſſarie, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attaine vnto: they are by this very meane induced, either ſtill to looke for new reuelations from Heauen, or elſe dangerouſly to adde to the Word of God vncertaine Tradition, that ſo the Doctrine of mans Saluation may be complete; which Doctrine we conſtantly hold in all reſpects without any ſuch things added to bee ſo complete, that wee vtterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelues with any thing further. Whatſoeuer to make vp the doctrine of mans ſaluation is added as in ſupply of the ſcriptures vnſufficiency, we reiect it: ſcripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Againe, the ſcope and purpoſe of God in deliuering the holy ſcripture, ſuch as do take more largely then behoueth, they on the contrary ſide racking & ſtretching it further then by him was meant, are drawne into ſundry as great inconueniences. The pretending the Scriptures perfection, inferre thereupon that in Scripture all things lawful to be done muſt needs be contained. We count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end wherto they were inſtituted: as therfore God created euery part & particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all points ſufficient vnto that vſe for which he appointed it; ſo the ſcripture, yea euery ſentence therof is perfect, & wanteth nothing requiſite vnto that purpoſe for which God deliuered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect therfore al things lawful to be done are comprehended in the ſcripture; we may euen as wel conclude ſo of euery ſentence, as of the whole ſum and bodie therof, vnleſſe we firſt of all proue that it was the drift, ſcope and purpoſe of Almighty God in holy ſcripture, to compriſe al things which man may practiſe. But admit this, and mark, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in deliuering ſcripture to his Church, ſhould cleane haue abrogated amongſt them the law of nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing of humane actions are

T.C. lib. 2. pag. 9 Where this doctrine is accuſed of bringing men to deſpaire, is hath wrong. For when doubting it the way to deſpaire againſt which this Doctrine offereth the remedie; it muſt needs be that it bringeth comfort and ioy to the conſcience of man.

are comprehended, and concluſions deriued from them; vpon which concluſions groweth in particularitie the choice of good and euill in the daily affaires of this life. Admit this, and what ſhal the Scripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weake Conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extreme deſpaires? Not that the Scripture it ſelfe doth cauſe any ſuch thing, (for it tendeth to the cleane contrary, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certaintie in that it teacheth:) but the neceſſities of this life vrging men to doe that which the light of Nature, common diſcretion and iudgement of it ſelfe directeth them vnto; on the other ſide, this doctrine teaching them that ſo to doe were to ſinne againſt their owne ſoules, and that they put forth their hands to iniquitie, whatſoeuer they goe about and haue not firſt the ſacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it chooſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end; how can it chooſe but vex & amaze them? For in euery action of common life to find out ſome ſentence cleerly and infallibly ſetting before our eyes what we ought to doe, (ſeeme we in Scripture neuer ſo expert) would trouble vs more then we are aware. In weake and tender minds we little know what miſerie this ſtrict opinion would breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all mens liues and actions. Make all things ſin which we doe by direction of Natures light, and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all vpon Scripture; admit this Poſition, & Parents ſhall cauſe their children to ſinne, as oft as they cauſe them to doe any thing, before they come to yeeres of capacitie and be ripe for Knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with Maſters, as it was with him in the Goſpell; but ſeruants being commanded to goe, ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they haue their errand warranted vnto them by Scripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian dutie in ſome caſes, ſo in common affaires to require it, were moſt vnfit. Two opinions therfore there are concerning ſufficiencie of holy Scripture, each extremely oppoſite vnto the other, and both repugnant vnto Truth. The Schooles of Rome teach Scripture to be vnſufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not containe all reuealed and ſupernaturall Truth, which abſolutely is neceſſarie for the Children of Men in this life, to know that they may in the next be ſaued. Others iuſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe vnto a dangerous extremitie, as if Scripture did not only containe all things in that kind neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſort that to doe any thing according to any other Law, were not onely vnneceſſary, but euen oppoſite vnto Saluation, vnlawful and ſinful. Whatſoeuer is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe then as the Truth is; though it ſeeme an honour, it is an iniurie. And as incredible prayſes giuen vnto men, doe often abate and impaire the credit of their deſerued commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heed, leſt in attributing vnto Scripture more then it can haue, the incredibilitie of that, do cauſe euen thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt aboundantly, to be leſſe reuerendly eſteemed. I therefore leaue it to themſelues to conſider, whether they haue in this firſt point or not ouer-ſhot themſelues; which, God doth know, is quickly done, euen when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſwaded theirs in this caſe was.

Luke 7. v. 8.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE:

The third Booke.

Concerning their second Assertion, that in Scripture *there must be of necessity contained a forme of Church-polity, the Lawes whereof may in no wise be altered.*

The matter contained in this third Booke.

1 WHat the Church is, and in what respect Lawes of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.

2 Whether it be necessary that some particular forme of Church-polity be set downe in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such forme are not of necessity to salvation.

3 That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of faith and salvation, & that they themselues so teach which are our reproouers for so teaching.

4 That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the soundnesse of truth may be given.

5 Their meaning who first vrged against the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be established in the Church more then is commanded by the Word of God.

6 How great iniurie men by so thinking should offer vnto all the Churches of God.

7 A shift notwithstanding to maintaines it, by interpreting Commanded as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set downe in Scripture particularly, & lesser framed by the generall rules of Scripture.

8 Another deuice to defend the same, by expounding Commanded as if it did signifie grounded in Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by light of naturall reason onely.

9 How Lawes for the Polity of the Church may be made by the aduice of men, & how those Lawes being not repugnant to the Word of God are approued in his sight.

10 *That neither Gods being the Author of Lawes, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to proue that they admit no addition or change.*

11 *Whether Christ must needs intend Lawes vnchangeable altogether, or haue forbidden any where to make any other Law then himselfe did deliuer.*

What the Church is, and in what respect Lawes of Politie are thereunto necessarily required.



Albeit the substance of those Controuersies whereinto wee haue begun to wade, bee rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ then of any thing wherein the nature and beeing of the Church consisteth: yet because the subiect or matter which this position concerneth, is *A forme of Church-gouernment or Church Politie*; it therefore behoueth vs so farre forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for mens more cleere and plaine vnderstanding, in what respect Lawes of Politie or Gouernment are necessary thereunto. That Church of Christ which wee properly terme his bodie mysticall, can be but one; neither can that one bee sensibly discerned by any man, in as much as the parts thereof are some in Heauen already with Christ, and the rest that are on Earth (albeit their naturall persons bee visible) wee doe not discerne vnder this propertie whereby they are truely and infallibly of that body. Onely our mindes by intellectuall conceit are able to apprehend, that such a reall bodie there is, a bodie collectiue, because it containeth an huge multitude; a body mysticall, because the mysterie of their coniunction is remooued altogether from sense. Whatsoeuer wee reade in Scripture concerning the endlesse loue and the sauing mercie, which God sheweth towards his Church, the onely proper subiect thereof is this Church. Concerning this flocke it is that our Lord & Sauiour hath promised, *I giue vnto them eternall life, & they shall neuer perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands.* They who are of this society haue such markes and notes of distinction from all others, as are not obiect vnto our sense; onely vnto God, who seeth their hearts and vnderstandeth all their secret cogitations, vnto him they are cleere and manifest. All men knew *Nathaniel* to be an Israelite. But our Sauiour piercing deeper, giueth further testimonie of him then men could haue done with such certainty as hee did, *Behold indeed an Israelite, in whom here is no guile.* If wee professe as *Peter* did, that wee loue the Lord, & professe it in the hearing of men; charity is prone to beleeue all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we doe, so, as long as they see no proofe to the contrary. But that our loue is sound and sincere, that it commeth from a *pure heart & a good conscience and a faith vnfained*, who can pronounce, sauing onely the searcher of all mens hearts, who alone intuitiuely doth know in this kind who are his? And as those euerlasting promises of Loue, Mercy, & Blessednesse, belong to the mysticall Church; euen so on the other side when wee reade of any duty which the Church of God is bound vnto, the Church whom this doth concerne is a sensible known company. And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the World to the last end.

John 10. 28.

John 1. 47.

John 21. 15.

1 *Tim.* 1. 5.

Which

Which company being diuided into two moieties; the one before, the other ſince the comming of Chriſt, that part which ſince the comming of Chriſt, partly hath embraced, & partly ſhall hereafter embrace the Chriſtian Religion, we terme as by a more proper name the Church of Chriſt. And therefore the Apoſtle affirmeth plainly of all men Chriſtian, that be they Iewes or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they al make but[a] *one body*. The vnity of which viſible body & Church of Chriſt, conſiſteth in that vniformity which all ſeuerall perſons thereunto belonging haue, by reaſon of that *one Lord*, whoſe Seruants they all profeſſe themſelues; that *one Faith*, which they all acknowledge, that *one baptiſme*, wherewith they are all initiated. The viſible Church of Ieſus Chriſt therfore one, in outward profeſſiō of thoſe things which ſupernaturally appertaine to the very Eſſence of Chriſtianitie, and are neceſſarily required in euery particular Chriſtian man. *Let all the houſe of Iſrael know for certaintie*, ſaith *Peter*, *that God hath made him both Lord and Chriſt, euen this Ieſus whom ye haue crucified.* Chriſtians therefore they are not, which call not him their Maſter and Lord. And from hence it came, that firſt at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole World, all that were of the Church viſible were called Chriſtians, euen amongſt the Heathen: which name vnto them was precious and glorious; but in the eſtimation of the reſt of the World, euen Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe was[b] execrable, for whoſe ſake all men were ſo likewiſe which did acknowledge him to bee their Lord. This himſelfe did foreſee, and therefore armed his Church, to the end they might ſuſtaine it without diſcomfort: *All theſe things they will doe vnto you for my names ſake; yea, the time ſhall come, that whoſoeuer killeth you will thinke that hee doth God good ſeruice. Theſe things I tell you, that when the houre ſhall come, yee may then call to mind how I told you before hand of them.* But our naming of Ieſus Chriſt the Lord is not enough to prooue vs Chriſtians, vnleſſe we alſo imbrace that faith, which Chriſt hath publiſhed vnto the World. To ſhew that the Angell of Pergamus continued in Chriſtianitie, behold, how the Spirit of Chriſt ſpeaketh, *Thou keepeſt my Name, and thou haſt not denyed my Faith.* Concerning which Faith, *The rule thereof*, ſaith Tertullian, *is one alone, immoueable, & no way poſſible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is he ſheweth by rehearſing thoſe few Articles of Chriſtian beliefe. And before *Tertullian*, *Ireney*; *The Church though ſcattered through the whole World vnto the vttermoſt borders of the Earth, hath from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples receiued beliefe.* The parts of which beliefe he alſo reciteth in ſubſtance the very ſame with *Tertullian*, and thereupon inferreth; *This faith the Church being ſpread farre and wide preſerueth, as if one houſe did containe them; theſe things it equally embraceth, as though it had euen one ſoule, one heart, and no more; it publiſheth, teacheth and deliuereth theſe things with vniforme conſent, as if God had giuen it but one onely tongue wherewith to ſpeake. He which amongſt the Guides of the Church is beſt able to ſpeake, vttereth no more then this; and leſſe then this the moſt ſimple doth not vtter*, when they make profeſſion of their Faith. Now although wee know the Chriſtian Faith, and allow of it, yet in this reſpect wee are but entring; entered wee

[a] *Epheſ.* 2. 16. That he might reconcile both vnto God in one body. *Eph.* 3. 16. That the Gentiles ſhould be Inheritors alſo and of the ſame bodie. *Vide T.* p. 3 q. 7. art. 3. 1 *Cor.* 12. 13. *Epheſ* 4. 5. *Acts* 2. 6. *Iohn* 13 13. *Col* 3 24. *Col* 4. 1.

[b] 1 *Cor.* 1. 23. *Vide & Tacitum lib. Annal* 15. *Nero quæſtiſſimis pœnis affecit quos per flagitia inuitos vulgos Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaq; in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſum erumpebat, non modo per Iudeam, originem eius mali, ſed per vrbem etiam, quo cuncta vndique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.*

Iohn 15. 21. *Iohn* 16. 2. 4.

Apoc. 2. 13. *Tertull. de Virgin. veland.*

Iren aduerſ. hær. lib. 1 *cap.* 2 & 3.

are

are not into the visible Church, before our admittance by the doore of Baptisme. Wherefore immediatly vpon the acknowledgement of Christian Faith, the Eunuch (we see) was baptized by *Philip*; *Paul* by *Ananias*, by *Peter* a huge multitude containing three thousand soules; which being once baptised, were reckoned in the number of soules added to the visible Church. As for those vertues that belong vnto morall righteousnesse and honesty of life, we doe not mention them, because they are not proper vnto Christian men, as they are Christian, but doe concerne them, as they are men. True it is, the want of these vertues excludeth from saluation. So doth much more the absence of inward beliefe of heart; so doth despaire and lacke of hope; so emptinesse of Christian Loue & Charity. But we speake now of the visible Church, whose Children are signed with this marke, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme.* In whomsoeuer these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her Children; them onely she holdeth for Aliens & Strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is that Saracens, Iewes, & Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not denie to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessitie eyther Christians or not Christians. If by externall profession they bee Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: And Christians by externall profession they are al, whose marke of Recognizance hath in it those things which wee haue mentioned, yea although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Heretiques, Persons Excommunicable, yea and cast out for notorious improbitie. Such withall we denie not to be the Imps and limmes of Satan, euen as long as they continue such. Is it then possible that the selfe-same men should belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, & to the Church of Iesus Christ? Vnto that Church which is his Mysticall Body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but onely true Israelites, true sonnes of *Abraham*, true Seruants & Saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Iesus Christ, those may bee and oftentimes are, in respect of the maine parts of their outward profession; who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea of external cõuersation, yea euen of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himselfe, and in the eyes of the sounder parts of the visible Church most execrable. Our Sauiour therfore compareth the Kingdome of heauen to a Net, whereunto all which commeth, neither is nor seemeth fish; his Church he compareth vnto a field, where Tares manifestly knowne and seene by all men doe grow intermingled with good Corne, and euen so shall continue till the finall consummation of the World. God hath had euer, and euer shall haue some Church visible vpon the Earth. When the people of God worshipped the Calfe in the Wildernesse; when they adored the braten Serpent; when they serued the Gods of Nations; when they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt Incense and offered Sacrifice vnto Idols; true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their Prophets iustly condemned them, as an adulterous Seed and a wicked Generation of Miscreants, which had forsaken the liuing God; and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercie wherwith he kindly & louingly embraceth his faithful Children. Howbeit retayning the Law of God, and the holy Seale of his Couenant, the sheepe

Acts 8. 38.
Acts 22. 16
Acts 2. 41.

Mat. 13. 45.
Mat. 13. 24.

Exod. 32.
Psal. 106. 19. 20
2. *Kings* 18. 4.
Ier. 11. 14.
2. *Kings* 22. 17.
Esay 57. 3.
Esay 1. 4.
Esay 60. 15.

Ier. 13. 11.
1. *Kings* 19. 18.

of

of his Visible Flocke they continued euen in the depth of their Disobedience and Rebellion. Wherefore not onely *amongst* them God alwayes had his Church, because he had thousands which neuer bowed their knees to *Baal*; but whose knees were bowed vnto *Baal*, euen they were also of the Visible Church of God. Not did the Prophet so complaine, as if that Church had beene quite and cleane extinguished; but he tooke it as though there had not beene remayning in the World any besides himselfe, that carried a true and an vpright heart towards God, with care to serue him according to his Holy Will. For lacke of diligent obseruing the difference, first, betweene the Church of God Mysticall and Visible, then betweene the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes lesse; the ouersights are neyther few nor light that haue beene committed. This deceyueth them, and nothing else, who thinke that in the time of the first World, the Family of *Noah* did containe all that were of the Visible Church of God. From hence it grew and from no other cause in the World, that the Affricane Bishops in the Councell of Carthage, knowing how the administration of Baptisme belongeth onely to the Church of Christ, and supposing that Heretikes which were apparantly seuered from the sound beleeuing Church, could not possibly be of the Church of Iesus Christ; thought it vtterly against reason, that Baptisme administred by men of corrupt beleefe, should be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization, their arguments are built vpon the fore-alledged ground, *That Heretiques are not at all* any part of the Church of Christ. *Our Sauiour founded his Church on a Rock, and not vpon heresie; power of baptizing he gaue to his Apostles, vnto Heretiques he gaue it not, Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppose themselues against Christ, doe but scatter his Sheepe and Flocke; without the Church they cannot baptize.* Againe, *Are Heretiques Christians, or are they not? If they be Christians, wherefore remaine they not in Gods Church? If they be no Christians, how make they Christians? Or to what purpose shall those words of the Lord serue, He which is not with me, is against me: and, He which gathereth not with me, scattereth? Wherefore euident it is, that vpon misbegotten children and the brood of Antichrist, without rebaptization the Holy Ghost cannot descend.* But none in this case so earnest as CYPRIAN; *I know no Baptisme but one, and that in the Church onely; none without the Church, where he that doth cast out the Deuill, hath the Deuill: He doth examine about beliefe, whose lips and words doe breathe forth a Canker: The faithlesse doth offer the Articles of Faith, a wicked creature for gift wickednesse, in the name of Christ, Antichrist figureth; he which is cursed of God, blesseth; a dead carrion promiseth life, a man vnpeaceable giueth peace, a Blasphemer calleth vpon the Name of God, a prophane person doth exercise Priesthood, a Sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar, and in the necke of all these that euill also commeth, the Eucharist a very Bishop of the Deuill doth presume to consecrate.* All this was true, but not sufficient to proove that Heretikes were in no sort any part of the Visible Church of Christ, and consequently their Baptisme no Baptisme. This opinion therefore was afterwards both cõdemned by a better aduised Counsell, and also reuoked by the chiefest of the Authours thereof themselues. What is it but only the selfe-same Errour and Misconceit, wherewith others beeing at this day likewise possest, they aske vs where our Church did lurke, in what Caue of the Earth it slept for so many hundreds of

Ier. 13. 11. 1. *King.* 19. 18.

Fortunat. in Concil. Car. Mat. 7. 24. *Mat.* 16. 18. *Mat.* 28. 19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil: Mat. 12. 30.

In Concilio Niceno. Vide. Hieron. dial. aduers. Luciferia.

yeeres together before the birth of *Martin Luther*? As if we were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning is, and continueth vnto the end. Of which Church all parts haue not beene alwayes equally sincere and sound. In the dayes of *Abia* it plainely appeareth, that *Iuda* was by many degrees more free from pollution then Israel, as that solemne Oration sheweth, wherein hee pleadeth for the one against the other in this wise. 2.Chron.13. *O* IEROBOAM, *and all Israel, heare you me; Haue yee not driuen away the Priests of the Lord, the Sonne of* AARON, *and the Leuites, and haue made you Priests like the people of Nations? Whosoeuer commeth to consecrate with a young Bullocke and seuen Rammes, the same may be a Priest of them that are no Gods. But we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forsaken him; and the Priests the Sonnes of* AARON *Minister vnto the Lord euerie morning and euery euening burnt Offerings and sweet Incense, and the Bread is set in order vpon the pure Table, and the Candlestick of Gold with the Lampes thereof to burne euery euening; for we keepe the watch of the Lord our God, but yee haue forsaken him.* In Saint *Pauls* time, the integritie of Rome was famous; Corinth many wayes reproued; they of Galatia much more out of square. In Saint *Iohns* time, Ephesus and Smyrna in farre better state then Thyatira and Pergamus were. Wee hope therefore, that to reforme our selues, if at any time we haue done amisse, is not to seuer our selues from the Church we were of before. In the Church wee were, and we are so still. Other difference betweene our estate before and now, wee know none but onely such as we see in Iuda, which hauing sometime beene Idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly Religious, by renouncing Idolatrie and Superstition. If EPHRAIM *be ioyned vnto Idols*, the counsell of the Prophet is, *Let him alone.* Hos.4.15.&17. *If Israel play the Harlot, let not* IVDA *sinne.* Ios.24.15: If it seeme euill vnto you, saith *Iosua*, to serue the Lord, *choose you this day whom you will serue, whether the gods whom your Fathers serued beyond the Flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose Land ye dwell: but I and mine house will serue the Lord.* The indisposition therefore of the Church of Rome to reforme her selfe, must bee no stay vnto vs from performing our duetie to God; euen as desire of retayning conformitie with them, could be no excuse if wee did not performe that duetie. Notwithstanding so farre as lawfully we may, we haue held, and doe hold fellowship with them. For euen as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloued of God. Rom.11.28. In like sort with Rome wee dare not communicate concerning sundrie her grosse and grieuous abominations; yet touching those maine parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, wee gladly acknowledge them to bee of the Family of Iesus Christ; and our hearty Prayer vnto God Almightie is, that beeing conioyned so farre forth with them, they may at the length, (if it be his will) so yeeld to frame and reforme themselues, that no distraction remaine in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth, glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Sauiour, whose Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome vtterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grieuous errours in their Doctrines: so we haue them amongst vs, who vnder pretence of imagined corruptions in our Discipline, doe giue euen as hard a iudgement of the Church of England it selfe. But whatsoeuer either the one sort or the other teach, wee must acknowledge euen Heretikes

tikes themſelues to bee though a maimed part, yet a part of the Viſible Church. If an Infidel ſhould purſue to death an Heretike profeſſing Chriſtianitie, onely for Chriſtian profeſſion ſake: could wee deny vnto him the honour of Martyrdome? Yet this honour all men know to be proper vnto the Church. Heretickes therfore are not vtterly cut off from the Viſible Church of Chriſt. If the Fathers doe any where, as oftentimes they doe, make the true Viſible Church of Chriſt and Hereticall companies oppoſite, they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating Heretickes not altogether from the company of Beleeuers, but from the fellowſhip of ſound Beleeuers. For where profeſt vnbeliefe is, there can be no Viſible Church of Chriſt; there may be, where ſound beliefe wanteth. Infidels being cleane without the Church, deny directly and vtterly reiect the very Principles of Chriſtianitie; which Heretickes embrace, and erre onely by miſconſtruction; whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeede to the Principles of Chriſtian Faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, and maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians in regard of the generall Truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſſe; yet they are by the Fathers euery where ſpoken of, as men cleane excluded out of the right beleeuing Church, by reaſon of their particular Errours, for which all that are of a ſound beliefe muſt needs condemne them. In this conſideration the anſwer of *Caluin* vnto *Farell*, concerning the Children of Popiſh Parents doth ſeeme crazed; *Caluin. Epiſt. 1.*

Whereas, ſaith he, *you aske our iudgement about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether Miniſters of our order profeſſing the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, may lawfully admit vnto Baptiſme an Infant whoſe Father is a Stranger vnto our Churches, and whoſe Mother hath fallen from vs vnto the Papacie, ſo that both the Parnts are Popiſh; thus we haue though good to anſwer, namely, that it is an abſurd thing for vs to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And ſith Papiſts children are ſuch, we ſee not how it ſhould be lawfull to miniſter Baptiſme vnto them.* Sounder a great deale is the anſwer of the Eccleſiaſticall Colledge of Geneua vnto *Knox*, who hauing ſignified vnto them, that himſelfe did not thinke it lawfull to baptize Baſtards, or the Children of Idolaters (he meaneth Papiſts) or of Perſons Excommunicate, till eyther the Parents had by repentance ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Church, or elſe their children being growne vnto the yeeres of vnderſtanding, ſhould come and ſue for their owne Baptiſme: *For thus thinking*, ſaith he, *I am thought to be ouer ſeuere, and that not onely by them which are Popiſh, but euen in their iudgements alſo who thinke themſelues Maintainers of Truth.* Maſter *Knoxes* ouer-ſight herein they controuled. Their Sentence was, *Whereſoeuer the profeſſion of Chriſtianity hath not vtterly periſhed and beene extinct, Infants are beguiled of their Right, if the common Seale be denied them.* Which concluſion in it ſelfe is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weake whereupon they build it. For the reaſon which they yeeld of their Sentence is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the Faithfull concerning their Seede, reacheth vnto a thouſand Generations; it reſteth not onely in the firſt Degree of Deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great Grandfathers haue beene holy and godly, doe in that reſpect belong to the bodie of the Church, although the Fathers and Grandfathers of whom they deſcend, haue beene Apoſtates: Becauſe the tenure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred yeares agoe and more in their Ancient Predeceſſours,* Epiſt. 283. Epiſt. 285.

cannot with iuſtice be defeated and broken off by their Parents impietie comming betweene. By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeeme that all the World may be baptized, in as much as no man liuing is a thouſand Deſcents remoued from *Adam* himſelfe; yet wee meane not at this time eyther to vphold or to ouerthrow it: onely their alledged concluſion wee embrace, ſo it bee conſtrued in this ſort, *That for as much as men remaine in the Viſible Church, till they vtterly renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianitie; we may not deny vnto Infants their right, by withholding from them the publique Signe of Holy Baptiſme, if they be borne where the outward acknowledgement of Chriſtianitie is not cleane gone and extinguiſhed.* For beeing in ſuch ſort borne, their Parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth giue them intereſt and right in Baptiſme. Albeit not euery errour and fault, yet Hereſies and Crimes which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and cleane from that Saluation, which belongeth vnto the Myſticall Bodie of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a Separation from the Viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the Viſible Church neyther the one nor the other doth ſeuer. As for the Act of Excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the Myſticall, nor cleane from the Viſible, but onely from fellowſhip with the Viſible in Holy Dueties. With what congruitie then doth the Church of Rome denie, that her Enemies, whom ſhe holdeth alwaies for Heretikes, doe at all appertaine to the Church of Chriſt; when her owne doe freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they ſay) cannot teach Hereſie nor propound Errour, hee may notwithſtanding himſelfe worſhip Idols, thinke amiſſe concerning matters of Faith, yea, giue himſelfe vnto acts Diabolicall, euen beeing Pope? How exclude they vs from being any part of the Church of Chriſt vnder the colour & pretence of Hereſie, when they cannot but grant it poſſible euen for him to bee as touching his owne perſonall perſwaſion Hereticall, who in their opinion not onely is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of authoritie ouer the ſame? But of theſe things we are not now to diſpute. That which alreadie wee haue ſet downe, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore in this queſtion we vnderſtand no other than onely the Viſible Church. For preſeruation of Chriſtianitie there is not any thing more needfull, than that ſuch as are of the Viſible Church, haue mutuall fellowſhip and ſocietie one with another. In which conſideration, as in the main body of the ſea being one, yet within diuers Precincts hath diuers names; ſo the Catholique Church is in like ſort diuided into a number of diſtinct Societies, euery of which is termed a Church within it ſelfe. In this ſenſe the Church is alwaies a viſible ſocietie of men; not an aſſembly, but a ſociety. For although the name of the Church be giuen vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies, although any multitude of Chriſtian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church; yet aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of publike actions; which actions being ended, the aſſembly diſſolueth it ſelfe, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſebled, doth no leſſe cõtinue afterwards than before. *Where but three are, and they of the Laity alſo,* ſaith *Tertullian, yet there is a Church,* that is to ſay, a Chriſtian aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to vnderſtand it, is a ſociety, that is, a number of men belonging vnto ſome Chriſtian fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certaine. That wherein they haue communion,

Tertull. exhort. ad caſtit. Vbi tres, eccleſia eſt, licet Laici:

communion, is the publique exerciſe of ſuch dueties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles Acts, *Inſtruction, Breaking of Bread*, and *Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, haue thoſe inward Graces and Vertues, whereby they differ from all others which are not of the ſame Body; againe, who ſoeuer appertaine to the Viſible Body of the Church, they haue alſo the notes of externall Profeſſion, whereby the World knoweth what they are: after the ſame manner, euen the ſeuerall Societies of Chriſtian men, vnto euerie of which the name of a Church is giuen, with addition betokening ſeuerally, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Epheſus, England, and ſo the reſt; muſt bee indued with correſpondent generall properties belonging vnto them, as they are publike Chriſtian Societies. And of ſuch properties common vnto all Societies Chriſtian, it may not bee denyed, that one of the verie chiefeſt is Eccleſiaſticall Politie. Which word I therefore the rather vſe, becauſe the name of Gouernement as commonly men vnderſtand it in ordinary ſpeech, doth not comprize the largeneſſe of that whereunto in this queſtion it is applyed. For when we ſpeake of Gouernement, what doth the greateſt part conceiue thereby, but only the exerciſe of Superioritie peculiar vnto Rulers and Guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-Politie will better ſerue, becauſe it containeth both Gouernement, and alſo whatſoeuer beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publike. Neither is any thing in this degree more neceſſarie than Church-Politie, which is a forme of ordering the publike ſpirituall affaires of the Church of God.

Act. 2. 47.

2 But wee muſt note, that hee which affirmeth ſpeech to bee neceſſarie amonſt all men throughout the World, doth not thereby import that all men muſt neceſſarily ſpeake one kind of Language. Euen ſo the neceſſitie of Politie, and Regiment in all Churches may bee held, without holding any one certayne forme to bee neceſſary in them all. Nor is it poſſible that any forme of Politie, much leſſe of Politie Eccleſiaſticall, ſhould bee good, vnleſſe God himſelfe bee Author of it. *Thoſe things that are not of God* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *they can haue no other than Gods Aduerſarie for their Authour*. Be it whatſoeuer in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it muſt be, either as thoſe things ſomtimes were, which God ſupernaturally reuealed, and ſo deliuered them vnto *Moſes* for Gouernement of the Common-wealth of Iſrael; or elſe as thoſe things which men find out by helpe of that light, which God hath giuen them vnto that end. The verie Law of Nature it ſelfe, which no man can deny but God hath inſtituted, is not of God, vnleſſe that be of God, whereof God is the Authour as well this later way as the former. But for as much as no forme of Church-Politie is thought by them to be lawfull, or to be of God, vnleſſe God be ſo the Author of it, that it be alſo ſet downe in Scripture; they ſhould tell vs plainely, whether their meaning bee that it muſt bee there ſet downe in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhew what one forme of Politie euer was ſo. Their owne to be ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirme; neyther denie they that in part, euen this which they ſo much oppugne is alſo from thence taken. Againe, they ſhould tell vs, whether onely that bee taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there ſet downe; or elſe that alſo, which the general Principles and Rules of Scripture potentially containe. The

Whether it be neceſſarie that ſome particular forme of Church-Polity bee ſet downe in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly vnto any ſuch forme, are not of neceſſitie to Saluation.

Tertull. de habitu mul. Æmuliſint neceſſeeſt, quæ Dei non ſunt.

Rom. 2. 15.

Lactā. lib. 6. *c.* 8 *Ille legis huius inuentor, diſceptator, lator. Cic.* 3. *de Repub.*

one way they cannot as much as pretend, that al the parts of their owne Discipline are in Scripture; & the other way their mouthes are stopped, when they would pleade against all other formes besides their owne; seeing the generall Principles are such, as doe not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally bee consonant vnto the generall Axiomes of the Scripture. But to giue them some larger scope, and not to close them vp in these streights: let their allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselues against all, which denie it necessary that any one complete forme of Church-Politie should bee in Scripture. First therefore, whereas it hath beene told them, that matters of Faith, & in generall, matters necessary vnto Saluation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, order, and the kinde of Church-gouernement; that the one are necessarie to bee expressely contayned in the Word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessarie not to receiue the one, vnlesse there bee something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence bee alledged: although there doe not appeare any iust or reasonable cause to reiect or dislike of this, neuertheless, as it is not easie to speake to the contentation of mindes exulcerated in themselues, but that somewhat there will be alwayes which displeaseth, so herein for two things we are reprooued; the first *misdistinguishing*, because matters of Discipline and Church-gouernment are (as they say) matters necessarie to Saluation, and of Faith, whereas wee put a difference betwene the one and the other; our second fault is *iniurious dealing* with the Scripture of GOD, as if it contained onely the principall poynts of Religion, some rude and vnfashioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth vnto the former and fashion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than onely to couer the Churches nakednesse, and not Chaynes, Bracelets, Rings, Iewels to adorne her; sufficient to quench her thirst, to kill her hunger, but not to minister a more liberall and (as it were) a more delicious and daintie dyet. In which case our Apologie shall not need to be verie long.

Two things misliked, the one, that wee distinguish matters of Discipline or Church-gouernement from matters of faith and necessarie vnto Saluation; the other, that wee are iniurious to the Scripture of God, in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are these: You which distinguish betweene these, and say that matters of Faith and necessarie vnto Saluation may not be tolerated in the Church, vnlesse they be expressly contained in the Word of God, or manifestly gathered; but that Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, Gouernement in the Church, may not bee receyued against the Word of God, and consequently may be receyued if there be no word against them, although there bee none for them; you (I say) distinguishing or diuiding after this sort, doe prooue your selfe an euill diuider. As though matters of Discipline and kinde of Gouernement were not matters necessarie to Saluation, and of Faith. It is no smalliniurie which you doe vnto the Word of God to pinne it in so narrow roome, as that it should be able to direct vs but in the principall points of our Religion, or as though the substance of Religion, or some rude and vnfashioned matter of building of the Church were vttered in them, and those things were left out that should pertaine to the forme and fashion of it, or as if there were in the Scriptures only to couer the Churches nakednesse and not also Chaynes, and Bracelets and Rings and other Iewels to adorne her and set her out: or that to conclude, there were sufficient to quench her thirst and kill her hunger, but not to minister vnto her a more liberall, and (as it were) a more delicious & daintie dyet. These things you seeme to say, when you say that matters necessarie to Saluation, and of Faith, are contayned in Scripture, especially, when you oppose these things to Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, and Gouernement *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 26.*

* That matters of Discipline are different, from matters of Faith and Saluation, and that they themselues so teach which are our Reproouers.

3 *The mixture of those things by speech, which by nature are diuided, is the Mother of all Error. To take away therefore that error which Confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish, is by conceit of minde to seuer things different in Nature, and to discerne wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, because wee distinguish

guiſh where wee ſhould not, it may not bee denyed that wee miſ-diſtinguiſh. The onely tryall whether we doe ſoe, yea or no, dependeth vpon compariſon betweene our conceit and the nature of things conceiued. Touching matters belonging to the Church of CHRIST this wee conceiue, that they are not of one ſute. Some things are *meerely* of Faith, which things it doth ſuffice that wee know and beleeue: ſome things not onely to bee knowne, but done becauſe they concerne the Actions of men. Articles about the Trinitie are matters of meere Faith, and muſt be beleeued. Precepts concerning the works of Charitie, are matters of action, which to know, vnleſſe they be practiſed, is not enough. This being ſo cleere to all mens vnderſtanding, I ſomewhat maruaile that they eſpecially ſhould thinke it abſurd to oppoſe *Church-gouernement*, a plaine matters of action, vnto matter of Faith, who know that themſelues diuide the Goſpell into *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, For if matters of Diſcipline bee rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of Doctrine, why not matters of Gouernment by vs as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of Faith? Doe not they vnder Doctrine comprehend the ſame which wee intend by matters of Faith? Doe not they vnder Diſcipline comprize the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in vs, which themſelues follow, they giue men great cauſe to doubt that ſome other thing than Iudgement doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to know or doe, the ſame in part Nature teacheth. And becauſe Nature can teach them but onely in part, neither ſo fully, as is requiſite for mans ſaluation; nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way plaine & expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it & ſo be ſaued; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſarie things, that the Schoole of Nature teacheth vnto that end; and reuealeth alſo whatſoeuer we neither could with ſafetie be ignorant of, nor at all be inſtructed in but by ſupernaturall Reuelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needfull for the Church, and the principall of the other ſort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an errour: we teach that whatſoeuer is vnto ſaluation termed *neceſſary* by way of excellencie, whatſoeuer it ſtandeth all men vpon to know or do that they may be ſaued, whatſoeuer there is whereof it may truly be ſaid, *This not to beleeue is eternall death and damnation*, or, *This euery ſoule that will liue muſt daly obſerue*, of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, & the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are; all ſuch things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not bee able to meaſure out the length and breadth of that way wherein for euer ſhee is to walke; Heretiques and Schiſmatiques neuer ceaſing, ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to peruert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſorie heereunto, thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of Saluation, as to alter them is no otherwiſe to change that way, then a path is changed by altering onely the vppermoſt face thereof, which bee it laid with Grauell, or ſet with Graſſe, or paued with ſtones, remayneth ſtill the ſame path; in ſuch things becauſe diſcretion may

T.C. lib. 2. pag. 1. We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpell. And againe, *pag. 5* I ſpeake of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpell. If the Diſcipline be one part of the Goſpel, what other part can they aſſigne but Doctrine, to anſwere in diuiſion to the Diſcipline?

may teach the Church what is conuenient, wee hold not the Church further tyed herein vnto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing bee admitted in the Church, left that path which ought alwayes to bee kept euen, doe thereby come to be ouer-growne with Brambles and Thornes. If this bee vnsound, wherein doth the point of vnsoundnesse lye? It is not that wee make some things *necessarie*, some things *accessorie* and appendent onely. For our LORD and SAVIOVR himselfe doth make that difference, by terming Iudgement, and Mercy, and Fidelity, with other things of like nature, *The greater & weightier matters of the Law*. Is it then in that wee account *Ceremonies* (wherein wee doe not comprize Sacraments, or any other the like substantiall duties in the exercise of Religion, but onely such externall Rites as are vsually annexed vnto Church actions,) is it an ouer-sight, that wee reckon these things and * matters of Gouernment in the number of things accessorie, not things necessarie in such sort as hath beene declared? Let them which therefore thinke vs blameable, consider well their owne wordes Doe they not plainely compare the one vnto Garments. which couer the bodie of the Church, the other vnto Rings, Bracelets, and Iewels that onely adorne it? the one to that Foode which the Church doth liue by, the other to that which maketh her Dyet liberall, daintie, and more delicious? Is daintie fare a thing necessarie to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the bodie rich Attire? If not, how can they vrge the necessitie of that which themselues resemble by things not necessarie? Or by what construction shall any man liuing bee able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction vntrue, which putteth a difference betweene things of externall Regiment in the Church, and things necessarie vnto saluation?

Matth. 23. 23.

* Thy Gouernement of the Church of Christ granted by *Fennar* himselfe to bee thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of Religion. Against Doctor *Bridges*, *page* 121. if it bee *Fennar* which was the Authour of that Booke.

That wee doe not take from Scripture any thing which may bee there vnto giuen with soundnes of truth.

4 Now as it can be to Nature no iniurie, that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her workes haue obserued, namely, that she prouideth for all liuing creatures nourishment which may suffice, that she bringeth forth no kinde of creature whereto shee is wanting in that which is needfull; although we do not so farre magnifie her exceeding bountie, as to affirme that shee bringeth into the World the sonnes of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring vp out of the Earth for them: So I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaueth vnto the Churches discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impayre the honour which the Church of God yeeldeth to the sacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by vs maintayned, than only that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoeuer is in such sort necessary as hath beene set downe; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to haue left a number of other things free to bee ordered at the discretion of the Church, than for Nature to haue left it vnto the wit of man to deuise his owne attyre, and not to looke for it as the beasts of the field haue theirs: If neither this can import, nor any other proofe sufficient bee brought foorth, that wee either will at any time, or euer did affirme the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more than onely those bare necessaries; if wee acknowledge that as well for particular application to speciall occasions,

Arist. Pol. lib. 1. *cap.* 8. *& Plato in Menex:* *Arist. lib.* 3. *de Anima, cap.* 45.

as

as alſo in other manifold reſpects infinite Treaſures of Wiſedome are ouer and beſides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may haue ſome direction and light; yea that although there be no neceſſitie it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular forme of Church-Gouernment; yet touching the manner of gouerning in generall, the Precepts that Scripture ſetteth downe are not few, and the Examples many which it propoſeth for all Church-Gouernours, euen in particularities to follow; yea, that thoſe things, finally, which are of principall weight in the very particular forme of Church-Politie, (although not that forme which they imagine, but that which wee againſt them vphold) are in the ſelfe-ſame Scriptures contained: if all this be willingly granted by vs, which are accuſed to pinne the Word of God in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct vs but in principall points of our Religion, or as though the ſubſtance of Religion or ſome rude or vnfaſhioned matter of building the Church were vttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it; let the cauſe of the accuſed be referred to the Accuſers owne conſcience, and let that iudge whether this accuſation be deſerued where it hath beene layd.

5 But ſo eaſie it is for euery man liuing to erre, and ſo hard to wreſt from any mans mouth the plaine acknowledgement of errour, that what hath beene once inconſiderately defended, the ſame is commonly perſiſted in, as long as wit by whetting it ſelfe is able to finde out any ſhift, be it neuer ſo ſleight, whereby to eſcape out of the hands of preſent contradiction. So that it commeth herein to paſſe with men vnaduiſedly falne into errour, as with them whoſe ſtate hath no ground to vphold it, but onely the helpe which by ſubtill conueyance they draw out of caſuall euents ariſing from day to day, till at length they bee cleane ſpent. They which firſt gaue out, that *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this Principle plainly warranted by the manifeſt words of the Law; *Ye ſhall put nothing vnto the Word which I command you, neither ſhall ye take ought there from, that ye may keepe the Commandements of the Lord our God, which I command you.* Wherefore hauing an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of England, as Marrying with a Ring, Croſſing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obſeruing of Feſtiuall Dayes more than onely that which is called the *Lords Day*, inioyning Abſtinence at certaine times from ſome kindes of Meate, Churching of Women after Child-birth, Degrees taken by Diuines in Vniuerſities, ſundry Church-offices, Dignities, and Callings, for which they found no Commandement in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one onely ſtroke of that Axiome to haue cut them off. But that which they tooke for an Oracle, being ſifted was repeld. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it be by miſconſtruction of the ſenſe, or by falſification of the words, wittingly to endeuour that any thing may ſeeme Diuine which is not, or any thing not ſeeme which is, were plainly to abuſe and euen to falſifie Diuine Euidence, which iniurie offered but vnto men is moſt worthily counted hainous. Which point I wiſh they did well obſerue, with whom nothing is more familiar than to plead in theſe Cauſes, *The Law of God*, *The Word of the Lord*: who notwithſtanding when

Their meaning who firſt did plead againſt the Politie of the Church of England, vrging that, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God:* and what Scripture they thought they might ground this Aſſertion vpon.

Deut. 4. 2. & *Deut.* 12. 32. Whatſoeuer I command you take heed you doe it: thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought there from.

when they come to alleage what Word and what Law they meant, their common ordinarie practice is, to quote by-ſpeeches in ſome hiſtoricall Narration or other, and to vrge them as if they were written in moſt exact forme of Law. What is to adde to the Law of God, if this bee not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliuer hiſtorically, wee conſter without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and ſo vrge it further then we can proue that it was intended, doe wee not adde to the Lawes of God, and make them in number ſeeme more then they are? It ſtandeth vs vpon to be carefull in this caſe. For the ſentence of God is heauie againſt them, that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to vſe the Scripture.

The ſame aſſertion wee cannot hold, without doing wrong vnto all Churches.

6 But let that which they doe hereby intend bee granted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to reaſon, that becauſe we are forbidden to adde to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore wee may not for matters of the Church make any Law more then is alreadie ſet downe in Scripture: who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce vs to giue againſt all Church in the World, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did neuer command, yet for vs to condemne were raſhneſſe. Let the Church of God euen in the time of our SAVIOVR CHRIST ſerue for example vnto all the reſt. In their Domeſticall Celebration of the Paſſeouer, which Supper they diuided (as it it were) into two courſes, what Scripture did giue Commandement that betweene the firſt and the ſecond, hee that was Chiefe ſhould put off the reſidue of his Garments, and keeping on his Feaſt-robe onely, waſh the feete of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them neuer to lift vp their hands vnwaſht in Prayer vnto God, which cuſtome *Ariſtæus* (be the credit of the Author more or leſſe) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiouſly obſerue? What Scripture did command the Iewes euery feſtiuall day to faſt till the ſixt houre? The cuſtome both mentioned by *Ioſephus* in the Hiſtorie of his owne life, and by the words of *Peter* ſignified. Tedious it were to rip vp all ſuch things, as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea by Chriſt himſelfe and by his Apoſtles obſerued though not commanded any where in Scripture.

Iohn 13. *Cœnatorium: de quo Mat.* 22. 12. *Ibi de Cœnatorio nuptiali.*

Acts 2.

* A ſhift to maintain that, Nothing ought to bee eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the Word of God: Namely, that Commandements are of two ſorts; and that all things lawfull in the Church are commãded, if not by ſpeciall Precepts, yet by general Rules in the Word.

7 * Well, yet a Gloſſe there is to colour that paradox and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appeare in ſhew not to be altogether vnreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the Commandements of God being either generall or ſpeciall, although there be no expreſſe word for euery thing in ſpecialtie, yet there are generall Commandements for all things, to the end that euen ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, onely with caution that nothing bee done againſt the Word of God: and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet downe in Scripture foure generall Rules, requiring ſuch things alone to bee receiued in the Church, as doe beſt and neereſt agree with the ſame Rules, that ſo all things in the Church may bee appointed, not onely *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the Word of God. The Rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſiue vnto any, eſpecially vnto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemelineſſe; *All vnto edification*; finaliy,

1. *Cor.* 10. 32. 1. *Cor.* 14. 40.

All

All to the glory of God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much paines? Which Rules they that vrge, minding thereby to prooue that nothing may bee done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, muſt needes hold that they tye the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, then onely becauſe wee finde them there ſet downe by the finger of the Holy Ghoſt. So that vnleſſe the Apoſtle by writing had deliuered thoſe Rules to the Church, we ſhould by obſeruing them haue ſinned, as now by not obſeruing them. In the Church of the Iewes is it not granted, that *the appointment of the houre for daily Sacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the Land to heare the Word of God & to pray in, when they came not vp to Ieruſalem, the erecting of *Pulpits & Chaires* to teach in; the order of *Buriall*, the *Rites of Marriage*, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where preſcribed in the Law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we thinke? Did they hereby adde to the Law, & ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſwaded of them. Doth their Law deliuer vnto them the ſelfe-ſame generall rules of the Apoſtles, that framing thereby their Orders, they might in that reſpect cleere themſelues from doing amiſſe? Saint *Paul* would then of likelihood haue cited them out of the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are Rules and Canons of that Law which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for euer no leſſe then now ſtood bound to obſerue them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons doe binde as they are Edicts of Nature, which the Iewes obſeruing as yet vnwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church-orders as in their Law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect vnculpable; it followeth, that ſundry things may bee lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they bee not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture doe command them, but the Church onely following the Light of Reaſon, iudge them to be in diſcretion meete. Secondly, vnto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the Commandements of God in Scripture be generall or ſpeciall, it skilleth not. For if being particularly applyed, they haue in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtraining vs to take ſome one certaine thing of many, and to leaue the reſt, whereby it would come to paſſe, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the generall Rules themſelues in that caſe would be broken; then is it vtterly impoſſible that God ſhould leaue any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh or not. Thirdly, if ſo be they ſhall grant, as they cannot otherwiſe do, that theſe rules are no ſuch Lawes as require any one particular thing to be done, but ſerue rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth; ſo that free & lawfull it is to deuiſe any Ceremony, to receiue any Order, & to authorize any kind of Regiment, no ſpecial Commandement being therby violated; & the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the iudgement thereof appertaineth, as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending vnto edification, & ſetting forth the glory of God, that is to ſay, agreeable vnto the generall Rules of the Scripture; this doth them no good in the World for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them, muſt proue that men ought not to make Lawes for Church-Regiment, but onely keepe thoſe Lawes which in Scripture they find made. The plaine intent

1. Cor. 14. 26. Rom. 14. 6, 7.

T. C. l. p. 35.

of

of the Booke of Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline is to ſhew, that men may not deuiſe Lawes of Church-Gouernement; but are bound for euer to vſe and execute only thoſe, which God himſelfe hath alreadie deuiſed and deliuered in the Scripture. The ſelfe-ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in vrging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according vnto any Law of mans deuiſing, but all according to that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture generall Rules to be followed in making Lawes; and ſo in effect they plainly grant, that wee our ſelues may lawfully make Lawes for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture onely to take Lawes alreadie made, as they meant who firſt alledged that Principle whereof we ſpeake. One particular platforme it is which they reſpected, and which they laboured thereby to force vpon all Churches; whereas theſe generall rules do not let, but that there may well enough bee ſundry. It is the particular order eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas vnto thoſe generall Rules they know, we do not defend that we may hold any thing vncomformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gaue out that grand Axiome: and according vnto that meaning, it doth preuaile farre and wide with the Fauourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they comforme not themſelues vnto the order of our Church; and in euery particular their anſwere for the moſt part is, *We find no ſuch thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainly require ſome ſpeciall Commandement for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to haue matters of the Church examined by generall Rules and Canons. As therefore in Controuerſies betweene vs and the Church of Rome, that which they practiſe, is many times euen according to the very groſneſſe of that which the vulgar ſort conceiueth; when that which they teach to maintaine it, is ſo nice and ſubtil, that hold can very hardly bee taken thereupon; in which caſes wee ſhould doe the Church of God ſmall benefit, by diſputing with them according vnto the fineſt points of their darke conueyance, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their Doctrine to goe vncontrolled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarily receiued and practiſed. So conſidering what diſturbance hath growne in the Church among our ſelues, & how the Authors thereof doe commonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which in the Word of God is not comanded*; were it reaſon that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſſe without controlment, in that currant meaning whereby euery-where it preuaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly haue thought on, but being driuen thereunto for a ſhift?

Another anſwere in defence of the former aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. All Church-orders muſt be commanded in the Word, that is to ſay, grounded vpon the Word, and made according at the leaſt wiſe vnto the generall Rules of holy Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any Starre or light of Reaſon, and are in that reſpect receiued, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth not onely receiued.

8 The laſt refuge in maintayning this Poſition, is thus to conſter it; *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commanded in the Word of God*; that is to ſay, All Church-orders muſt be *grounded vpon the Word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded vpon the Word, not that being found out by ſome *Starre or light of Reaſon, or Learning, or other helpe*, they may bee receiued, ſo they bee not againſt the Word of God; but according at leaſt-wiſe vnto the generall Rules of Scripture

ture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *Wee know not what to ſay well in defence of this poſition: and therefore leſt wee ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedie but to ſay that in ſome ſence or other it may be true, if wee could tell how.* Firſt that *Scholie* had need of a very fauourable Reader, and a tractable, that ſhould thinke it plaine conſtruction, when to bee *commaunded in the word*, and *grounded vpon the word* are made all one. If when a man may liue in the ſtate of Matrimonie, ſeeking that good thereby which nature principally deſireth, he make rather choyce of a contrary life in regard of S. *Paules* iudgement; that which hee doth is manifeſtly *grounded* vpon the Word of God, yet *not commanded* in his Word, becauſe without breach of any commandement he might doe otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no man in iuſtice and reaſon can be reproued, for thoſe actions which are framed according vnto that knowne will of God, whereby they are to be iudged; and the will of God which we are to iudge our actions by, no ſound Diuine in the world euer denied to be in part made manifeſt euen by light of nature, and not by Scripture alone; if the Church beeing directed by the former of theſe two, (which God hath giuen who gaue the other, that man might in different ſort be guided by them both,) if the Church, I ſay, doe appoue and eſtabliſh that which thereby it iudgeth meete, and findeth not repugnant to any word or ſillable of holy Scripture, who ſhall warrant our preſumptuous boldneſſe, controlling herein the Church of Chriſt? But ſo it is, the name of the light of nature is made hatefull with men; *the Starre of reaſon and learning*, and all other ſuch like helpes, beginneth no otherwiſe to be thought of, then if it were an vnluckie Comet, or as if God had ſo accurſed it, that it ſhould neuer ſhine or giue light in things concerning our duetie any way towards him, but bee eſteemed as that *Starre* in the Riuelation called *Wormewood*, which beeing fallen from Heauen, maketh Riuers and Waters in which it falleth, ſo bitter, that men taſting them die thereof. A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire as they ought the power and authoritie of the Word of God, if in things diuine they ſhould attribute any force to mans reaſon. For which cauſe they neuer vſe reaſon ſo willingly as to diſgrace reaſon. Their vſuall and common diſcourſes are vnto this effect: Firſt, *The naturall man perceyueth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſſe vnto him, neyther can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* Secondly, it is not for nothing that S. *Paul* giueth charge to *beware of Philoſophy*, that is to ſay, ſuch knowledge as men by naturall reaſon attaine vnto. Thirdly, Conſider them that haue from time to time oppoſed themſelues againſt the Goſpel of Chriſt, and moſt troubled the Church with Hereſie. Haue they not alwaies beene great admirers of humane reaſon? Hath their deepe and profound skill in ſecular learning, made them more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather againſt it? Fourthly, They that feare God will remember how heauie his ſentences are in this caſe; *I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and will caſt away the vnderſtanding of the prudent. Where is the wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the diſputer of this World? Hath not God made the wiſedome of this World fooliſhneſſe? Seeing the World by wiſedome knew not God in the wiſedome of God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſaue Beleeuers.* Fiftly, the Word of God in it ſelfe is abſolute,

Ariſt. polit. 1.

1. Cor. 7.

Apoc. 8. 10.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Col. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 1.

exact, and perfect. The Worde of God is a two-edged Sword: as for the weapons of naturall reason, they are as the armour of *Saul*, rather cumbersome about the souldier of Christ then needefull. They are not of force to doe that, which the Apostles of Christ did by the power of the holy Ghost, *My preaching,* 1. *Cor.* 2. 5. therefore saith *Paul, hath not beene in the inticing speech of mans wisdome, but in plaine euidence of the spirit of power; that your faith might not bee in the wisedome of men, but in the power of God.* Sixtly, if I beleeue the Gospell, there needeth no reasoning about it to perswade mee: If I doe not beleeue, it must bee the Spirit of God, and not the reason of man that shall conuert my heart vnto him. By these and the like disputes an opinion hath spread it selfe verie farre in the world, as if the way to bee ripe in faith, were to bee raw in wit and iudgement; as if reason were an enemie vnto Religion, childish simplicitie the mother of ghostly and diuine wisdome. The cause why such declamations preuaile so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselues in two respects to bee deluded, one is, that the wisedome of men being debased, eyther in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some speciall thing, exceeding the reach & compasse thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned: an other, that learning, knowledge, or wisdome falsly so termed, vsurping a name whereof they are not worthie, and being vnder that name controlled, their reproofe is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equiuocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names do properly & of right belong. This duely obserued, doth to the former allegations it selfe make sufficient answer. Howbeit for all mens plainer and fuller satisfaction, first concerning the 1. inhability of reason to search out and to iudge of things diuine; if they be such as those properties of God, and those dueties of men towards him, which may be conceiued by attentiue consideration of heauen and earth: wee know that Rom. 1. 21. 31. of meere naturall men, the Apostle testifieth, how they *knew both God, and the Law of God.* Other things of God there bee, which are neither so found, nor though they bee shewed, can euer bee approoued without the *speciall* operation of Gods good grace and spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle S. *Paul*, declaring how Christ had called him to bee a witnesse of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and *Moses* Act. 25. 19. had fore-shewed. *Festus* a meere naturall man, an Infidell, a Romane, one whose eares were vnacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach vnto Act. 26. 24. that whereof he spake; the suffering and the rising of Christ from the dead, he reiected as idle superstitious phansies, not worth the hearing. The Apostle that knew them by the spirit, and spake of them with power of the Holy 1. Cor. 2. 14. Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifest what elsewhere the same Apostle teacheth, namely that nature hath need of 2. grace, whereunto I hope wee are not opposite, by holding that grace hath vse of nature. Secondly, Philosophy wee are warned to take heed of, not that Philosophy, which is true and sound knowledge attained by naturall discourse of reason; but that Philosophy which to bolster heresie or error, casteth a fraudulent shew of reason vpon things which are indeed vnreasonable, & by that meane as by a stratageme spoyleth the simple which are not able to withstand such cun-
Col. 2. 8. ning. *Take heed lest any spoil you through Philosophy & vain deceit.* He that exhor-

teth

teth to beware of an enemies policie, doth not giue counſell to bee impolitique; but rather to vſe all prudent foreſight and circumſpection, leſt our ſimplicitie bee ouer-reacht by cunning ſleights. The way not to be inueigled by them that are ſo guilefull through skill, is thoroughly to be inſtructed in that which maketh skilfull againſt guile, and to bee armed with that true and ſincere Philoſophy, which doth teach againſt that deceitfull and vaine, which ſpoyleth. Thirdly, But many great Philoſophers haue beene very vnſound in beliefe. And many ſound in beliefe haue beene alſo great Philoſophers. Could ſecular knowledge, bring the one ſort vnto the loue of Chriſtian faith? Nor Chriſtian faith the other ſort out of loue with ſecular knowledge. The harme that heretiques did, they did it vnto ſuch as were vnable to diſcerne betweene ſound and deceitfull reaſoning; and the remedy againſt it, was euer the skill which the ancient Fathers had to diſcrie and diſcouer ſuch deceit. In ſo much that *Creſconius* the heretique complained greatly of S. *Auguſtine*, as being too full of logicall ſubtilties. Hereſie preuaileth onely by a counterfeit ſhew of reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becommeth inuincible, vnleſſe it be cõuicted of fraud by manifeſt remonſtrance, clearely true, and vnable to be withſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth hability to conuict Heretiques, can we thinke he iudgeth it a thing vnlawfull, and not rather needfull to vſe the principall inſtrument of their conuiction, the light of reaſon? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers writings there are ſundry ſharpe inuectiues againſt Heretiques, euen for their very Philoſophicall reaſonings. The cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to haue beene any diſlike conceiued againſt the kinde of ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *euen in matters of God, be made wiſer by reaſons drawne from the publique perſwaſions which are grafted in mens mindes, ſo they bee vſed to further the truth, not to bolſter errour; ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things euen knowne by nature, as the immortalitie of the ſoule vnto many, our God vnto all. I will therefore my ſelfe alſo vſe the ſentence of of ſome ſuch as* Plato, *pronouncing euery ſoule immortall. I my ſelfe too will vſe the ſecret acknowledgement of the communaltie bearing record of the GOD of Gods. But when I heare men alledge, That which is dead is dead: and, While thou art aliue, be aliue: and After death an end of all, euen of death it ſelfe: then will I call to mind both that the heart of the people with God is accounted duſt, and that the very wiſdome of the world is pronounced folly. If then an Heretique flie alſo vnto ſuch vicious, popular and ſecular conceits, my anſwer vnto him ſhall be; Thou Heretique auoid the heathen, although in this ye be one, that ye both bely God: yet thou that doſt this vnder the name of Chriſt, differeſt from the heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelfe a Chriſtian. Leaue him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neither will hee learne thine. Why doſt thou, hauing ſight, truſt to a blinde guide, thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take rayment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle haue armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtrangers ſhield? Let him rather learne of thee to acknowledge, then thou of him to renounce the reſurrection of the fleſh.* In a word, the Catholique Fathers did good vnto all by that knowledge, whereby Heretiques hindering the truth in many, might haue furthered therewith themſelues, but that obſtinately following their owne ambitious or otherwiſe corrupted affections, in ſtead of framing their wills to maintaine that which reaſon taught, they bent their wits to finde how reaſon might ſeeme to teach that which their

Tit. 1. 9. 11.

Tertul. de Reſur. carnis.

wils were ſet to maintaine. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith of them iuſtly,
Tit.3. 11. that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned euen in and of themſelues. For though they bee not all perſwaded that it is truth which they withſtand; yet that to be errour which they vphold, they might vndoubtedly the ſooner a great deale attaine to know, but that their ſtudie is more to defend what once they haue ſtood in, then to finde out ſincerely and ſimply what truth they ought to perſiſt in for euer. Fourthly, there is in the world no kinde of
4. knowledge, whereby any part of truth is ſeene, but we iuſtly account it precious; yea that principall truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receiue from it ſome kinde of light, Whether it be that Egyptian and
Act.7. 22. Chaldæan wiſedome Mathematicall, wherewith *Moſes* and *Daniel* were furni-
Dan.1.17. ſhed; or that naturall, morall, and ciuill wiſdome, wherewith *Salomon* excelled
1. King.4.29.30 all men; or that rationall and oratoriall wiſedome of the Græcians, which
Act.22.3. the Apoſtle S. *Paul* brought from *Tarſus*; or that Iudaicall, which he learned in *Ieruſalem*, ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliel*: to detract from the dignitie thereof, were to iniury euen God himſelfe, who being that light which none can approah vnto, hath ſent out theſe lights whereof we are capable, euen as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the bright fountaine from which they riſe. But there are that beare the title of wiſe men, and Scribes, and great diſputers of the World, and are nothing indeed leſſe then what in ſhew they moſt appeare. Theſe being wholly addicted vnto their owne wils, vſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſdome they haue, to maintaine that which their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming in the frenticke errour of their mindes, the greateſt madneſſe in the world to be wiſdome, and the higheſt wiſdome fooliſhneſſe. Such were both *Iewes* and *Gretians*, which profeſſed the one ſort legal, and the other ſecular skill, neither induring to be taught the myſterie of Chriſt: vnto the glory of whoſe moſt bleſſed name, who ſo ſtudie to vſe both their reaſon and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath indued them with; let them neuer doubt but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy and confound vtterly that wiſdome falſly ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true
Mat.13. 52. Scribes, Scribes by wiſdome inſtructed to the kingdome of heauen, Scribes againſt that kingdome hardned in a vaine opinion of wiſdome which in the end being proued folly, muſt needes periſh; true vnderſtanding, knowledge, iudgement and reaſon, continuing for euermore. Fiftly, vnto the Word of God, be-
5. ing in reſpect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelfe, wee do not adde reaſon as a ſupplement of any myme or defect therein, but as a neceſſary inſtrument, without which wee could not reape by the Scriptures, perfection, that fruit and benefit which it yeeldeth. The word of God
Hebr.4.12. is a two-edged ſword, but in the hands of reaſonable men; and reaſon as the weapon that ſlew *Goliath*, if they be as *Dauid* was that vſe it. Touching the apoſtles, he which gaue them frō aboue ſuch power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, indued them alſo with wiſdome from aboue to teach that which they ſo did confirme. Our Sauior made choyce of 12. ſimple and vnlearned men, that the greater their lacke of naturall wiſdome was, the more admirable that might appeare, which God ſupernaturally indued them with from heauen. Such therfore as knew the poore & ſilly eſtate wherin they had liued, could not but wonder to heare the wiſdome of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more

attentiue

more attentiue vnto their teaching. They ſtudied for no toung they ſpake withall; of themſelues they were rude, & knew not ſo much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gaue them ſpeech and eloquent vtterance. But becauſe with S. *Paul* it was otherwiſe then with the reſt, in as much as he neuer conuerſed with Chriſt vpon earth as they did; and his education had bin ſcholaſticall altogether, which theirs was not: hereby occaſion was taken by certain Malignants, ſecretly to vndermine his great authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpell had bin taught him by others then by Chriſt himſelfe, & as if the cauſe of the *Gentiles* conuerſion and beliefe through his meanes, had bin the learning and skill which he had by being conuerſant in their Bookes, which thing made them ſo willing to heare him, and him ſo able to perſwade them; whereas the reſt of the Apoſtles preuailed becauſe God was with them, and by miracle from Heauen confirmed his Word in their mouthes. They were mightie in *deeds*: As for him, being abſent, his writings had ſome force; in preſence his power not like vnto theirs. In ſumme, concerning his preaching, their very by-word was Λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *Addle ſpeech, empty talk.* His writings ful of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations, his preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Hereupon it ariſeth that S. *Paul* was ſo often driuen to make his Apologies. Hereupon it ariſeth, that whatſoeuer time hee had ſpent in the ſtudy of humane learning, hee maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of Corinth, that the Goſpell which he had preached amongſt them, did not by other meanes preuaile with them, then with others the ſame Goſpel taught by the reſt of the apoſtles of Chriſt. *My preaching* 1. Cor. 2. 4. ſaith he, *hath not bin in the perſwaſiue ſpeeches of humane wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit & power, that your faith may not be in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God.* What is it which the Apoſtle doth here deny? Is it denied that his ſpeech amongſt thē had bin *perſwaſiue*? No, for of him the ſacred Hiſtory plainly Act. 18. v. 4. 11. teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a yeare & a halfe he ſpake in the Synagogue euery Sabbath, and *perſwaded* both Iewes & Grecians. How then is the ſpeech of men made perſwaſiue? Surely there can be but two wayes to bring this to paſſe, the one humane, the other diuine. Either S. *Paul* did *only* by art and naturall induſtry cauſe his own ſpeech to be credited; or elſe God by miracle did authorize it, and ſo bring credit thereunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two the former he vtterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the reſt had bin effectuall by miracle, his *only* by force of his owne learning; ſo great inequality betweene him and the other Apoſtles in this thing, had been enough to ſubuert their Faith. For might they not with reaſon haue thought, that if he were ſent of God as well as they, God would haue furniſhed them and not him, with the power of the Holy Ghoſt? Might not a great part of them beeing ſimple haply haue feared, leſt their aſſent had bin cunningly gotten vnto his Doctrine, rather through the weakneſſe of their owne wits, then the certainty of that truth which he had taught thē? How vnequall had it bin, that all belieuers through the preaching of other Apoſtles, ſhould haue their faith ſtrongly built vpon the euidence of Gods owne miraculous approbation, & they whom he had conuerted, ſhould haue their perſwaſion built onely vpon his skill and wiſedome who perſwaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize vs to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apoſtles did: ſo although the wiſdom of man had not bin ſufficient to inable him ſuch a Teacher as the reſt of the Apo-

ſtles were, vnleſſe Gods miracles had ſtrengthened both the one and the others Doctrine; yet vnto our ability both of teaching and learning the truth of Chriſt, as we are but meere Chriſtian men, it is not a little which the wiſdome of man may adde. Sixtly, yea, whatſoeuer our harts be to God and to his truth, beleeue we, or be we as yet faithleſſe, for our conuerſion or confirmation, the force of naturall reaſon is great. The force whereof vnto thoſe effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpoſe it is ſufficient, that whoſoeuer doth ſerue, honor and obey God, whoſoeuer beleeueth in him; that man would no more doe this then innocents and infants doe, but for the light of naturall reaſon that ſhineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend thoſe things of God, which being by grace diſcouered, are effectuall to perſwade reaſonable minds & none other, that honor, obedience & credit belong aright vnto God. No man commeth vnto God to offer him Sacrifice, to powre out Supplications and Prayers before him, or to doe him any ſeruice, which doth not firſt beleeue him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in ſuch ſort ſeeke vnto him. Let men be taught this eyther by reuelation from Heauen, or by inſtruction vpon Earth, by labour, ſtudie and meditation, or by the only ſecret inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; whatſoeuer the meane be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were poſſible without diſcourſe of naturall reaſon, why ſhould none be found capable thereof but only men, nor men till ſuch time as they come vnto ripe & full ability to worke by reaſonable vnderſtanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach *Theology*? *Theology* what is it, but the ſcience of things diuine? What Science can be attained vnto without the helpe of naturall diſcourſe and reaſon? *Iudge you of that which I ſpeak*, ſaith the Apoſtle. In vaine it were to ſpeak any thing of God, but that by reaſon men are able ſomewhat to iudge of that they heare, and by diſcourſe to diſcerne how conſonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things aboue nature, things which our reaſon by it ſelfe could not reach vnto. Yet thoſe things alſo wee beleeue, knowing by reaſon that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the preſence of *Feſtus* a Romane, and of King *Agrippa* a Iew, S. *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Iewes Religion, nor the Bookes whereby they were taught it, ſpeakes vnto the other of things foreſhewed by *Moſes* and the Prophets, and performed in Ieſus Chriſt; intending thereby to proue himſelfe ſo vniuſtly accuſed, that vnleſſe his Iudges did condemne both *Moſes* & the Prophets, him they could not chuſe but acquite, who taught onely that fulfilled, which they ſo long ſince had foretold. His cauſe was eaſie to be diſcerned; what was done, their eies were witneſſe: what *Moſes* & the Prophets did ſpeake, their Bookes could quickly ſhew, it was no hard thing for him to cõpare them, which knew the one, & beleeued the other; *King Agrippa, beleeueſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt*. The queſtiõ is, how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of king *Agrippa*. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with vs doth cauſe the reſt of the Scripture of God to bee of credit. Becauſe wee maintaine, that in Scripture wee are taught all things neceſſarie vnto Saluation, hereupon verie childiſhly it is by ſome demanded, what Scripture can teach vs the Sacred Authority of the Scripture, vpon the knowledge whereof our whole Faith and Saluation dependeth. As though there were any kind of Science in the World, which leadeth men vnto knowledge, without preſuppoſing a number of things already knowne. No Science doth

Heb. 11.6.

1. Cor. 10. 15.

Act. 26.27.

doth make knowne the first Principles whereon it buildeth; but they are alwayes either taken as plaine and manifest in themselues, or as prooued & granted already, some former knowledge hauing made them euident. Scripture teacheth all supernaturally reuealed truth without the knowledge whereof Saluation cannot bee attained. The maine Principle whereupon our beliefe of all things therein contained dependeth, is, That the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himselfe. This in it selfe we cannot say is euident. For then all men that heare it would acknowledge it in heart, as they doe when they heare that *euery whole is more then any part of that whole*, because this in it selfe is euident. The other wee know that all doe not acknowledge when they heare it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed, which doth herein assure the hearts of all Beleeuers. Scripture teacheth vs that sauing Truth which GOD hath discouered vnto the World by Reuelation: and it presumeth vs taught otherwise that it selfe is Diuine and Sacred. The question then being, by what meanes wee are taught this: some answere, that to learne it wee haue no other way then onely Tradition: as namely, that so we beleeue, because both we from our Predecessors, and they from theirs haue so receiued. But is this enough? That which all mens experience teacheth them may not in any wise be denyed. And by experience we al know, that the first outward Motiue leading men so to esteeme of the Scripture, is the authoritie of Gods Church. For when wee know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, wee iudge it euen at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought vp in the Church, to be of a contrarie minde without cause. Afterwards the more wee bestow our labour in reading or hearing the Mysteries thereof, the more we finde that the thing it selfe doth answere our receiued opinion concerning it. So that the former inducements prouailing somewhat with vs before, doth now much more preuaile, when the very thing hath ministred farther Reason. If Infidels or Atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giueth vs occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimonie of the Church concerning Scripture, and our owne perswasion which Scripture it selfe hath confirmed, may bee proued a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to relye vpon the Scriptures, endeuoured still to maintaine the authoritie of the Bookes of God, by arguments such as vnbeleeuers themselues must needes thinke reasonable, if they iudged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible or greatly hard, euen by such kind of proofes so to manifest and cleere that point, that no man liuing shall bee able to deny it, without denying some apparant Principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I beleeue the Gospell, yet is reason of singular vse, for that it confirmeth me in this my beliefe the more. If I doe not as yet beleeue, neuertheless to bring mee into the number of Beleeuers, except reason did somewhat helpe, & were an instrument which God doth vse vnto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with Infidels, or godlesse persons for their cõuersion & perswasion in that point? Neither can I think that when graue & learned men do sometime hold, that of this Principle there is no proofe but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our harts therin, it is their meaning to exclude vtterly all force which any kind of reason may haue in that behalfe: but I rather

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incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet downe, that other motiues & inducements, be they neuer ſo ſtrong and conſonant vnto reaſon, are notwithſtanding effectuall of themſelues to worke faith concerning this Principle, if the ſpeciall grace of the holy Ghoſt concurre not to the inlightning of our mindes. For otherwiſe, I doubt not but men of wiſdome and iudgement will grant, that the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with reaſon, to ſtop the mouthes of her impious Aduerſaries: and that as it were altogether bootleſſe to alleage againſt them, what the Spirit hath taught vs; ſo likewiſe that euen to our owne ſelues it needeth caution & explication, how the teſtimonie of the Spirit may be diſcerned, by what meanes it may be knowne, leſt men thinke that the Spirit of God doth teſtifie thoſe things which the ſpirit of Error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the ſpirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be cõmõn vnto all true Chriſtian men, are, as we know, things ſecret & vndiſcernable euen to the very ſoule where they are, becauſe their nature is of another & an higher kind than that they can be by vs perceiued in this life. Wherfore albeit the Spirit leade vs into all truth, and direct vs in all goodneſſe; yet becauſe theſe workings of the Spirit in vs are ſo priuy & ſecret, we therfore ſtand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reaſon from the qualitie of things beleeued or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed vs in both; then if we ſettle our ſelues to beleeue, or to do any certain particular thing, as being moued therto by the Spirit. But of this enough.

To go from the books of Scripture to the ſenſe & meaning thereof, becauſe the Sentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the *Pſalmes* to proue the Reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt, did not proue it, if ſo be the Prophet *Dauid* meant the of himſelfe; this Expoſition therfore they plainly diſproue, and ſhew by manifeſt reaſon, that of *Dauid* the words of *Dauid* could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the vſe of naturall reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture concerning the Articles of our Faith, & then that the Scripture doth concern the Articles of our Faith, who can aſſure vs? That which by right expoſition buildeth vp Chriſtian Faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth Error: betweene true and falſe conſtruction, the difference, reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian men performe that which *Peter* requireth at their hands? is it poſſible they ſhould both beleeue, & be able without the vſe of reaſon, to render a reaſon of their beliefe, a reaſon ſound & ſufficient to anſwere them that demand it, be they of the ſame faith with vs, or enemies thereunto? May we cauſe our faith without reaſon to appeare reaſonable in the eyes of men? This being required euen of Learners in the Schoole of Chriſt, the dutie of their Teachers in bringing them vnto ſuch ripeneſſe, muſt needs bee ſomewhat more, then only to reade the Sentences of Scripture, and then paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to vary them with ſundry formes of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend it ſelfe vnto the World by that eaſineſſe & facility which is in it: but a Law or a patterne it is not, as ſome do imagine, for all men to follow that will do good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe did hope by diſputation to doe ſome good, yea, by diſputation not only of, but againſt the truth, albeit with purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the ſonne of *Dauid*, was truth, yet againſt this truth our Lord in the Goſpell obiecteth, If Chriſt be the ſonne of *Dauid*, how doth *Dauid* call him Lord? There is as yet no

Acts 13. 36, & *cap.* 2. 34.

1. *Pet.* 3. 15.

Mat. 22. 43.

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way knowne how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the vſe of naturall reaſon. If we pleaſe to adde vnto Chriſt their example, who followed him as neere in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſet downe in the *Acts*, where the people would haue offered vnto them Sacrifice: in that Sermon what is there but onely naturall reaſon to diſproue their act? *O men why doye theſe things? We are men euen ſubiect to the ſelfe-ſame paſſions with you: we preach vnto you to leaue theſe vanities, & to turne to the liuing God, the God that hath not left himſelfe without witneſſe, in that he hath done good to the World, giuing raine and fruitfull ſeaſons, filling our heart with ioy and gladnes.* Neither did they only vſe reaſon in winning ſuch vnto a Chriſtian Beliefe as were yet thereto vnconuerted, but with beleeuers themſelues they followed the ſelf-ſame courſe. In that great and ſolemne Aſſembly of beleeuing Iewes, how doth *Peter* proue that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reaſon drawne from thoſe effects, which were apparantly knowne amongſt them? *God which knowes the hearts hath borne them witneſſe in giuing vnto them the Holy Ghoſt as vnto you.* The light therefore which the Starre of naturall Reaſon and Wiſdome caſteth, is too bright to be obſcured by the miſt of a word or two, vttered to diminiſh that opinion which iuſtly hath beene receiued concerning the force and vertue thereof, euen in matters that touch moſt neerely the principall duties of men, and the glory of the eternall God. In all which hitherto hath beene ſpoken touching the force and vſe of mans reaſon in things Diuine, I muſt craue that I be not ſo vnderſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing by vertue thereof could be done without the ayde and aſſiſtance of Gods moſt bleſſed Spirit. The thing we haue handled according to the queſtion mooued about it: which queſtion is, whether the light of Reaſon be ſo pernicious, that in deuiſing Lawes for the Church, men ought not by it to ſearch what may bee fit and conuenient. For this cauſe therefore wee haue endeuoured to make it appeare, how in the nature of reaſon it ſelfe there is no impediment, but that the ſelf-ſame Spirit, which reuealeth the things that God hath ſet downe in his Law, may alſo be thought to aide and direct men in finding out by the light of reaſon, what Lawes are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, ouer and beſides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with thoſe men, by whom humane Lawes are defined to be Ordinances which ſuch as haue lawfull authority giuen them for that purpoſe, doe probably draw from the Lawes of Nature and God, by diſcourſe of reaſon, ayded with the influence of diuine Grace. And for that cauſe it is not ſaid amiſſe touching Eccleſiaſticall Canons, that by *inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt they haue beene made, and conſecrated by the reuerend acceptation of the World.*

Acts 14. 15.

Acts 15.

c. Violatores, 25. q. 1.

9 Lawes for the Church are not made as they ſhould be, vnles the makers follow ſuch direction as they ought to be guided by. Wherein that Scripture ſtandeth not the Church of God in any ſtead, or ſerueth nothing at all to direct, but may be let paſſe as needles to be conſulted with, we iudge it prophane, impious, and irreligious to thinke. For although it were in vaine to make Lawes which the Scripture hath alreadie made, becauſe what we are already there commanded to doe, on our parts there reſteth nothing but only that it be executed: yet becauſe

How lawes for the regiment of the Church may bee made by the aduice of men, following in his ſight.

ing therein the light of reaſon, & how thoſe Lawes being not repugnant to the word of God are approued both

both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to prouide, that the looſeneſſe and ſlacknes of men may not cauſe the Commandements of God to be vnexecuted; & a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not prouided by any law, but left them vnto the carefull diſcretion of the Church; wee are to ſearch how the Church in theſe caſes may be well directed, to make that prouiſion by Lawes which is moſt conuenient & fit. And what is ſo in theſe caſes, partly Scripture, and partly reaſon muſt teach to diſcerne. Scripture comprehending Examples and Lawes, Lawes ſome naturall and ſome poſitiue; examples neither are therefor all caſes which require Lawes to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as precedents onely. Naturall Lawes direct in ſuch ſort, that in all things we muſt for euer doe according vnto them; poſitiue ſo, that againſt them in no caſe we may doe any thing, as long as the will of God is that they ſhould remaine in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yeeld vs preſidents, how farre forth they are to bee followed; when it giueth naturall Lawes, what particular order is thereunto moſt agreeable; when poſitiue, which way to make Lawes vnrepugnant vnto them; yea, though all theſe ſhould want, yet what kind of Ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aimed at, al this muſt be by reaſon found out. And therfore *To refuſe the conduct of the light of Nature*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine, is not folly alone, but accompanyed with Impiety.* The greateſt amongſt the Schoole Diuines ſtudying how to ſet downe by exact definition the nature of an humane Law, (of which nature al the Churches Conſtitutions are) found not which way better to doe it then in theſe words: *Out of the Precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common & vndemonſtrable Principles, mans reaſon doth neceſſarily proceed vnto certaine more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according vnto the reaſon of man, they haue the names of humane lawes, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of lawes doth require*, that is, if they whoſe authority is thereunto required do eſtabliſh & publiſh them as Lawes. And the truth is, that all our Controuerſie in this cauſe concerning the Orders of the Church, is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth find them out, is the force of mans reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his reaſon, is the firſt general Law of nature, which law of nature, and the morall Law of Scripture are in the ſubſtance of Law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of Lawes particular and poſitiue, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated, we are in making lawes to haue therunto an eſpeciall eye. As for example, it might perhaps ſeeme reaſonable vnto the Church of God, following the generall laws concerning the nature of Marriage, to ordaine in particular that Coſen Germans ſhal not marry, Which Law notwithſtanding ought not to be receiued in the Church, if there ſhould be in the Scripture a law particular to the cõtrary, forbidding vtterly the bonds of Marriage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame *Thomas* therfore whoſe definition of human lawes we mentioned before, doth adde thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them: *Humane lawes are meaſures* in reſpect of men whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch meaſures

Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere, non modò ſtultum eſt, ſed & impium. Aug. 4. de Trin. c. 6.

Th. Aqui 12. q. 91 art. 3. Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principiis communibus & indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quòd ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter diſponenda. Et iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinuentæ ſecundùm rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanæ, obſeruatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.

P. 2. q. 95. art. 3.

ſures they are, as haue alſo their higher Rules to be meaſured by, *which rules are two, the Law of God & the Law of Nature.* So that lawes human muſt be made according to the generall lawes of nature, and without contradiction vnto any poſitiue Law in Scripture. Otherwiſe they are ill made, Vnto lawes thus made and receiued by a whole Church, they which liue within the boſome of that Church muſt not thinke it a matter indifferent either to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience. Is it a ſmall offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My ſon keepe thy fathers commandement*, ſaith Salomon, *and forget not thy mothers inſtruction, bind them both alwayes about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand with the duty which wee owe to our heauenly Father, that to the Ordinances of our Mother the Church wee ſhould ſhew our ſelues diſobedient. Let vs not ſay wee keepe the Commandements of the one, when we breake the Law of the other: for vnleſſe we obſerue both, we obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may obſerue both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch Laws only we ſpeak, as being made in forme and manner alreadie declared, can haue in them no contradictiõ vnto the Lawes of Almighty God. Yea that which is more, the Lawes thus made God himſelfe doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to diſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts haue embraced, holding that a Chriſtian mans liberty is loſt, and the ſoule which Chriſt hath redeemed vnto himſelfe, iniuriouſly drawn into ſeruitude vnder the yoke of humane power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt: in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, & not the conſtraint of men is to leade vs, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God are the Sons of God*, & not ſuch as liue in thraldome vnto men. Their iudgment is therfore that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no Law-makers but the Euangeliſts. The Author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is Author of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of naturall vnderſtanding, wit and reaſon, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate euery man entring into the World. If there proceed from vs any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our own darknes, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the Author. He is the Author of all that we think or do by vertue of that light which himſelfe hath giuen. And therefore the Laws which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo farre forth as they proceeded from the light of Nature, God himſelfe doth acknowledge to haue proceeded euen from himſelfe, and that he was the Writer of them in the Tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the Author of thoſe Lawes which haue beene made by his Saints, endued further with the heauenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with ſuch inſtruction as his ſacred Word doth yeeld? Surely if we haue vnto thoſe Lawes that dutifull regard which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need, that we ſhould be exhorted to liue in obedience vnto them. If they haue God himſelfe for their Author, contempt which is offered vnto them cannot chooſe but redound vnto him. The ſafeſt, and vnto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our liues therefore is, with all Humility, Lowlineſſe and Singleneſſe of heart to ſtudie, which way our willing obedience both vnto God and man may bee yeelded euen to the vt moſt of that which is due.

1. Cor. 11. 22. Pro. 6. 20.

Rom. 8. 14.

Iohn 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 19. & 2. 15.

That neither Gods being the Author of Lawes, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to proue that they are vnchangeable.

10 Touching the mutability of Lawes that concerne the Regiment & Policie of the Church, changed they are, whē either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed or augmented with farther additiōs. Wherin we are to note, that this question about the changing of Lawes, concerneth onely such Lawes as are positiue, and do make that now good or euill by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of it selfe were not simply the one or the other. Vnto such laws it is expresly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expreſt, then haue we no light to direct our iudgments concerning the changeableneſſe or immutability of them, but by considering the nature & quality of such Lawes. The nature of euery Law must bee iudged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptneſſe of things therin prescribed vnto the same end. It may so fal out, that the reason why some Lawes of God were giuē, is neither opened nor possible to be gathered by wit of mā. As why God should forbid *Adam* that one tree, there was no way for *Adam* euer to haue certainly vnderstood. And at *Adams* ignorance of this point Sathā tooke aduantage, vrging the more securely a false cause, because the true was vnto *Adam* vnknowne.

Deut. 22. 10. *Deut.* 22. 11. Why the Iewes were forbidden to plow their ground with an Oxe & an Asse, why to clothe themselues with mingled attyre of Wool & Linnen, both it was vnto them, & to vs it remaineth obscure. Such Lawes perhaps cannot be abrogated, saiuing only by whome they were made: because the intent of them being knowne vnto none but the Author, he alone can iudge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known & being knowne doe appeare manifestly to be of perpetuall necessity; then are those things also perpetual, vnlesse they cease to be effectuall vnto that purpose for which they were at first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to bee auaileable vnto the end which gaue it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appeare superfluous. And of this we cannot bee ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to bee eyther very hurtfull, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a Law prouideth, be perpetually necessary, & the way wherby it prouideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that euery such Law ought for euer to remain vnchangeable. Whether God be the Author of Lawes, by authorizing that power of mē wherby they are made, or by deliuering them made immediately from himself, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoeuer; notwithstanding the authority of their maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them also changeable. The Law of Ceremonies came from God. *Moses* had commandement to commit it vnto the sacred Records of Scripture, where it continueth euen vnto this very day and houre; in force still as the Iew surmiseth, because God himselfe was Author of it, and for vs to abolish what hee hath established were presumptiō most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindnes of their obdurate hearts are not able to discernē) sith the end for which that Law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? *That which necessity of some speciall time doth cause to be inioyned, bindeth no longer then during that time, but doth afterward become free.* Which thing is also plain, euē by that Law which

Quod prouenit ex necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter quod urgebat. 1. q. 1.

which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the councell of Ieruſalem did from thence deliuer vnto the Church of Chriſt; the preface whereof to authorize it, was, *To the Holy Ghoſt and to vs it hath ſeemed good:* which ſtile they did not vſe as matching themſelues in power with the Holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifying the Holy Ghoſt to bee the author, and themſelues but onely vtterres of that decree. This law therefore to haue proceeded from God as the authour thereof, no faithfull man will denie. It was of God, not onely becauſe God gaue them the power whereby they might make lawes, but for that it proceeded euen from the holy motion and ſuggeſtion of that ſecret diuine Spirit, whoſe ſentence they did but onely pronounce. Notwithſtanding as the law of ceremonies deliuered vnto the Iewes, ſo this very lawe which the Gentiles receiued from the mouth of the holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpect abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was giuen. But ſuch as doe not ſticke at this point, ſuch as grant that what hath beene inſtituted vpon any ſpeciall cauſe, needeth not to bee obſerued that cauſe ceaſing, doe notwithſtanding herein faile; they iudge the lawes of God onely by the author and maine end for which they were made, ſo that for vs to change that which he hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that meane prouideth be permanent. And vpon this they ground thoſe ample diſputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the gouernment of his Church, if it be neceſſary alwayes that the Church of Chriſt be gouerned, then doth the end for which God prouided remaine ſtill; and therefore in thoſe meanes which he by law did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt vnto that end, for vs to alter any thing, is to lift vp our ſelues againſt God, and as it were to countermaund him. Wherein they marke not, that lawes are inſtruments to rule by, and that inſtruments are not onely to bee framed according vnto the generall end for which they are prouided, but euen according vnto that very particular which riſeth out of the matter whereon they haue to worke. The end wherefore lawes were made may be permanent, and thoſe lawes neuertheleſſe require ſome alteration, if there be any vnfitneſſe in the meanes which they preſcribe as tending vnto that end and purpoſe. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth puniſh theeues with a quadruple reſtitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the world it ſelfe continueth. Theft will be alwayes, and will alwayes need to be bridled. But that the meane which this law prouideth for that end, namely, the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this will bee alwaies ſufficient to bridle and reſtraine that kind of enormity, no man can warrant. Inſufficiency of lawes doth ſometimes come by want of iudgement in the makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately diuine, as it may and doth into humane lawes often. But that which hath beene once moſt ſufficient, may waxe otherwiſe by alteration of time and place; that puniſhment which hath bin ſometimes forcible to bridle ſinne, may grow afterwards too weake & feeble. In a word, we plainly perceiue by the difference of thoſe three lawes which the Iewes receiued at the hands of God, the morall, ceremoniall, and iudicial, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his lawes, continue alwayes one and the ſame, his lawes alſo doe the like for which cauſe the moral law cannot be altered: ſecond-

Quod pro neceſſit. Act. 15.

Counterp. p. 81

ly that whether the matter wheron lawes are made, continue or continue not, if their end haue once ceased, they cease also to be of force; as in the law ceremoniall it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified, and in a great part of those ancient Iudicials it doth; yet for as much as there is not in all respects the same subiect or matter remaining for which they were first instituted, euen this is sufficient cause of change. And therefore lawes, though both ordeined of God himselfe, and the end for which they were ordeined continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times they be found vnsufficient to attaine vnto that end. In which respect why may we not presume, that God doth euen call for such change or alteration, as the very condition of things themselues doth make necessary? They which doe therefore pleade the authoritie of the Law-maker, as an argument wherefore it should not be lawfull to change that which he hath instituted, and will haue this the cause why all the ordinances of our Sauiour are immutable: they which vrge the wisedome of God as a proofe, that whatsoeuer lawes he hath made, they ought to stand, vnlesse himselfe from heauen proclaime them disanuld, because it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that wee are farre from presuming to thinke that men can better any thing which God hath done, euen as wee are from thinking that men should presume to vndoe some things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God neuer ordained any thing that could bee bettered. Yet many things hee hath, that hath beene changed, and that for the better. That which succeeded as better now when change is reqnisite, had beene worse, when that which now is changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this, to choose that, neither would now reiect that, to choose this, were it not for some new-growne occasion, making that which hath beene better worse. In this case therefore men doe not presume to change Gods ordinance, but they yeeld thereunto, requiring it selfe to bee changed. Against this it is obiected, that to abrogate or innouate the Gospell of Christ, if men or Angels should attempt, it were most haynous and cursed sacriledge. And the Gospell, as they say, containeth not onely doctrine instructing men how they should beleeue, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the Church. a Discipline therfore is a part of the Gospel; and God being the author of the whole Gospell, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them haue a common cause. So that as wee are to beleeue for euer the articles of Euangelicall doctrine, so the precepts of discipline, wee are in like sort bound for euer to obserue. Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the Vnity of God, the Trinity of persons, Saluation by Christ, the Resurrection of the body, Life euerlasting, the iudgement to come, & such like, they haue bin since the first houre that there was a Church in the world, and till the last they must bee beleeued. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine, no man thinketh it lawfull; new lawes of gouernment, what Common-wealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of faith*, saith Tertullian, *is but one, & that alone immoueable, and impossible to bee framed or cast anew.* The law of outward order and Polity not so. There is no reason in the world wherefore

a We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the Gospell, and therefore to haue a common cause: so that in the repulse of the discipline, the Gospell receiues a check. And againe, I speake of the discipline as of a part of the Gospell, and therefore neither vnder nor aboue the Gospell, but the Gospell. T. C. *l.2.p.14. Tertul de veland. Virg. Martin 1. Sam. 14.*

wherefore wee should esteeme it as necessarie alwaies to doe, as alwaies to beleeue the same things; seeing euery man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of actions daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging vnto Church-Politie. Neither can I find that men of soundest iudgement haue any otherwise taught, then that articles of belief, and things which all men must of necessity doe to the end they may be saued, are either expresly set downe in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward politie, the Church hath authority to make Canons, lawes, & decrees, euen as wee reade that in the Apostles times it did. Which kind of Lawes (for as much as they are not in themselues necessary to saluation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea it is not denied I am sure by themselues, that certaine things in discipline are of that nature, as they may bee varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God; or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be receiued in the Church, how can their former position stand, condemning all things in the Church which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded, & yet may suffer change; how can this later stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though true, will not serue. For be they great things, or bee they small, if God haue commanded them in the Gospell, and his commanding them in the Gospell doe make them vnchangeable, there is no reason we should more change the one then we may the other. If the authoritie of the maker doe proue vnchangeableneſſe in the Lawes which God hath made; then must all laws which he hath made be necessarily for euer permanent, though they be but of circumstance only and not of substance. I therefore conclude, that neyther Gods being authour of lawes for gouernment of his Church, nor his committing them vnto Scripture, is any reason sufficient, wherefore all Churches should for euer bee bound to keepe them without change. But of one thing wee are here to giue them warning by the way. For whereas in this discourse we haue oftentimes profest, that many parts of discipline or Church-Politie are deliuered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driuen to confesse their discipline to be deliuered in Scripture, and that hauing no other meanes to auoid it, we are faine to argue for the changeableneſſe of lawes ordained euen by God himselfe, as if otherwise theirs of necessitie should take place, and that vnder which we liue be abandoned: There is no remedy therfore but to abate this errour in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such conceit, they doe but a little flatter their owne cause. As for vs, wee thinke in no respect so highly of it. Our perswasion is, that no age euer had knowledge of it but onely ours; that they which defend it, deuised it; that neither Christ nor his Apostles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therfore we did seeke to maintaine that which most aduantageth our own cause, the very best way for vs, and the strongest against them, were to hold euen as they doe, that in Scripture there must needs bee found some particular forme of Church-Politie, which God hath instituted, and which for that very cause belongeth to

Act. 15.

a *Disciplina est Christiane Ecclesiæ politia, à Deo eius rectè administrandæ causâ constituta ac propterea ex eius verbo petenda, & ob eandem causam omnium Ecclesiarum communis & omnium temporum. l. 3. de Eccles. Disciplı. in Analy.*

b Εἰκὸς γὰρ ὁτὶ ἀληθῆ τῶν λόγων, ἃ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εὐδόκιμα χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συνωδοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. *Arist. Eth.* 10. *cap.* 1.

all Churches, to all times. But with any ſuch partiall eye to reſpect our ſelues and by cunning to make thoſe things ſeeme the trueſt which are the fitteſt to ſerue our purpoſe, is a thing which we neither like nor meane to follow. Wherfore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutabilitie of laws, the ſame we haue plainly deliuered; as beeing perſwaded of nothing more then we are of this, b that whether it be in matter of ſpeculation or of practice, no vntruth can poſſibly auaile the patrone and defender long, and that things moſt truely are likewiſe moſt behouefully ſpoken.

Whether Chriſt haue forbidden all change of thoſe Lawes which are ſet downe in Scripture.

11 This wee hold and grant for truth, that thoſe verie Lawes which of their owne nature are changeable, bee notwithſtanding vncapable of change, if hee which gaue them, being of authority ſo to doe, forbid abſolutely to change the; neither may they admit alteration againſt the will of ſuch a law maker. Albeit therefore wee doe not find any cauſe why of right there ſhould bee neceſſarily an immutable forme ſet downe in holy Scripture; neuertheleſſe, if indeed there haue beene at any time a Church-Politie ſo ſet downe, the change whereof the ſacred Scripture doth forbid, ſurely for men to alter thoſe lawes which God for perpetuity hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intollerable. To prooue therefore that the will of Chriſt was to eſtabliſh lawes ſo permament and immutable that in any ſort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reaſon. Firſt, if *Moſes* being but a ſeruant in the houſe of God, did therein eſtabliſh lawes of gouernment for perpetuity, lawes, which they that were of the houſhold might not alter: ſhall we admit into our thoughts, that the Sonne of God hath in prouiding for this his houſhold declared himſelfe leſſe faithfull then *Moſes*? *Moſes* deliuering vnto the Iewes ſuch lawes as were durable, if thoſe bee changeable which Chriſt hath deliuered vnto vs, wee are not able to auoyde it, but (that which to thinke were heinous impiety) wee of neceſſity muſt confeſſe, eſten the Sonne of God himſelfe to haue beene leſſe faithfull then *Moſes*. Which argument ſhall neede to Touch-ſtone to trie it by, but ſome other of the like making. *Moſes* erected in the wilderneſſe a Tabernacle, which was moueable from place to place; *Salomon* a ſumptuous and ſtately Temple, which was not moueable; Therefore *Salomon* was faithfuller then *Moſes*; which no man indued with reaſon will thinke. And yet by this reaſon it doth plainly follow. He that will ſee how faithfull the one or the other was, muſt compare the things which they both did, vnto the charge which God gaue each of them. The Apoſtle in making compariſon betweene our Sauiour and *Moſes*, attributeth faithfulneſſe vnto both, and maketh this difference betweene them; *Moſes in*, but Chriſt *ouer* the houſe of God; *Moſes* in that houſe which was *his by charge* and commiſſion, though to gouerne it, yet to gouerne it *as a ſeruant*; but Chriſt ouer this houſe, as being *his owne intire poſſeſſion*. Our Lord and Sauior doth make proteſtation, *I haue giuen vnto them the words which thou gaueſt me*. Faithfull therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of lawes concerning Church-Politie? They anſwer, yea. For elſe God ſhould leſſe

Heb. 3. 6. Eyther that commendation of the Sonne before the ſeruant is a falſe teſtimonie, or the Sonne ordained a permanent gouernment in the Church. If permanent, then not to be changed. What then doe they that hold it may be changed at the Magiſtrates pleaſure, but aduiſe the Magiſtrate by his poſitiue Lawes to proclaime that it is his will, that if there ſhall be a Church within his Dominions, he wil maime and deforme the ſame? *M. M. Pag.* 16. Hee that was as faithfull as *Moſes*, left as cleare inſtruction for the gouernement of the Church. But Chriſt was as faithfull as *Moſes* ergo. *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap.* 1.

1 *Ioh.* 17.

fauour vs then the Iewes. God would not haue their Churches guided by any lawes but his owne. And ſeeing this did ſo continue euen till Chriſt; now to eaſe God of that care, or rather to depriue the Church of his patronage, what reaſon haue we? Surely none, to derogate any thing from the ancient loue which God hath borne to his Church. An Heathen Philoſopher there is, who conſidering how many things beaſts haue which men haue not, how naked in compariſon of them, how impotent, and how much leſſe able wee are to ſhift for our ſelues a long time after wee enter into this world, repiningly concluded hereupon, that Nature being a carefull mother for them, is towards vs a hard-hearted Stepdame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gracious God towards his by ſuch differences. For euen herein ſhineth his wiſedome, that though the wayes of his prouidence bee many, yet the end which hee bringeth all at the length vnto, is one and the ſelfe-ſame. But if ſuch kind of reaſoning were good, might we not euen as directly conclude the very ſame concerning lawes of ſecular regiment? Their owne words are theſe. *In the ancient Church of the Iews, God did command, and Moſes commit vnto writing, all things pertinent as well to the ciuill as to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate.* God gaue them lawes of ciuill regiment, and would not permit their common-weale to be gouerned by any other lawes then his owne. Doth God leſſe regard our temporall eſtate in this world, or prouide for it worſe then for theirs? To vs notwithſtanding he hath not as to them deliuered any particular forme of temporall regiment, vnleſſe perhaps we thinke, as ſome doe, that the grafting of the Gentiles and their incorporating into Iſrael, doth import that we ought to be ſubiect vnto the rites and lawes of their whole Politie. We ſee then how weake ſuch diſputes are, and how finally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not meane to ſet downe particular poſitiue lawes for all things in ſuch ſort as *Moſes* did, the very different maner of deliuering the lawes of *Moſes* and the laws of Chriſt doth plainely ſhew. *Moſes* had commandement to gather the ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them downe according vnto their ſeuerall kinds, for each publique dutie and office the lawes that belong thereto, as appeareth in the bookes themſelues written of purpoſe for that end. Contrariwiſe the lawes of Chriſt we find rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, then any ſolemne thing directly written to comprehend them in legall ſort. Againe, the poſitiue lawes which *Moſes* gaue, they were giuen for the greateſt part with reſtraint to the land of Iury; Behold, ſaith *Moſes, I haue taught you ordinances and lawes as the Lord my God commanded me, that yee ſhould doe euen ſo within the land whither ye goe to poſſeſſe it.* Which lawes and ordinances poſitiue he plainely diſtinguiſheth afterward from the lawes of the two Tables which were morall; *The Lord ſpake vnto you out of the midſt of the fire, ye heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, onely a voice. Then he declared vnto you his Couenant which he commanded you to doe, the ten Commandements, and wrote them vpon two Tables of ſtone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you ordinances and lawes which ye ſhould obſerue in the land whither ye goe to poſſeſſe it.* The ſame difference is againe ſet downe in the next Chapter following. For rehearſall being made of the ten Commandements, it followeth immediately; *Theſe words the Lord ſpake vnto all your multitude in the Mount out of the midſt of the fire, the*

Either God hath left a preſcript forme of Gouernment now, or elſe he is leſſe carefull vnder the new Teſtament then vnder the old, *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap.* 1.

Eccleſiaſt. Diſc. lib. 1.

Rom. 11, 17. *Eph.* 2. 12. 14.

Deut. 4. 5.

Verſe. 12. 13. 14.

Deut. 5. 22.

cloud and the darkneſſe, with a great voice and added no more, and wrote them vpon two Tables of ſtone, and deliuered them vnto mee. But concerning other lawes,
27. the people giue their conſent to receiue them at the hands of *Moſes*; *Goe thou neerer, and heare all that the Lord our God ſaith, and declare thou vnto vs all that*
28. *the Lord our God ſaith vnto thee, and wee will heare it and doe it.* The peoples alacritie herein God highly commendeth with moſt effectual & heartie ſpeech;
23. *I haue heard the voice of the words of this people, they haue ſpoken well. O that there were ſuch an heart in them to feare me, and to keepe all my Commandements alwaies,*
30. *that it might goe well with them, and with their Children for euer! Goe, ſay vnto*
31. *them, Returne you to your Tents; But ſtand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commaundements and the ordinances and the Laws which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may doe them in the Land which I haue giuen them to poſſeſſe.* From this later kind the former are plainely diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time deliuered, neither both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former vttered by the voyce of God himſelfe in the hearing of ſixe hundred thouſand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Couenant; the former giuen to bee kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the later giuen after, and neyther written by God himſelfe, nor giuen vnto the whole multitude immediately from God, but vnto *Moſes*, and from him to them both by word and writing; the later termed Ceremonies, Iudgements, Ordinances, but no where Couenants; finally, the obſeruation of the later reſtrayned vnto the Land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabite. The Lawes poſitiue are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons for the which they are made. If therefore Almightie God in framing their Lawes, had an eye vnto the nature of that people, and to the Countrey where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their Lawes, and muſt bee alſo regarded in the Poſitiue Lawes of all other Nations beſides; then ſeeing that Nations are not all alike, ſurely the giuing of one kinde of Poſitiue Lawes vnto one onely people, without any libertie to alter them, is but a ſlender proofe, and therefore one kind ſhould in like ſort bee giuen to ſerue euerlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the cleering of this point is, that the Iewes who had Lawes ſo particularly determining and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affaires what to doe, were notwithſtanding continually inured with cauſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their lawes had not prouided for. And in this point much more is granted vs then wee aske, namely that for one thing which we haue left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were vndecided by the expreſſe word of God; and that as their ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplied aboue ours, euen ſo grew the number of thoſe caſes which were not determined by any expreſſe word. So that if we may deuiſe one Law, they by this reaſon might deuiſe twentie: and if their deuiſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their example prooue vs forbidden to deuiſe as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? Wee might not deuiſe no not one, if their example did prooue that our Sauiour hath vtterly forbidden all alteration of his lawes, in as much as there can be no law deuiſed

T.C.l.1.pag.35. Whereas you ſay that they (the Iewes) had nothing, but was determined by the Law, and wee haue many things vndetermined and left to the order of the Church: I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that we haue left to the order of the Church, to ſhew you that they had twenty which were vndecided of by the expreſſe word of God.

deuiſed, but needs it muſt either take away from his, or adde thereunto more or leſſe, and ſo make ſome kinde of alteration. But of this ſo large a grant wee are content not to take aduantage. Men are oftentimes in a ſudden paſſion more liberall, then they would be if they had leiſure to take aduice. And therefore ſo bountifull words of courſe and franke ſpeeches wee are contented to let paſſe, without turning them to aduantage with too much rigour. It may bee they had rather be liſtened vnto, when they commend the Kings of Iſrael which attempted nothing in the gouernment of the Church without the expreſſe Word of God; and when they vrge that God left nothing in his Word vndeſcribed, whether it concerned the Worſhip of God or outward Politie, nothing vnſet downe, and therfore charged them ſtrictly to keepe themſelues vnto that, without any alteration. Howbeit ſeeing it cannot be denyed, but that many things there did belong vnto the courſe of their publike affaires, wherein they had no expreſſe word at all to ſhew preciſely what they ſhould doe; the difference betweene their condition and ours in theſe caſes, will bring ſome light vnto the truth of this preſent controuerſie. Before the fact of the ſonne of *Shelomith*, there was no Law which did appoint any certaine puniſhment for Blaſphemers, That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that Impiety, was held in Ward, till the minde of the Lord were knowne concerning his caſe. The like practice is alſo mentioned vpon occaſion of a breach of the Sabbath Day. They find a poore ſilly creature gathering ſtickes in the Wilderneſſe, they bring him vnto *Moſes* and *Aaron* and all the Congregation, they lay him in hold, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſaid vnto *Moſes*, *This man ſhall dye the death*. The Law required to keepe the Sabbath day: but for the breach of the Sabath what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted, it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare. And for ſuch things as doe fall ſcarce once in many ages of men, it did ſuffice to take ſuch order as was reqniſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch as beeing not alreadie determined by Law, were notwithſtanding likely oftentimes to come into queſtion, it gaue occaſion of adding Lawes that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe men polluted, and of the Daughters of *Zelophhad*; whoſe cauſes *Moſes* hauing brought before the Lord, receiued Lawes to ſerue for the like in time to come. The Iewes to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets. And by ſuch meanes God himſelfe inſtructed them from Heauen what to doe, in all things that did greatly concerne their ſtate, and were not already ſet downe in the Law. Shall wee then hereupon argue euen againſt our owne experience and knowledge? Shall wee ſeeke to perſwade men, that of neceſſity it is with vs as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects as much as theirs, therefore either no ſuch way of direction hath beene at any time, or if it haue beene, it doth ſtill continue in the Church, or if the ſame doe not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leſt ſupplyed by ſome ſuch meanes as pleaſeth vs to accoũt of equall force? A more dutifull and religious way for vs, were, to admire the Wiſedome of God, which ſhineth in the beautifull varietie of all things; but moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe wayes, whereby his Church vpon Earth is guided from Age to Age throughout all Generations of men. The Iewes were neceſſarily to continue till the Comming

T.C. In the table to his ſecond Booke. *T.C.l 2 p.446.* If he wil needs ſeparate the Worſhip of God from the externall Politie; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo hee left nothing vndeſcribed in the other.

Leuit.24.12.

Num.15.34.

Num.9.
Num.27.

Gen.11.18.

of

of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of Nations vnto him. So much the promise made vnto *Abraham* did import. So much the Prophecie of *Iacob* at the houre of his death did fore-shew. Vpon the safetie therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole World, and the saluation of all did depend. Vnto their so long safety, for two things it was necessary to prouide, namely, the preseruation of their state against forreine resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselues. Touching the one, as they receiued the promise of God to bee the rocke of their defence, against which who so did violently rush, should but bruse and batter themselues; so like wise they had his Commandement in all their affaires that way, to seeke direction and counsell from him. Mens consultations are alwayes perillous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation, those things are by their wit euen resolued on, which by tryall are found most opposite to publike safetie. It is no impossible thing for States, be they neuer so well established, yet by ouer-sight in some one act or treatie betweene them and their potent opposites, vtterly to cast away themselues for euer. Wherefore lest it should so fall out to them, vpon whom so much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into Warre, nor conclude any league of Peace, nor to wade through any act of moment betweene them and forreine States, vnlesse the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with. And least domesticall disturbance should waste them within themselues, because there was nothing vnto this purpose more effectuall, then if the authoritie of their Lawes & Gouernors were, such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience vnto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any sparke of the feare of God; therefore hee gaue them euen their positiue Lawes from Heauen, and as oft as occasion required, those in like sort Rulers also to leade & gouerne them. Notwithstanding some desperatly impious there were which aduentured to try what harme it could bring vpon them, if they did attempt to be Authours of confusion, and to resist both Gouernors and Lawes. Against such Monsters God maintained his owne, by fearefull execution of extraordinarie iudgement vpon them. By which meanes it came to passe, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the World, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathfull and impatient of rest and quietnesse, yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to worke the ruine and subuersion of their State, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus wee see that there was no cause of dissimilitude in these things, betweene that one only people before Christ, & the Kingdomes of the world since. And wheras it is further alleaged, that albeit in *Ciuill matters & things pertayning to this present life, God hath vsed a greater particularitie with them then amongst vs, framing Lawes according to the qualitie of that people and Countrey; yet the leauing of vs at greater libertie in things Ciuill, is so farre from proning the like libertie in things pertayning to the Kingdome of Heauen, that it rather prones a streighter bond. For euen as when the Lord would haue his fauour more appeare by temporall blessings of this life towards the people vnder the Law then towards vs, he gaue also politick Lawes most exactly, where by they might both most easily come into, and most stedfastly remayne in possession of those earthly bene-*

Gen. 48. 10.

T. Cal. 2. p. 440.

fits:

fits: euen ſo at this time, wherein he would not haue his fauour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing Lawes for that purpoſe hath ſomewhat fallen, in leauing them to mens conſultations which may be deceiued; ſo his care for conduct and gouernment of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſſible) riſe, in leauing leſſe to the order of men then in times paſt. Theſe are but weake and feeble Diſputes for the inference of that concluſion which is intended. For ſauing only in ſuch conſideration as hath beene ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould thinke God more deſirous to manifeſt his fauour by temporall bleſſings towards them, then towarsd vs. Godlineſſe had vnto them, and it hath alſo vnto vs, the promiſes both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in heauenly; that more is left vnto mens conſultations in the one, and therefore leſſe muſt bee granted in the other; that God hauing vſed a greater particularity with them then with vs for matters pertayning vnto this life, is to make amends by the more exact deliuery of Lawes for gouernment of the life to come; theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, wee muſt plainly confeſſe that which truth is, we know it not. God his which ſpake vnto thē by his Prophets hath vnto vs by onely begotten Sonne; thoſe Myſteries of grace and ſaluation which were but darkly diſcloſed vnto them, haue vnto vs more cleerely ſhined. Such differences betweene them and vs the Apoſtles of Chriſt haue well acquainted vs withall. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or gouernment of the Church; ſeeing that euen in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord and Sauiour hath not by poſitiue Lawes deſcended ſo farre into particularities with vs, as *Moſes* with them; neither doth by extraordinary meanes, Oracles, and Prophets, direct vs, as them he did, in thoſe things which riſing daily by new occaſions, are of neceſſitie to bee prouided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to vs there ſhould bee freedome and libertie granted to make Lawes? Yea, but the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* doth fearefully charge *Timothy*, euen *In the ſight of God who quickeneth all, and of Chriſt Ieſus who witneſſed that famous Confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, to keepe what was commanded him, ſafe and ſound till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude all libertie of changing the Lawes of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition, or howſoeuer. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Chriſt receiueth charge concerning her dutie. And that charge is to keepe the Apoſtles Commandement: And his Commandement did contayne the Lawes that concerned Church gouernment: And thoſe Lawes he ſtraightly requireth to bee obſerued without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. In Scripture we grant euery one mans leſſon, to be the common inſtruction of all men, ſo farre forth as their caſes are like. and that religiouſly to keepe the Apoſtles Commandements in whatſoeuer they may concerne vs, wee all ſtand bound. But touching that Commandement which *Timothy* was charged with, we ſwarue vndoubtedly from the Apoſtles preciſe meaning, if we extend it ſo largely, that the armes thereof ſhall reach vnto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The very words themſelues doe reſtrayne themſelues vnto ſome one ſpeciall Commandement among many. And therefore it is not ſaid, *Keeke the Ordinances, Lawes and Conſtitutions which thou haſt receiued* but τὴν ἐντολὴν *that great Commandement, which doth principally concerne thee and*

thy

1. Tim. 6. 14.

Iohn 18. 37.

Iohn 21. 15. *thy calling*; that Commandement which Christ did so often inculcate vnto *Peter*; that Commandement vnto the carefull discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, *Attend to your selues, and to all the flocke, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his owne* Acts 20. 28. *bloud*; finally, that Commandement which vnto the same *Timothy* is by the same Apostle euen in the same forme and manner afterwards againe vrged, *I charge* 2. Tim. 4. 1. *thee in the sight of God and the Lord Iesus Christ, which will iudge the quicke and dead at his appearance and in his Kingdome, Preach the Word of God.* When *Timothy* was instituted in that Office, then was the credit and trust of this dutie committed vnto his faithfull care. The Doctrine of the Gospell was then giuen 1. Tim. 6. 20. τὴν παραθήκην. him, *as the precious talent or treasure of Iesus Christ*; then receiued he for performance of this dutie, *the speciall gift of the Holy Ghost.* To keepe this commandement immaculate and blameless, *was to teach the Gospell of Christ without* 1. Tim. 4. 14. *mixture of corrupt and vnsound Doctrine*, such as a number euen in those times intermingled with the Mysteries of Christian Belieue. *Till the appearance of Christ to keepe it so*, doth not import the time wherein it should bee kept, but rather the time whereunto the finall reward for keeping it was reserued: according to 2. Tim. 4. 7. that of Saint *Paul* concerning himselfe, *I haue kept the faith; for the residue, there is layd vp for me a Crowne of Righteousnesse, which the Lord the righteous Iudge shall in that Day render vnto me.* If they that labour in this Haruest should respect but the present fruite of their painefull trauell, a poore incouragement it were vnto them to continue therein all the dayes of their life. But their reward is great in Heauen; the Crowne of Righteousnesse which shall bee giuen them in that Day is honourable. The fruite of their industry then shall they reape with full concontment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatnesse of their reward is abundantly sufficient, to counteruaile the tediousnesse of their expectation. Wherefore till then they that are in labour must rest in hope. O *Timothy*, keepe that which is committed vnto thy charge, that great Commandement which thou hast receiued, keepe, till the appearance of our Lord Iesus Christ. In which sense although wee iudge the Apostles wordes to haue beene vttered; yet hereunto wee doe not require them to yeeld, that thinke any other construction more sound. If therefore it bee reiected, and theirs esteemed more probable, which hold that the last words doe import perpetuall obseruation of the Apostles Commandement imposed necessarily for euer vpon the militant Church of Christ; let them withall consider, that then his Commandement cannot so largely bee taken, to comprehend whatsoeuer the Apostle did command *Timothy*. For themselues doe not all binde the Church vnto some things whereof *Timothy* receiued charge, as namely vnto that Precept concerning the choice of Widdowes. So as they cannot hereby maintayne, that all things positiuely commanded concerning the affaires of the Church, were commanded for perpetuitie. And we doe not deny that certaine things were commanded to bee, though positiue, yet perpetuall in the Church. They should not therefore vrge against vs places that seeme to forbid change, but rather such as set downe some measure of alteration; which measure if we haue exceeded, then might they therewith charge vs iustly: whereas now they themselues both granting, and also vsing liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ deliuered no inconuenient

uenient or vnmeete lawes. Sundry of ours they hold inconuenient. Therefore ſuch lawes they cannot poſſibly hold to bee Chriſts. Being not his, they muſt of neceſſity grant them added vnto his. Yet certaine of thoſe very lawes ſo added, they themſelues do not iudge vnlawfull; as they plainly confeſſe, both in matter of preſcript attire, and of rites appertaining to buriall. Their owne proteſtations are, that they plead againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell; and againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulneſſe of Ceremonies in Buriall. Therefore they hold it a thing not vnlawfull to adde to the Lawes of Ieſus Chriſt; and ſo conquently they yeeld, that no Law of Chriſt forbiddeth addition vnto Church laws. The iudgement of *Caluin* being alleaged againſt them, to whom of all men they attribute moſt, whereas his words be plaine, that for Ceremonies and externall diſcipline, the Church hath power to make lawes; the anſwer which hereunto they make is, that indefinitely the ſpeech is true, and that ſo it was meant by him, namely, that ſome things belonging vnto externall diſcipline and Ceremonies, are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that al external diſcipline, and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therfore abrogate. Againe, Excommunication is a part of externall diſcipline; which might alſo be caſt away, if all externall diſcipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwere it doth appeare, that touching the names of Ceremony and externall diſcipline, they gladly would haue vs ſo vnderſtood, as if we did herein conteine a great deale more then we doe. The fault which we find with them is, that they ouermuch abridge the Church of her power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge vs, as if in theſe things we gaue the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of diſcipline conteineth, were at the Churches free choice, ſo that we might either haue Church-gouernours and gouernement, or want them, either reteine or reiect Church cēſures as we liſt. They wonder at vs, as at men which thinke it ſo indifferent what the Church doth matters of Ceremonies, that it may be feared leſt we iudge the very Sacraments themſelues to be held at the Churches pleaſure. No, the name of Ceremonies we doe not vſe in ſo large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compaſſe & reach therof; although things belonging vnto the outward forme and ſeemely adminiſtration of them, are conteined in that name, euen as wee vſe it. For the name of Ceremonies wee vſe as they themſelues doe, when they ſpeake after this ſort: *The Doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, as the waightieſt things, ought eſpecially to bee looked vnto, but the Ceremonies alſo, as Mint and Comin, ought not to bee neglected.* Beſides, in the matter of externall diſcipline or regiment

T. C. l. 3. p. 171.

T. C. l. 3. p. 241. My reaſons do neuer conclude the vnlawfulneſſe of theſe ceremonies of Burial, but the inconuenience and inexpedience of them *And in the Table.* Of the inconueniences not of the vnlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell and ceremonies in buriall. *T. C. l. 1. p. 32.* Vpon the indefinite ſpeaking of M. *Caluin*, ſaying, ceremonies and externall diſcipline, without adding all or ſome, you goe about ſubtilly to make men beleeue, that Maſter *Caluin* had placed the whole externall diſcipline in the power and arbitrement of the Churchi. For if all externall diſcipline were arbitrarie and in the choice of the Church, Excommunication alſo (which is a part of it) might be caſt away, which I thinke you will not ſay. *And in the very next words before*, Where you would giue to vnderſtand that ceremonies and externall diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the word of God, and therefore left to the order of the Church: you muſt vnderſtand that all externall diſcipline is not left to the orders of the Church, being particularly preſcribed in the Scriptures, no more then all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptiſme, and Supper of the Lord.

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it ſelfe, we doe not denie but there are ſome things whereto the Church is bound till the worlds end. So as the queſtion is onely how farre the bounds of the Churches libertie doe reach. We hold that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make lawes and orders for it ſelfe, doth extend vnto ſundry things of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction and ſuch other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches authoritie and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt vs about this point, they take their compaſſe a great deale wider then the truth of things can affoord, producing reaſons and arguments by way of generalitie, to proue that Chriſt hath ſet downe all things belonging any way vnto the forme of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is:) wee are conſtrained to make our defence, by ſhewing that Chriſt hath not depriued his Church ſo farre of all liberty in making orders and lawes for it ſelfe, and that they themſelues doe not thinke hee hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular cuſtomes, rites and orders of reformed Churches, haue beene appointed by Chriſt himſelfe? No, They grant that in matter of circumſtance they alter that which they haue receiued; but in things of ſubſtance they keepe the lawes of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our owne behalfe, (which ſurely wee may doe with a great deale more truth) then muſt they cancell all that hath beene before alleaged, and begin to inquire afreſh, whether wee retaine the lawes that Chriſt hath deliuered concerning matters of ſubſtance, yea or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, that wee haue noe where altered the lawes of Chriſt, further then in ſuch particularies onely, as haue the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded prayers to bee made, Sacraments to be miniſtred, his Church to bee carefully taught and guided. Concerning euery of theſe, ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded which muſt bee kept till the worlds end. On the contrarie ſide, in euery of them ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall iudge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeake to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath beene diſputed of they muſt giue ouer, and ſtand vpon ſuch particulars onely, as they can ſhew wee haue either added or abrogated otherwiſe then wee ought, in the matter of Church-Politie. Whatſoeuer Chriſt hath commanded for euer to be kept in his Church, the ſame wee take not vpon vs to abrogate; and whatſoeuer our lawes haue thereunto added beſides, of ſuch qualitie wee hope it is, as no law of Chriſt doth any where condemne. Wherefore that all may be laid together, and gathered into a narrow roome: 1. Firſt, ſo farre forth as the Church is the myſticall body of Chriſt and his inuiſible Spouſe, it needeth no externall Politie. That very part of the law diuine which teacheth faith and works of righteouſneſſe, is it ſelfe alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect. But as the Church is a viſible ſocietie and body politique, lawes of Politie it cannot want. 2. Whereas therefore it commeth in the ſecond placed to be inquired, what lawes are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriueth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for her ſelfe, inclined (as it ſhould ſeeme) thereunto, for that they imagined all things, which the Church doth without commandement

T. C. l. 1. p. 27. We denie not but certayne things are left to the order of the Church; becauſe they are of the nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons and other circumſtances, and ſo could not at once be ſet downe and eſtabliſhed for euer.

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Eſa. 29. 14. Col. 2. 22.

mandement of holy Scripture, ſubiect to that reproofe which the Scripture it ſelfe vſeth in certaine caſes, when diuine authoritie ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatſoeuer, to ſay, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a deuice of the braine of man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* S. *Auguſtine* was of another minde, who ſpeaking of faſts on the Sunday, ſaith, *That he which would chuſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould giue thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had receiued a contrarie cuſtome. For in theſe things whereof the Scripture appointeth no certaintie, the vſe of the people of God, or the Ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerue for a Law. In which caſe if we diſpute, and condemne one ſort by anothers cuſtome, it will be but matter of endleſſe contention; where, for as much as the labour of reaſoning ſhall hardly beat into mens heads any certaine or neceſſary truth, ſurely it ſtandeth vs vpon to take heed, leſt with the tempeſt of ſtrife, the brightneſſe of charity and loue be darkned.* If all things muſt bee commanded of God which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what commandement the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar which is ſpoken of in the Booke of *Ioſhua*. Did not congruitie of reaſon induce them thereunto, & ſuffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandement the women of Iſrael had yerely to mourn and lament in the memorie of *Iephtaes* Daughter, what commaundement the *Iewes* had to celebrate their feaſt of *Dedication* neuer ſpoken of in the Law, yet ſolemnized euen by our Sauiour himſelfe; what commaundement finally they had for the ſeremonie of Odors vſed about the bodies of the dead, after which cuſtome notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtome) our Lord was contented that his owne moſt precious bodie ſhould be intombed. Wherefore to reiect all orders of the Church which men haue eſtabliſhed, is to thinke worſe of the Lawes of men in this reſpect, then either the iudgement of wiſe men alloweth, or the Law of God it ſelfe will beare. Howbeit they which had once taken vpon them to condemne all things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needes there muſt bee in Scripture ſet downe a complete particular forme of Church Politie, a forme preſcribing how all the affaires of the Church muſt be ordered, a forme in no reſpect lawfull to be altered by mortall men. For reformation of which ouerſight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian loue and charity to inſtruct them better, and to open vnto them the difference between matters of perpetual neceſſity to all mens ſaluation, and matters of Eccleſiaſticall Politie: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture, the other not neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed; the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the Authors of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned, who beeing loth that the forme of Church-Politie which they ſought to bring in, ſhould bee otherwiſe then in the higheſt degree accounted of, tooke firſt an exception againſt the difference betweene Church-Politie and matters of neceſſitie to ſaluation; Secondly, againſt the reſtraint of Scripture, which they ſay receiueth iniurie at our hands, when wee teach that it teacheth not as well matters of Politie as of Faith and Saluation. 3. Conſtrained hereby we haue beene therefore, both to maintain that diſtinction, as a thing not only true in it ſelfe, but by them likewiſe

Aug. Epiſt. 86.

Ioſ. 22.

Iud. 11. 40.

Iohn 10. 22.

Iohn. 19. 40.

3.

wiſe ſo acknowledged, though vnawares; 4. And to make manifeſt that
4. from Scripture wee offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that truth thereun-
to doth claime, in as much as by vs it is willingly confeſt, that the Scripture of
God is a Store-houſe abounding with ineſtimable Treaſures of wiſdome and
knowledge in many kindes, ouer and abone things in this one kinde barely
neceſſarie; yea, euen that matters of Eccleſiaſticall Politie are not therein o-
mitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before men-
tioned. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing euer can neede
to bee added, nothing euer ceaſſe to bee neceſſary: theſe on the contrarie ſide,
as beeing of a farre other nature and qualitie, not ſo ſtrictly nor euerlaſtingly
commaunded in Scripture, but that vnto the complete forme of Church-
Politie much may bee requiſite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much
which it hath taught, become vnrequiſite, ſometime becauſe wee need not vſe
it, ſometimes alſo becauſe wee cannot. In which reſpect, for mine owne
part, although I ſee that certaine Reformed Churches, the Scottiſh eſpecial-
ly and French, haue not that which beſt agreeth with the ſacred Scripture,
I meane the gouernement that is by Biſhops, in as much as both thoſe
Churches are falne vnder a different kinde of regiment, which to remedie it
is for the one altogether too, and to ſoone for the other during their pre-
ſent affliction and trouble, this their defect and imperfection I had rather la-
ment in ſuch caſe then exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes without a-
ny fault of their owne, may bee driuen to want that kinde of Politie or Regi-
ment which is beſt; and to content themſelues with that, which eyther the irre-
mediable errour of former time, or the neceſſitie of the preſent hath caſt vpon
5. them; 5. Now, becauſe that Poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſa-
rie that all things which the Church may lawfully doe in her owne Regiment
be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the latter Defendors thereof beene
greatly qualified; who, though perceiuing it to be ouer-extreme, are notwith-
ſtanding loth to acknowledge any ouer-ſight therein, and therefore labor what
they may to ſalue it by conſtruction; we haue for the more perſpicuitie deliue-
red what was thereby meant at the firſt; 6 How iniurious a thing it were vnto
6. all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning; 7. And how vn-
7. perfect their interpretations are who ſo much labour to helpe it, either by diui-
ding Commandements of Scripture into two kindes, and ſo defending that all
things muſt be commanded, if not in ſpeciall, yet in generall Precepts; 8. Or
8. by taking it as meant that in caſe the Church doe deuiſe any new Order, ſhe
ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture onely, and not any ſtar light
of mans reaſon; 9. Both which euaſions being cut off, we haue in the next place
9. declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her ſelfe Lawes
of Politie, and in what reckoning ſuch Poſitiue Lawes both are with God, and
ſhould bee with men; 10. Furthermore, becauſe to abridge the libertie of the
10. Church in this behalfe, it hath beene made a thing very odious, that when God
himſelfe hath deuiſed ſome certaine Laws, & committed them to Sacred Scrip-
ture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and
change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, whether the authoritie of God
in making, or his care in committing thoſe his Lawes vnto Scripture, be ſuffici-
ent argument to proue that God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any

ſuch

ſuch kind of change. 11. The laſt refuge for proofe that Diuine Lawes of Chriſtian Church-Politie may not bee altered, by extinguiſhment of any olde, or addition of new in that kind, is partly a maruellous ſtrange Diſcourſe, that Chriſt (vnleſſe hee would ſhew himſelfe not ſo faithfull as *Moſes*, or not [a] ſo wiſe as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) muſt needs haue ſet downe in holy Scripture ſome certaine complete and vnchangeable forme of Politie; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome euidence, where change of that ſort of Lawes may ſeeme expreſſely forbidden, although in truth nothing leſſe be done. I might haue added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes, as, The Church is a Citie, yea the Citie of the great King, and the life of a Citie is Politie: The Church is the houſe of the liuing God: and what houſe can there bee, without ſome order for the gouernment of it? In the royal houſe of a Prince there muſt be Officers for gouernment, ſuch as not any ſeruant in the houſe but the Prince, whoſe the houſe is, ſhall iudge conuenient: So the houſe of God muſt haue orders for the gouernment of it, ſuch as not any of the Houſhold, but God himſelfe hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the loue and wiſedome of God, to leaue ſuch order vntaken as is neceſſarie for the due gouernment of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of *Salomons* ſeruants did ſhew his wiſedome: therefore hee which is greater then *Salomon*, hath not failed to leaue in his houſe ſuch orders for gouernment thereof, as may ſerue to bee as a looking Glaſſe for his prouidence, care, and wiſdome to be ſeene in. That little ſparke of the light of nature which remaineth in vs, may ſerue vs for the affaires of this life: But as in all other matters concerning the Kingdome of Heauen, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very gouernment of that Kingdome, needfull it is wee ſhould be taught of God. As long as men are perſwaded of any order that it is only of mē, they preſume of their owne vnderſtanding, and they thinke to deuiſe another not onely as good, but better then that which they haue receiued. By ſeueritie of puniſhment, this preſumption and curioſitie may be reſtrained. But that cannot worke ſuch cheerful obedience as is yeelded, where the Conſcience hath reſpect to God as the Author of Lawes and orders. This was it which countenanced the Lawes of *Moſes*, made concerning outward Politie for the adminiſtratiō of holy things. The like ſome Law-giuers of the Heathens did pretend, but falſly; yet wiſely diſcerning the vſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake therefore it was expedient, that God ſhould be Author of the Politie of his Church. But to what iſſue doth all this come? A man would thinke that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſwaded then of this, that the Scripture hath ſet downe a complete forme of Church Politie, vniuerſall, perpetuall, altogether vnchangeable. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding, they which haue thus formally maintained argumēt in defence of the firſt ouerſight, are by the very euidence of truth themſelues conſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater waight, ſome of leſſe; that what hath bin vrged as touching immutabilitie of Lawes, it extendeth in truth no further then onely to Lawes wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now thoſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors,*

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[a] *Niſi Reip. ſuæ ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatemq; deſcripſerit, quæ iudiciorū forioq; ratio habenda, quo modo ciuium finiendæ lites: non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ prouidit quàm Moſes olim Iudaicæ, ſed quàm à Lycurgo Solone, Numa ciuitatibus ſuis proſpectum ſit.* Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſc.

The defence of godly Minist. against. D. Bridges 133.

ſtors, Lay Elders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three; Synods conſiſting of many Elderſhips; Deacons, Women-church-ſeruants or Widows, free conſent of the people vnto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolued. Al *this forme* of Politie (if yet we may terme that a forme of building, when men haue laid a few rafters together, & thoſe not al of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoeuer, all *this forme* they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to adde to it any thing as of like importance, (for ſo I thinke they meane) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is vnlawfull. In which reſolution if they will firmely & conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto haue been diſputed of, they muſt agree that they haue moleſted the Church with needleſſe oppoſition; & henceforward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelues wholly vnto the tryall of particulars, whether euery of thoſe things which they eſteeme as principall, be eyther ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuitie in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-Politie be receiued other then the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things or in ſmaller. The matters wherein Church-Politie is conuerſant, are the publike religious duties of the Church, as the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, ſpiritual cenſures & the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth alwaies bound. Lawes of Polity, are Lawes which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof, becauſe al that are of the Church cannot ioyntly & equally worke, the firſt thing in Politie required, is a difference of perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that Gods Clergie are a ſtate which hath bin and wil be, as long as there is a Church vpon Earth, neceſſary by the plaine Word of God himſelf; a ſtate wherunto the reſt of Gods people muſt be ſubiect as touching things that appertaine to their ſoules health. For where Politie is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be Leaders of others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blind lead the blind, they both periſh.* It is with the Clergie, if their perſons be reſpected, euen as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that, which the dignitie of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the order of Politie, they being the *lights of the World*, others (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubiect vnto them. Againe, for as much as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily requite that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed; wee hold, there haue euer beene, and euer ought to bee in ſuch caſe, at leaſt wiſe two ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, the one ſubordinate vnto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops alwayes ſince, wee find plainly both in Scripture & in all Eccleſiaſticall Records, other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments haue bin. Moreouer it cannot enter into any mans conceit to thinke it lawfull, that euery man which liſteth, ſhould take vpon him change in the Church; and therefore a ſolemne admittance is of ſuch neceſſitie, that without it there can be no Church-Polity. A nũber of particularities there are, which make for the more conuenient being of theſe principal and perpetuall parts in Eccleſiaſticall Politie, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant vſe and neceſſitie in Gods Church. Of this kind are times and places appointed for the exerciſe of Religion; ſpecialties belonging to the publike ſolẽnity of the Word, the Sacraments and Praier; the enlargement or abridgement of Functions miniſteriall depending

Luke. 6. 39.

Matth. 5. 14.

pending vpon thoſe two principall before mentioned; to conclude, euen whatſoeuer doth by way of formalitie and circumſtance concerne any publike action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kinde be for euer permanent; yet in the later both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not alwayes needfull; and much the Church of God ſhall alwayes neede which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the forme of Politie by them ſet downe for perpetuitie, is three wayes faultie. Faultie in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Paſtors, when they grow to any great multitude; faultie in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widdowes, and ſuch like; as things of perpetuall neceſſitie by the Law of God, which in truth are nothing leſſe; faultie alſo in vrging ſome things by Scripture immutable, as their Lay-Elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing eyther we can as yet find, or they haue hitherto been able to prooue. But hereof more in the Bookes that follow. As for thoſe maruellous diſcourſes, whereby they aduenture to argue, that God muſt needs haue done the things which they imagine was to be done; I muſt confeſſe, I haue often wondred at their exceeding boldneſſe herein. When the queſtion is, whether God haue deliuered in Scripture (as they affirme hee hath) a complete particular immutable forme of Church-Politie; why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labour, to proue he ſhould haue done it; there being no way in this caſe to proue the deed of God, ſauing only by producing that euidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent vpon record, they doe as if one ſhould demand a Legacy by force and vertue of ſome written Teſtament, wherin there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, he pleadeth that there it muſt needes bee, and bringeth arguments from the loue or good wil, which alwaies the Teſtator bore him; imagining that theſe or the like prooфes will conuict a Teſtament to haue that in it, which other men can no where by reading finde. In matters, which concerne the actions of God, the moſt dutifull way on our part is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekeneſſe to admire that, rather then to diſpute what he in congruitie of reaſon ought to doe. The wayes which hee hath whereby to doe al things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number then we can ſearch, other in nature then that we ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one we then may bodly conclude to bee the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When wee doe otherwiſe, ſurely we exceed our bounds, who and where we are we forget; and therefore needfull it is that our pride in ſuch caſes be controld, and our diſputes beaten backe with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How vnſearchable are his iudgements, and his wayes paſt finding out? Who hath knowne the mind of the Lord, or who was his Counſellor?* Rom. 11. 33.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE:

The fourth Booke.

Concerning their third Assertion, that our Forme of *Church-politie is corrupted with Popish Orders, Rites,* and Ceremonies, banished out of certaine Reformed Churches, whose example therein we ought *to haue followed.*

The matter contained in this fourth Booke.

1 *How great vse Ceremonies haue in the Church.*

2 *The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies, is that we haue not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicity, but a greater pompe and statelinesse.*

3 *The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome vseth; and the Reasons which they bring to proue them for that cause blame worthy.*

4 *How when they goe about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they meane, they contradict their owne Arguments against Popish Ceremonies.*

5 *An Answere to the Argument whereby they would proone, that sith we allow the Customes of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such Customes as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.*

6 *To their Allegation, that the course of Gods owne Wisdome doth make against our Conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.*

7 *To the Example of the eldest Church which they bring for the same purpose.*

8 *That it is not our best Polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound Religion, to haue in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being vnsound.*

9 *That neither the Papists vpbraiding vs as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceiue, doth make any more against our Ceremonies then the former Allegations haue done.*

10 *The griefe which, they say, godly Brethren conceiue, at such Ceremonies as we haue common with the Church of Rome.*

11 *The*

11 *The third thing, for which they reproue a great part of our Ceremonies is, for that as we haue them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Iewes.*

12 *The fourth, for that ſundry of them haue bin (they ſay) abuſed vnto Idolatry, and are by that meane become ſcandalous.*

13 *The fifth, for that we retaine them ſtill, notwithſtanding the Example of certaine Churches reformed before vs, which haue caſt them out.*

14 *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for the eſtabliſhment of things as they are.*

How great vſe Ceremonies haue in the Church.

SVCH was the ancient ſimplicity and of ſoftneſſe of Spirit, which ſometimes preuailed in the World, that they whoſe words were euen as Oracles amongſt men, ſeemed euer-more loath to giue ſentence againſt any thing publikely receiued in the Church of God, except it were wonderfull apparently euill; for that they did not ſo much incline to that ſcueritie, which delighteth to reproue the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſſe; as to that Charity, which is vnwilling to behold any thing, that dutie bindeth to reproue. The ſtate of this preſent Age, wherein Zeale hath drowned Charitie, and Skill Meekeneſſe, will not now ſuffer any man to maruell, whatſoeuer he ſhall heare reproued, by whomſoeuer. Thoſe Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the ſelfe-ſame now, that they were, when holy and vertuous men maintained them againſt prophane & deriding Aduerſaries, her owne children haue at this day in deriſion. Whether iuſtly or no, it ſhall then appeare, when all things are heard, which they haue to alledge againſt the outward receiued Orders of this Church. Which in as much as themſelues doe compare vnto *Mint and Comin*, granting them to be no part of thoſe things, which in the matter of Politie are weightier, wee hope that for ſmall things their ſtrife will neither bee earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that, which is obiected againſt the Orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong vnto this place. Heere wee are to diſcuſſe onely thoſe generall exceptions, which haue beene taken at any time againſt them. Firſt therefore, to the end that their nature and vſe, whereunto they ſerue, may plainly appeare, and ſo afterwards their qualitie the better bee diſcerned; wee are to note, that in euery grand or maine publike dutie, which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and forme wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certaine outward faſhion, whereby the ſame is in decent ſort adminiſtred. The ſubſtance of all religious actions is deliuered from God himſelfe in few words. For Example ſake in the Sacraments, *Vnto the Element let the Word be added, and they do both make a Sacrament*; ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. Baptiſme is giuen by the Element of Water, and that preſcript forme of words, which the Church of Chriſt doth vſe; the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt is adminiſtred in the Elements of Bread and Wine, if thoſe myſticall words be added thereunto. But the due and decent forme of adminiſtring thoſe holy Sacraments, doth require a great deale more. The end which

Mat.13 ver.23 The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weighttieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked vnto: but the Ceremonies alſo, as *Mint and Comin*, ought not to be neglected. *T. C. l.3. p.171.*

which is aimed at in ſetting downe the outward forme of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when eyther their vnderſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof in ſuch actions it behooueth all men to conſider; or when their hearts are moued with any affection ſuteable thereunto, when their minds are in any ſort ſtirred vp vnto that reuerence, deuotion, attention, and due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therefore vnto this purpoſe not onely ſpeech, but ſundry ſenſible meanes beſides haue alwayes beene thought neceſſary, & eſpecially thoſe meanes which being obiect to the eye, the liueſt and the moſt apprehenſiue ſenſe of all other, haue in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deepe and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence haue riſen not onely a number of Prayers, Readings, Queſtionings, Exhortings, but euen of viſible ſignes alſo; which being vſed in performance of holy actions, are vndoubtedly moſt effectuall to open ſuch matter, as men when they know, & remember carefully, muſt needs be a great deale the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerue. Wee muſt not thinke but that there is ſome ground of reaſon euen in nature, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that no Nation vnder Heauen either doth or euer did ſuffer publike actions which are of waight, whether they be ciuill and temporall, or elſe ſpirituall and ſacred, to paſſe without ſome viſible ſolemnitie; the very ſtrangeneſſe whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cauſe popular eyes to obſerue and to marke the ſame. Words, both becauſe they are common, and doe not ſo ſtrongly moue the phanſie of man, are for the moſt part but ſleightly heard: and therefore with ſingular wiſedome it hath beene prouided, that the deedes of men which are made in the preſence of Witneſſes, ſhould paſſe not onely with wordes, but alſo with certaine ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is farre more eaſie and durable then the memory of ſpeech can be. The things which ſo long experience of all Ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not vs preſume to condemne as follies and toyes, becauſe we ſometime know not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorne whatſoeuer it doth not conceiue, might aske wherfore *Abraham* ſhould ſay to his ſeruant, *Put thy hand vnder my thigh & ſweare*: was it not ſufficient for his ſeruant to ſhew the Religion of an Oath, by naming the Lord God of Heauen and Earth, vnleſſe that ſtrange Ceremonie were added? In Cõtract, Bargaines & Conueiances, a mans word is a token ſufficient to expreſſe his will. *Yet this was the ancient manner in Iſrael concerning redeeming & exchanging to eſtabliſh all things; A man did plucke off his Shoo, and gaue it to his Neighbour; and this was a ſure Witneſſe in Iſrael.* Amongſt the Romans in their making of a Bondman free, was it not wondred wherfore ſo great adoe ſhould be made? The Maſter to preſent his Slaue in ſome Court, to take him by the hand, & not only to ſay in the hearing of the publike Magiſtrate, *I will that this man become free*, but after theſe ſolemne words vttered, to ſtrike him on the cheeke, to turne him round, the haire of his head to bee ſhaued off, the Magiſtrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap & a white garment to be giuen him? To what purpoſe al this circumſtance? Amongſt the *Hebrewes* how ſtrange & in outward appearance almoſt againſt reaſon, that he which was minded to make himſelf a perpetual ſeruant, ſhould not onely teſtifie ſo much in the preſence of the Iudge, but for a viſible token thereof haue alſo his eare bored thorow with a nawle? It were

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth. 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so farre as they might be exemplified both in ciuill and religious actions. For in both they haue their necessary vse and force.[a] *These sensible things which Religion hath allowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually vnderstood, whereunto they serue as a hand to leade, and away to direct.* And whereas it may peraduenture be obiected, that to adde to religious duties such rites & ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new Sacraments: sure I am they will not say, that *Numa Pompilius* did ordaine a sacrament; a significant Ceremonie he did ordaine, in comanding the Priests[b] *to execute the worke of their diuine seruice with their hands, as fayre as to the fingers couered; thereby signifying that fidelitie must be defended, and that mens right hands are the sacred seate thereof.* Againe, we are also to put them in minde, that themselues doe not hold all significant ceremonies for Sacraments; in as much as imposition of hands they denie to be a Sacrament, & yet they giue thereunto a forcible significatiō. For concerning it their words are these:[c] *The partie ordained by this Ceremonie, was put in mind of his separation to the worke of the Lord, that remembring himself to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might teach him not to account himselfe now his owne, nor to doe what himselfe listeth; but to consider that God hath set him about a worke, which if he wil discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himselfe of reward, and if otherwise of reuenge.* Touching significant Ceremonies, some of them are Sacraments, some as Sacraments only. Sacraments are those, which are signes and tokens of some generall promised grace, which alwaies really descendeth from God vnto the soule that duly receiueth them: other significant tokens are onely as Sacramēts, yet no Sacramēts. Which is not our distinction but theirs. For concerning the Apostles imposition of hāds, these are their own words; *Magnum signum hoc & quasi Sacramentum vsurparunt*; They vsed this signe, as it were a Sacrament.

a Dionys. p. 121. τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν νοητῶν ἀνάγωγα καὶ ὁμοιώματα καὶ ἐπ' ἀυλὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδοί.

b Liu. l. 1 Manu ad digitos vsq; inuolutâ rem diuinam facere; significantes fidem tutandam sedemq; eius etiam in dextris sacratam esse.

c Eccles. discip. fol. 51.

Fol. 25.

2. Concerning rites and ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number & multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things wee haue departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ & his Apostles, we haue embraced more outward statelinesse, we haue those orders in the exercise of Religion, which they who best pleased God & serued him most deuoutly, neuer had. For it is out of doubt, that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian Religiō, faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best vnderstood by all men, all parts of godlinesse did then most abound: and therefore it must needes follow, that customes, lawes, and ordinances deuised since, are not so good for the Church of Christ; but the best way is to cut off later inuentions, and to reduce things vnto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which Rule or Canon we hold to be either vncertaine, or at least wise vnsufficient, if not both. For in case it be certayne, hard it cannot be for them to shew vs, where we shall find it so exactly set downe, that we may say without all controuersie, *These were the orders of the Apostles times, these wholly and only, neither fewer nor more then these.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded vnto, yea many things declared, & many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the Church which were then in vse, should be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well obserued, it shall vnto any man easily

The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies is, that we haue not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicitie, but a greater pompe and statelines. *Lib. Eccles. discip. & T. c. l. 3. p. 141*

appeare,

appeare, that no more of them are there touched, then were needfull to be ſpoken of ſometimes by on: occaſion, and ſometime by another. Will they allow then of any other Records beſides? Well aſſured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apoſtolical, which is not found in the Apoſtles writings, in what other Records ſoeuer it be found. And therefore whereas S. *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that thoſe things which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thought to be Apoſtolicall, although they be not found written; this his iudgement they vtterly condemne. I wil not here ſtand in defence of S. *Auguſtines* opinio, which is, that ſuch things are indeed Apoſtolical, but yet with this exception, vnleſſe the Decree of ſome generall Councel haue haply cauſed them to be receiued: for of Poſitiue Laws and orders receiued throughout the whole Chriſtian world, S. *Auguſtine*, could imagine no other fountaine ſaue theſe two. But to let paſſe S. *Auguſtin*, they who condemne him herein, muſt needes confeſſe it a very vncertaine thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles times, ſeeing the Scriptures doe not mention them all, and other Records thereof beſides they vtterly reiect. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apoſtles times, they tye it to a marueilous vncertaine rule; vnleſſe they require the obſeruation of no orders but only thoſe which are knowne to be Apoſtolicall by the Apoſtles owne Writings. But then is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiency, that we ſhould vſe it as a touchſtone to try the orders of the Church by for euer. Our end ought alwayes to bee the ſame; our wayes and meanes thereunto not ſo. The glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apoſtles aymed at, and therefore ought to be the marke whereat wee alſo leuell. But ſeeing thoſe rites and orders may bee at one time more, which at another are leſſe auaileable vnto that purpoſe; what reaſon is there in theſe things to vrge the ſtate of our onely age, as a pattern for al to follow? It is not, I am right ſure, their meaning, that we ſhould now aſſemble our people to ſerue God in cloſe and ſecret meetings; or that common Brookes or Riuers ſhould be vſed for places of Baptiſme; or that the Euchariſt ſhould be miniſtred after meat; or that the Cuſtome of Church-feaſting ſhould be renued; or that all kind of ſtanding prouiſion for the Miniſterie ſhould bee vtterly taken away, and their eſtate made againe dependent vpon the voluntary deuotion of men. In theſe things they eaſily perceiue how vnfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt Age conuenient enough. The faith, zeale, and godlineſſe of former times is worthily had in honour: but doth this proue that the orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt be ſtill the ſelfe-ſame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully ſince haue ceaſed? They who recal the Church vnto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet bounds & limits vnto their ſpeeches. If any thing haue beene receyued repugnant vnto that which was firſt deliuered, the firſt things in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt giue place vnto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath beene can be no preiudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the people of God when they were in the houſe of bondage, & their manner of ſeruing God in a ſtrange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Ieruſalem did affoord, and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt, it may be, they were right glad to take ſome corner

Tom. 7 de bapt. contra Donatiſt. lib. 5. cap. 23. T. C. l. 1. p. 31.

If this iudgement of Saint *Auguſtine* be a good iudgement & ſound; then there be ſome things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therfore there is no ſufficient Doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be ſaued. For all the Commandements of God and of the Apoſtles, are needefull for our ſaluation. *Vid. Epiſt.* 118.

corner of a poore Cottage, and there to serue God vpon their knees, peraduenture couered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the lesse accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliuerance, did testifie that they serued him not in vaine. Notwithstanding in the very Desert they are no sooner possest of some little thing of their owne, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and hauing *Dauid* to be their King, when the Lord had giuen him rest from all his enemies, it grieued his religious minde to consider the growth of his owne estate and dignity, the affaires of Religion continuing still in the former manner: *Behold, now I dwell in an house of Cedar trees, and the Arke of God remaineth still within curtaines.* What hee did purpose, it was the pleasure of God that *Salomon* his sonne should performe, and performe it in manner suitable vnto their present, not their ancient estate and condition. For which cause *Salomon* writeth vnto the King of Tyrus: *The house which I build is great and wonderfull; for great is our God aboue all Gods.* Whereby it cleerely appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable vnto him, as well being framed suitable to the greatnesse and dignitie of later, as when they keep the reuerend simplicitie of ancienter times. Such dissimilitude therefore betweene vs and the Apostles of Christ, in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default.

2. Sam. 7. 2.

2. Chron. 2. 5.

Our Orders and Ceremonies blamed, in that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome vseth.

3. Yea, but wee haue framed our selues to the customes of the Church of Rome, our Orders and Ceremonies are Papistical. It is espied that our Church-founders were not so carefull as in this matter they should haue beene, but contented themselues with such discipline as they took from the Church of Rome. Their error we ought to reforme by abolishing all Popish orders. There must be no communion nor fellowship with Papists, *neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Gouernment.* It is not enough that we are diuided from the Church of Rome by the single wall of Doctrine, retaining as we doe part of their Ceremonies, and almost their whole Gouernment: but Gouernment or Ceremonies or whatsoeuer it be which is Popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in vs, the vtter relinquishment of all things Popish. Wherin to the end we may answer them according vnto their plaine direct meaning, and not take aduantage of doubtfull speech, whereby controuersies grow alwaies endlesse; their maine Position being this, that *nothing should be placed in the Church but what God in his Word hath cõmanded*, they must of necessity hold all for Popish, which the Church of Rome hath ouer and besides this. By Popish orders, Ceremonies and Gouernment they must therefore meane in euery of these so much, as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandement of Gods Word: so that whatsoeuer such thing we haue, if the Church of Rome haue it also, it goeth vnder the name of those things that are Popish, yea, although it be lawfull, although agreeable to the Word of God. For so they plainly affirme, saying: *Although the formes & ceremonies which they* (the Church of Rome) *vsed were not vnlawful, & that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God; yet notwithstanding neither the Word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches both Iewish and Christian, do permit vs to vse the same form & ceremonies, being neither cõmanded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they*

Eccles. Discipl. fol. 12. T. C. lib. 1 pag. 131.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 20.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 25.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 131

and

and rather better be eſtabliſhed. The queſtion therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in thoſe orders, rites and ceremonies, wherein we doe not thinke them blameable, or elſe ought to deuiſe others, and to haue no conformitie with them, no not as much as in theſe things? In this ſenſe & conſtruction therefore as they affirme, ſo we denie, that whatſoeuer is Popiſh we ought to abrogate. Their arguments to proue that generaly al Popiſh orders & ceremonies ought to be clean aboliſhed, are in ſumme theſe: *Firſt whereas we allow the iudgment of* St. Auguſtine, *that touching thoſe things of this kind which are not cõmanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obſerue the cuſtome of the people of God, & decres of our forefathers: how can we retaine the cuſtoms & conſtitutiõs of the Papiſts in ſuch things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?* Secondly, *although the forms & ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not vnlawful, neither did cõtaine any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, nor reaſon doe permit vs to vſe the ſame, they being Heretikes, and ſo neer about vs, and their orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet ſuch, but that as good or rather better may be eſtabliſhed. It is againſt the word of God, to haue conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things, as appeareth, in that the wiſdom of God hath thought it a good way to keepe his people from infectiõ of Idolatry & ſuperſtition by ſeuering them from Idolaters in outward ceremonies, & therfore hath forbidden them to doe things which are in themſelues very lawfull to be done. And further, whereas the Lord was careful to ſeuer them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not ſo careful to ſeuer them from any, as from the Egyptias amongſt whom they liued, & fro thoſe natiõs which were next neighbors to them, becauſe fro them was the greateſt feare of infection.* So that following the courſe which the wiſdom of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for vs to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo neer. Touching the exãple of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one Councel it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not deck their houſes with Bay leues & green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did vſe ſo to do, & that they ſhould not reſt from their labors thoſe daies that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of euery moneth as they did. Another Councel decreed that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrat feaſts on the birth days of the Martyrs, becauſe it was the maner of the Heathen.* O, ſaith Tertullian *better is the religion of the* Heathen: *for they vſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neither the Pentecoſt & if they knew them, they would haue nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid leſt they ſhould ſeem Chriſtians: but we are not afraid to be called heathen. The ſame* Tertul. *would not haue Chriſtians to ſit after they had praid, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men & of Councels, in making or aboliſhing of ceremonies, heed had bin taken that the Chriſtiãs ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things which of themſelues are moſt indifferent to be vſed or not vſed. The ſame conformity is not leſſe oppoſit vnto reaſõ, firſt in as much as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, & therfore popery being Antichriſtiãity, is not healed but by eſtabliſhmẽt of orders therũto oppoſit. The way to bring a drũken man to ſobriety, is to carry him as far from exces of drink as may be. To rectify a crooked ſtick, we bẽd it on the contrary ſide, as far as it was at the firſt on that ſidefrõ whence we draw it: & ſo it commeth in the end to a middle between both, which is*

T.C.l.1.p.38

T.C.l.1.p.132

T.C.l.1.p.132

Tom.2 Braca.73

Con. Africa. cap.27.

Lib de Idolatria He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter day, celebrated in the memory of our Sauioura reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lords day.

Lib. de Anima.

perfect straightnesse. Vtter inconformitie therof with the Church of Rome in these things, is the best & surest policy which the Church can vse. While we vse their Ceremonies, they take occasion to blaspeme, saying that our Religion cannot stand by it self, vnlesse it leane vpon the staffe of their Ceremonies. They hereby conceiue great hope
T.c.l.3.p.178. *of hauing the rest of their Popery in the end, which hope causeth them to bee more frozen in their wickednes. Neither is it without cause that they haue this hope, considering that which Mr* BVCER *noteth vpon the eighteenth of St* MATTHEVV, *that where these things haue been left, Popery hath returned, but on the other part in places which haue been cleansed of these things, it hath not yet been seene that it hath*
T.c.l.3.p.173. *had any entrance. None make such clamors for these Ceremonies, as the Papists and those whom they suborne; a manifest token how much they triumph & ioy in these things. They breed griefe of mind in a number that are godly minded, & haue Antichristianity in such detestation, that their minds are martyred with the very sight of*
T.c.l.3.p.180. *them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieue with vnprofible Ceremonies, yea, Ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but also danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which popish Ceremonies are meanes to breed.* This in effect is the summe and substãce of that which they bring by way of oppositiõ against those orders which we haue cõmon with the church of Rome; these are the reasons wherwith they would proue our Ceremonies in that respect worthy of blame.

That whereas they who blame vs in this behalfe, when reason euicteth that all such Ceremonies are not to bee abolished, make answere that when they condemne Popish Ceremonies, their meaning is of Ceremonies vnprofitable, or Ceremonies, in stead whereof as good or better may bee demised: they cannot hereby get out of the bryers, but contradict and gainsay themselues; in as much as their vsuall manner is to proue, that Ceremonies vncommanded in the Church of God, and yet vsed in the Church of Rome, are for *this very cause* vnprofitable to vs, and not so good as others in their place would be.

4 Before we answer vnto these things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom these obiections proceed, doe oftentimes flye for defẽce & succor, whẽ the force & strength of their Arguments is elided. For the Ceremonies in vse amongst vs, being in no other respect retayned, sauing onely for that to retayne them is to our seeming good & profitable, yea so profitable & so good, that if we had either simply taken them clean away, or else remoued them so as to place in their stead others, we had done worse: the plaine & direct way against vs herein had beene only to proue, that all such Ceremonies as they require to be abolished, are retayned by vs with the hurt of the Church, or with lesse benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But for as much as they saw how hardly they should bee able to performe this; they tooke a more compendious way, traducing the Ceremonies of our Church vnder the name of being Popish. The cause why this way seemed better vnto them was, for that the name of Popery is more odious than very Paganisme amongst diuers of the more simple sort; so whatsoeuer they heare named Popish, they presently conceiue deepe hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contayned in that name, but needs it must bee exceeding detestable. The eares of the people they haue therefore filled with strong clamors *The Church of England is fraught with Popish Ceremonies: They that fauour the cause of reformation, maintain nothing but the sincerity of the Gospel of* IESVS CHRIST: *All such as withstand them, fight for the Lawes of his sworne enemy, vphold the filthy relikes of Antichrist, and are defenders of that which is Popish.* These are the notes wherewith are drawne from the hearts of the multitude so many sighes; with these tunes their mindes are exasperated against

againſt the lawfull Guides and Gouernours of their ſoules; theſe are the voyces that fill them with general diſcontentment, as though the boſome of that famous Church wherein they liue, were more noyſome than any dungeon. But when the Authours of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how they can iuſtify ſuch their dealings; when they are vrged directly to anſwer, whether it bee lawfull for vs to vſe any ſuch Ceremonies as the Church of Rome vſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the Word of God; being driuen to ſee that the vſe of ſome ſuch Ceremonies muſt of neceſſitie be granted lawfull, they goe about to make vs beleeue that they are iuſt of the ſame opinion, and that they onely thinke ſuch Ceremonies are not to be vſed when they are vnprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which anſwer is both idle in regard of vs, and alſo repugnant to themſelues. It is, in regard of vs, very vaine to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what Ceremonies we retayne common vnto the Church of Rome, wee therefore retayne them, for that we iudge them to be profitable, and to be ſuch that others in ſtead of them would be worſe. So that when they ſaw that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh Ceremonies as are vnprofitable, or elſe might haue other more profitable in their ſted, they trifle and they beat the aire about nothing which toucheth vs, vnleſſe they meane that wee ought to abrogate all Romiſh Ceremonies, which in their iudgement haue either no vſe, or leſſe vſe then ſome other might haue. But then muſt they ſhew ſome commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as Iudges, and we required to take their iudgement for good in this caſe. Other wiſe, their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh*, vnto the Orders of the Church of England: as in the queſtion about Surpleſſes one of them doth; *If we looke to the colour, black me thinketh is more decent, if to the forme, a garment down to the foot hath a great deale more comelineſſe in it.* If they thinke that we ought to proue the Ceremonies commodious which wee haue retayned, they doe in this point very greatly deceiue themſelues. For in all right and equitie, that which the Church hath receiued and held ſo long for good, that which publique approbation hath ratified, muſt carry the benefit of preſumption with it to bee accounted meet and conuenient. They which haue ſtood vp as yeſterday to challenge it of defect muſt proue their challenge. If we being Defendants do anſwer, that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childiſh and vnorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion, and ſhew the pouertie of our cauſe, the goodneſſe whereof we are fayne to begge that our Aduerſaries would grant. For on our parts this muſt be the anſwer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen of prouing doth reſt on them, In them it is friuolous to ſay, we ought not to vſe bad Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and preſume all ſuch bad as it pleaſeth themſelues to diſlike, vnleſſe wee can perſwade them the contrarie. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelues. For what one thing is ſo common with them, as to vſe the cuſtome of the Church of Rome for an argument to proue, that ſuch and ſuch Ceremonies cannot be good & profitable for vs, in as much as that Church vſeth them? Which vſuall kind of diſputing, ſheweth that they doe not diſallow onely thoſe Romiſh ceremonies which are vnprofitable, but count all vnprofitable which are Romiſh, that is to ſay, which haue been deuiſed by the church of Rome, or which are vſed

T.C. lib. 3. p. 171 What an open vntruth is it, that this is one of our principles not to be lawfull to vſe the ſame ceremonies which the Papiſts did when as I haue both before declared the contrary, and euen here haue expreſly added, that they are not to be vſed when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed.

Eccle. diſcipl. fol. 100.

T.C. l. 3. p. 179. As for your often repeating that the ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent it is your old wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an vndoubted argument of your extreame ponerty.

T.C. l. 3. p. 174.

in that Church & not preſcribed in the Word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can vſe ſutable vnto their other Poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yeeld, why they hold it lawful to retayne in *Doctrine* & in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetuall commandements, in whoſe place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their iudgement in truth is, that whatſoeuer by the word of God is not changeable in the church of Rome that Churches vſing is a cauſe, why reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to thinke it good or profitable. And leſt wee ſeeme to father any thing vpon them more than is properly their owne, let them reade euen their owne words, where they complain, that *we are thus conſtrayned to be like vnto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies*; yea they vrge that this cauſe, although it were alone, ought to moue them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *for as much as they are their Ceremonies*, & that the B. of Salisbury doth iuſtifie this their complaint. The clauſe is vntrue which they adde concerning the B. of Salisbury; but the ſentence doth ſhew, we doe them no wrong in ſetting downe the ſtate of the queſtion betweene vs thus: Whether we ought to aboliſh out of the Church of England all ſuch orders, rites, and ceremonies, as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome, and are not preſcribed in the Word of God. For the affirmatiue whereof we are now to anſwere ſuch proofes of theirs as haue beene before alleged.

T.C.l3.p.177. And that this cõplaint of ours is iuſt, in that we are thus conſtrained to bee like vnto the Papiſts in any their ceremonies; and that this cauſe only ought to moue them to whom that belongeth, to doe theirs away, for as much as they are their ceremonies: the Reader may further ſee in the B. of Salisbury, who brings diuers proofes thereof.

That our allowing the cuſtomes of our fathers to be followed, is no proofe that we may not allow ſome cuſtomes which the Church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

5. Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God, and our fathers in the Chriſtian faith, or let them be otherwiſe; hold them for Catholiques, or hold them for Heretiques, it is not a thing either one way or another in this preſent queſtion greatly materiall. Our conformitie with them in ſuch things as haue bin propoſed, is not proued as yet vnlawfull by all this. S. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, yea & we haue allowed his ſaying, *That the cuſtome of the people of God & the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching thoſe things whereof the Scripture had neither one way nor other giuen vs any charge.* What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cauſe in nothing to be followed? This conſequent were good if ſo be it were granted, that only the cuſtome of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are in ſuch caſe to be obſerued. But then ſhould no other kind of later laws in the Church be good, which were a groſſe abſurdity to thinke. S. *Auguſtines* ſpeech therefore doth import, that where we haue no diuine precept, if yet we haue the cuſtome of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and muſt bee kept. Notwithſtanding it is not denyed, but that we lawfully may obſerue the poſitiue conſtitutions of our own churches, although the ſame were but yeſterday made by our ſelues alone. Nor is there any thing in this to proue, that the church of England might not by law receiue orders, rites, or cuſtõs from the church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God, nor yet our forefathers. How much leſſe whẽ wee haue receiued frõ them nothing but that which they did themſelues receiue from ſuch, as we cannot denie to haue bin the people of God, yea ſuch as either wee muſt acknowledge for our owne forefathers, or elſe diſdaine the race of Chriſt?

6. The

we muſt acknowledge for our owne forefathers, or elſe diſdaine the race of Chriſt?

6 The Rites and Ordes wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kinde then ſuch as the Church of Geneua it ſelfe doth follow them in. We follow the church of Rome in moe things, yet they in ſome things of the ſame nature about which our preſent controuerſie is: ſo that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of Rites onely, wherein they and wee doe follow the Church of Rome. The vſe of Wafer-cakes, the cuſtome of Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptiſme, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture, things which haue bin of old, & are retained in the Church of Rome, euen at this very houre. Is conformitie with Rome in ſuch things a blemiſh vnto the Church of England, and vnto Churches abroade an ornament? Let them, if not for the reuerence they owe vnto this Church, in the bowels whereof they haue receiued I truſt that precious and bleſſed vigor, which ſhall quicken them to eternall life, yet at the leaſt wiſe for the ſingular affect on which they doe beare towards others, take heede how they ſtrike, leſt they wound whom they would not. For vndoubtedly it cutteth deeper then they are aware of, when they pleade that euen ſuch Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as containe in them nothing which is not of it ſelf agreable to the Word of God ought neuertheleſſe to bee abolished, and that neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches, doe permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed. Heretikes they are, and they are our Neighbours. By vs and amongſt vs they leade their liues. But what then? Is therfore no Ceremony of theirs lawfull for vs to vſe? We muſt yeeld and will, that none are lawfull, if God himſelfe be a precedent againſt the vſe of any. But how appeareth it that God is ſo? Hereby, they ſay, it doth appeare, in that *God ſeuered his people from the Heathens, but ſpecially from the Egyptians, and ſuch Nations as were neareſt Neighbours vnto them, by forbidding them to doe thoſe things, which were in themſelues very lawfull to bee done, yea very profitable ſome and incommodious to bee forborne; ſuch things it pleaſed God to forbid them, onely becauſe thoſe Heathens did them, with whom conformitie in the ſame things might haue bred infection. Thus in ſhauing, cutting, apparell wearing, yea in ſundry kinds of meates alſo, Swines fleſh, Conies, and ſuch like, they were forbidden to do ſo, and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad them ſuch things was, to ſeuer them, for feare of infection, by a great and an high wall from other Nations, as Saint* PAVL *teacheth.* The cauſe of more carefull ſeparation from the neareſt Nations, was the greatneſſe of danger to be eſpecially by them infected. Now, Papiſts are to vs as thoſe Nations were vnto Iſrael. Therefore if the wiſedome of God bee our guide, we cannot allow conformitie with them, no not in any ſuch in different Ceremonie. Our direct anſwer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleaged we may ſtil doubt whether the Lord in ſuch indifferent Ceremonies as thoſe whereof we diſpute, did frame his people of ſet purpoſe vnto any vtter diſſimilitude, either with Egyptians, or with any other Nation elſe. And if God did not forbid them all ſuch indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformitie with the Church of Rome in ſome ſuch is not hitherto as yet diſproued, although Papiſts were vnto vs as thoſe Heathens were vnto Iſrael. *After the doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, yee ſhall not doe, ſaith the Lord; and after the manner of the Land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, ſhall yee not doe, neither walke in their Ordinances: Doe after my iudge-*

That the courſe which the wiſedome of God doth teach maketh not againſt our conformitie with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.

T. C. lib. 1 pag. 89. & 11.

Leuit. 18. 3.

Leuit. 19. 27.
Leuit. 19. 19.
Deut 22. 11.
Deut 14. 7. &
Leuit. 11.
Epheſ. 2. 14.

Leuit. 18. 3.

ments, & keepe my ordinances to walke therein: I am the Lord your God. The ſpeech is indefinite, *yee ſhall not bee like them:* It is not generall, *yee ſhall not be like them in any thing, or like vnto them in any thing indifferent, or like vnto them in any indifferent Ceremonie of theirs.* Seeing therefore it is not ſet downe how farre the bounds of his ſpeech concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach, how can any man aſſure vs, that it extendeth farther then to thoſe things onely, wherein the Nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did againſt that which the Law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not ſeeme a thing very probable, that God doth purpoſely adde, *Doe after my iudgements*, as giuing thereby to vnderſtand that his meaning in the former ſentence was but to bar ſimilitude in ſuch things as were repugnant vnto the Ordinances, Lawes, & Statutes, which he had giuen? Egyptians and Cananites are for example ſake named vnto them, becauſe the cuſtomes of the one they had bin, & of the other they ſhould be beſt acquainted with. But that wherin they might not be like vnto either of them, was ſuch peraduenture as had bin no whit leſſe vnlawfull, although thoſe Nations had neuer bin. So that there is no neceſſitie to thinke that God for feare of infection by reaſon of neereneſſe, forbad them to bee like to the Cananites or the Egyptians, in thoſe things which otherwiſe had bin lawfull enough. For I would know what one thing was in thoſe Nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent it ſelfe, yet forbidden only becauſe they vſedit. In the Lawes of Iſrael we find it written, *Ye ſhall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither ſhalt thou teare the tufts of thy beard.* Theſe things were vſual amongſt thoſe Nations, & in themſelues they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being vſed as ſignes of immoderate and hopeleſſe lamentation for the dead? In this ſenſe it is that the Law forbiddeth them. For which cauſe the very next words following are, *Ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print of a marke vpon you; I am the Lord.* The like in *Leuiticus*, where ſpeech is of mourning for the dead, *They ſhall not make bald parts vpon their head, nor ſhaue off the lockes of their beard, nor make any cutting in their fleſh.* Againe, in *Deut. Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye ſhall not cut your ſelues, nor make you baldneſſe betweene your eies for the dead.* What is this but in effect the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainely expreſſe, ſaying, *Sorrow not as they doe which haue no hope*? The very light of Nature it ſelfe was able to ſee herein a fault; that which thoſe Nations did vſe, hauing been alſo in vſe with others, the ancient Roman Lawes doe forbid. That ſhauing therefore & cutting which the Law doth mention, was not a matter in it ſelfe indifferent, and forbidden only becauſe it was in vſe amongſt ſuch Idolaters as were Neighbours to the people of God; but to vſe it had beene a crime, though no other people or Nation vnder heauen ſhould haue done it ſauing only themſelues. As for thoſe Lawes concerning attire, *There ſhall no garment of linnen and woollen come vpon thee*, as alſo thoſe touching foode and diet, wherein *Swines fleſh* together with ſundry other meates are forbidden; the vſe of theſe things had bin indeede of it ſelfe harmeleſſe and indifferent: ſo that hereby it doth appeare, how the Lawe of God forbad in ſome ſpeciall conſideration, ſuch things as were lawful enough in themſelues. But yet euen here they likewiſe faile of that they intend. For it doth not appeare that the conſideration in regard whereof the Law forbiddeth theſe things, was becauſe thoſe Nations did vſe them. Likely enough it is that the Cananites vſed to feed as well on Sheeps as on Swines fleſh; and therefore if the forbidding

Leuit. 19. 17.

Leuit. 21. 5.

Deut. 14. 1.

1. *Theſ.* 4. 13.

Leuit. 19. 19.
Deut. 22. 11.

Deut. 14. 7.
Leuit. 11.

bidding of the later had no other reaſon then diſſimilitude with that people, they which of their owne heads alleage this for reaſon, can ſhew I think ſome reaſon more then we are able to finde, why the former was not alſo forbidden. Might there not bee ſome other myſtery in this prohibition then they thinke of? Yes, ſome other myſterie there was in it by all likely hood. For what reaſon is there which ſhould but induce, and therefore much leſſe enforce vs to thinke, that care of diſſimilitude betweene the people of God & the Heathen Nations about them, was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to put on garments of ſundry ſtuffe, then of charging them with all not to ſow their fields with Meſſline, or that this was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to eate Swines fleſh, then of charging them withall not to eate the fleſh of Eagles, Hawkes, and the like? Wherefore although the Church of Rome were to vs, as to Iſrael the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wiſedome of God without reſpect doth teach vs to erect betweene vs and them a partion wall of difference, in ſuch things indifferent as haue beene hitherto diſputed of.

Leuit. 19 19. *Deut.* 14. *Leuit.* 11. *Epheſ.* 2. 14.

7 Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more auaileable to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding ſome fault vndoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. Were it not ſome kinde of blemiſh to bee like vnto Infidels and Heathens, it would not ſo vſually bee obiected, men would not thinke it any aduantage in the cauſes of Religion, to bee able therewith inſtly to charge their Aduerſaries as they doe. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainely appeare, what force this hath, and how farre the ſame extendeth: wee are to note how all men are naturally deſirous, that they may ſeeme neither to iudge, nor to doe amiſſe, becauſe euery error and offence is a ſtaine to the beauty of nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrarie. From whence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſſe the credit of others, doe it either in both or in one of theſe. To haue beene in either directly by aweake and vnperfect Rule, argueth imbecillitie and imperfection. Men being either led by reaſon, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their perſons be odious whoſe example we chooſe to follow, as namely, if wee frame our opinions to that which condemned Heretiques thinke, or direct our actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them; it lyes as an heauy preiudice againſt vs, vnleſſe ſomewhat mightier then their bare example, did moue vs to thinke or doe the ſame things with them. Chriſtian men therefore hauing beſides the common light of all men ſo great help of heauenly direction from aboue, together with the Lamps of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yeeld, it cannot but worthily ſeeme reprochfull for vs, to leaue both the one and the other, to become Diſciples vnto the moſt hatefull ſort that liue, to doe as they doe, onely becauſe we ſee their example before vs, and haue a delight to follow it. Thus wee may therefore ſafely conclude, that it is not euill ſimply to concurre with the Heathens either in opinion or in action: and that conformity with them is only then a diſgrace, when either wee follow them in that they thinke and doe amiſſe, or follow them generally in that they doe, without other reaſon then only the liking wee haue to the paterne of their example: which liking doth intimate a more vniuerſall approbation of them then is allowable. *Fauſtus* the Manichey therefore obiecting againſt the Iewes, that they for-

That the example of the eldeſt Churches is not herein againſt vs.

T.C.l. 1. *p.* 132. The Councels although they did not obſerue themſelues alwayes in making of decrees this Rule: yet haue kept this conſideration continually in making of their laws, that they would haue the Chriſtians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

forsooke the Idols of the Gentiles, but their Temples, & Oblations, & Altars, & Priesthoods and all kinde of ministerie of holy things, they exercised euen as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deale; against the Catholike Christians likewise, that betweene them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference, *From them* (saith FAVSTVS) *ye haue learned to hold that one only God is the Author of all, their sacrifices yee haue turned into feasts of Charitie, their Idols into Martyrs, whom ye honor with the like religious offices vnto theirs, the Ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates, the festiuall dayes of the Nations yee celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye haue vtterly changed nothing.* S. *Austines* defence in behalfe of both is, that touching the matters of action, Iewes and Catholike Christians were free from the Gentiles faultinesse, euen in those things which were obiected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles: and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the Gentils, because Gentils had so taught, but because heauen and earth had so witnessed the same to be Truth, that neither the one sort could erre in being fully perswaded thereof, nor the other but erre in case they should not consent with them. In things of their owne nature indifferent, if either Councels or particular men haue at any time with sound iudgemēt misliked conformitie betweene the Church of God and Infidels, the cause thereof hath beene somewhat else then onely affectation of dissimilitude. They saw it necessarie so to doe, in respect of some speciall accident, which the Church being not alwayes subiect vnto, hath not still cause to doe the like. For example, in the dangerous dayes of triall, wherein there was no way for the Truth of Iesus Christ to triumph ouer Infidelity, but through the constancy of his Saints, whom yet a naturall desire to saue themselues from the flame, might peraduenture cause to ioyne with Pagans in externall customes, too farre vsing the same as a cloake to conceale themselues in, & a mist to darken the eyes of Infidels withall: for remedie hereof those Lawes it might be were prouided, which forbad that Christians should decke their houses with Boughes, as the Pagans did vse to doe, or rest those Festiuall dayes whereon the Pagans rested, or celebrate such Feasts as were, though not Heathenish, yet such that the simpler sort of Hearhens might be beguiled in so thinking them. As for *Tertullians* iudgement, concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church; no man, hauing iudgement, can be ignorant how iust exceptions may be takē against it. His opinion touching the Catholik Church was as vnindifferēt, as touching our Church the opinion of them that fauour this pretended reformation is. Hee iudged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded, he iudged them stil ouer-abiectly to fawne vpon the *Heathens*, & to curry fauour with *Infidels*. Which as the Catholike Church did wel prouide that they might not do indeed, so *Tertullian* ouer-often through discontentmēt carpeth iniuriously at them, as though they did it euen when they were free from such meaning. But if it were so, that either the iudgement of those Councels before alleaged, or of *Tertullian* himselfe against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be vnderstood as wee haue mentioned; if it were so, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, onely for vsing the Ceremonies of a Religion *contrary* vnto their owne,

Tom. 6. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. 20. cap 4.

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. Also it was decreed in another Councell that they should not decke their houses with Bay leaues and greene Boughs, because the Pagans did vse so; & that they should not rest from their labour those daies that the Pagās did, that they shold not keepe the first day of euery moneth as they did

T. C. l. 3. p. 131. *Tertul.* saith, O saith he, better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they vse no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lords day, neither, &c. but we are not afraid to be called Heathē.

T. C. l. 1. p 133. But hauing shewed this in generall to be the Politie of God first, and of his people afterwards, to put as much difference as can be commodiously betweene the people of God and others which are not, I shall not, &c.

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and that *this cauſe* is ſuch as ought to preuaile no leſſe with vs than with them; ſhall it not follow, that ſeeing there is ſtill betweene our Religion and Paganiſme the ſelfe-ſame *contrariety*, therefore we are ſtill no leſſe rebukeable, if we now decke our houſes with Boughes, or ſend New-yeares gifts vnto our friends, or feaſt on thoſe dayes which the Gentiles then did, or ſit after prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they inferre vpon the premiſes, that as great difference as commodiouſly may bee, there ſhould be in all outward Ceremonies betweene the people of God, and them which are not his people. Againe, they teach, as hath beene declared, that there is not as great a difference as may bee betwee ne them, except the one doe auoid whatſoeuer Rites and Ceremonies vncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of ſpirituall condition it ſelfe betweene the ſeruants of Chriſt and others, requireth ſuch difference in Ceremonies betweene them, although the one bee neuer ſo farre diſioyned in time or place from the other But in caſe the people of God and *Belial* doe chance to bee neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference, they ſay, is thereby made more neceſſary. In this reſpect as the Iewes were ſeuered from the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially from the Heathen neereſt them. And in the ſame reſpect wee, which ought to differ howſoeuer from the Church of Rome, are now, they ſay, by reaſon of our neereneſſe more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies than from *Turkes*. A ſtrange kinde of ſpeech vnto Chriſtian eares, and ſuch, as I hope, they themſelues doe acknowledge vnaduiſedly vttered. *We are not ſo much to feare infection from Turks as from Papiſts.* What of that? wee muſt remember that by conforming rather our ſelues in that reſpect to *Turks*, wee ſhould bee ſpreaders of a worſe infection into others, than any wee are likely to draw from Papiſts by our conformitie with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate, as *Turks* do, the Chriſtian; or as Cananites of old did the Iewiſh Religion euen in groſſe, the circumſtance of locall neereneſſe in them vnto vs, might haply enforce in vs a dutie of greater ſeparation from them than from thoſe other mentioned. But for as much as Papiſts are much in Chriſt neerer vnto vs than *Turks*, is there any reaſonable man, trow you, but will iudge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion ſhould be Popiſh than Turkiſh, or Heatheniſh? Eſpeciall conſidering that wee were not brought to dwell amongſt them (as Iſrael in Canaan) hauing not beene of them. For euen a very part of them wee were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt, to reforme our ſelues, (whence grew our ſeparation) and then by all good meanes to ſeeke alſo their reformation; had wee not only cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged our ſelues from them in things indifferent; who ſeeth not how greatly preiudiciall this might haue beene to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had giuen them to thinke (to their greater obduration in euill) that through a froward or wanton deſire of innouation, wee did conſtrainedly thoſe things, for which conſcience was pretended? Howſoeuer the caſe doth ſtand, as Iuda had beene rather to chooſe conformitie in things indifferent with Iſrael, when they were neareſt oppoſites, than with the fartheſt remoued Pagans: So wee in like caſe, much rather with Papiſts than with Turks. I might adde further for more full and complete anſwer, ſo much concerning the large oddes betweene

tweene the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens, and ours in reſpect of the Church of Rome, that very cauillation it ſelfe ſhould be ſatisfied, and haue no ſhift to flie vnto

That it is not our beſt policy for the eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to haue in theſe things no agreement with the Church of Rome being vnſound

8. But that no one thing may detayne vs ouer-long, I returne to their reaſons againſt our conformitie with that Church. That extreme diſſimilitude which they urge vpon vs, is now commended as our beſt and ſafeſt policie for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion. The ground of which politique Poſition is, that *Euils muſt be cured by their contraries*; and therefore the cure of the Church, infected with the poyſon of Antichriſtianitie, muſt be done by that which is thereunto as contrarie as may be. A medled eſtate of the orders of the Goſpel, and the ceremonies of Popery, is not the beſt way to baniſh Popery. We are contrariwiſe of opinion, that he which will perfectly recouer a ſicke, and reſtore a diſeaſed body vnto health, muſt not endeuour ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety vnto thoſe euils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat, by ſetting the body in extremity of cold, ſhall vndoubtedly remoue the diſeaſe, but together withit the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in skilfull cures, is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the euill which doth affect it; the laſt is not only of the kind, but alſo of the meaſure of contrary things whereby to remoue it. They which meaſure Religion by diſlike of the Church of Rome, thinke euery man ſo much the more ſound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to ſeeme more large. And therefore ſome there are, namely the Arrians in reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the Canker to haue eaten ſo farre into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound beliefe; no not concerning God himſelfe, but that the very beliefe of the Trinitie were a part of Antichriſtian corruption; and that the wonderfull prouidence of God did bring to paſſe, that the Biſhop of the Sea of Rome ſhould bee famous for his triple crowne; a ſenſible marke whereby the world might know him to bee that myſticall beaſt ſpoken of in the Reuelation, to be that great and notorious Antichriſt in no one reſpect ſo much, as in this that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wiſdome therefore and skill is requiſite to know, what parts are ſound in that Church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparant which complaine of vnſound parts, with what kind of vnſoundnes euery ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay, that in *Doctrine*, in *Diſcipline* in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeede) very foule and groſſe corruptions: the nature whereof notwithſtanding becauſe they haue not for the moſt part exact skil and knowledge to diſcerne, they thinke that amiſſe many times which is not, and the ſalue of reformation they mightily call for, but where and what the ſores are which neede it, as they wote full little, ſo they thinke it not greatly materiall to ſearch, Such mens contentment muſt be wrought by ſtratageme: the vſuall methode of art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſſe more then ordinary and common knowledge of good from euill, with them that are able to put a difference betweene things naught, and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controuerſie about the manner of remouing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, vnleſſe that alſo which is indifferent bee cut off withit, ſo farre till no rite or ceremony remaine which

*T.C.l.p.*132. Common reaſon alſo doth teach that contraries are cured by their coutraries. Now Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity, the Goſpel and Popery, be contraries, and therefore Antichriſtianity muſt be cured, not by it ſelfe, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary vnto it.

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the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the Word of God. If we thinke this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great exceſſe, it is not amiſſe though we vſe them vnto ſome what leſſe than is competent; and that a crooked ſticke is not ſtraightned, vnleſſe it be bent as farre on the clean contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it ſelfe at the length in amiddle eſtate of euenneſſe between both. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they urge vs to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of Rome, doe they meane we ſhould bee drawne vnto it onely for a time, and afterwards returne to a mediocritie? or was it the purpoſe of thoſe reformed Churches, which vtterly aboliſhed all Popiſh Ceremonies, to come in the end backe againe to the middle point of euenneſſe, and moderation? Then haue we conceiued amiſſe of their meaning. For we haue alwaies thought their opinion to be, that vtter inconformity with the Church of Rome was not an extremitie whereunto we ſhould be drawne for a time, but the very mediocritie it ſelfe wherein they meant we ſhould euer continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth cleane contrarie, that howſoeuer they haue bent themſelues at firſt to an extreme contrarietie againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer, than onely till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to leade them vnto it. They haue ſeene that experience of the former policy, which may cauſe the authors of it to hang downe their heads. When Germanie had ſtriken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but ſeemed neuertheleſſe in Diſcipline ſtill to retayne therewith very great conformitie: *France*, by that Rule of policy, which hath beene before mentioned, tooke away the Popiſh orders which *Germanie* did retayne. But proceſſe of time hath brought more light into the World; whereby men perceiuing that they of the Religion in *France* haue alſo retayned ſome orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commanded in the Word of God; there hath ariſen a ſect in *England*, which following ſtill the very ſelfe ſame Rule of policy, ſeeketh to reforme euen the French reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregs of of Poperie. Theſe haue not taken as yet ſuch roote that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtocke and how farre the vnquiet wit of man might bee carried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The tryall which we haue liued to ſee, may ſomewhat teach vs what poſteritie is to feare. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, auert whatſoeuer euil our ſwaruings on the one hand or on the other may threaten vnto the ſtate of his Church.

T.C.l. 1. *p.* 132. If a man would bring a drunken man to ſobrietie the beſt and neereſt way is to carry him as far from his exceſſe in drink as may be: & if a man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſſe than he ſhould drink, than to fault in giuing him more than hee ought. As wee ſee to bring a ſtick which is crooked to be ſtraight, wee doe not only bow it ſo farre vntill it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo farre vntill we make it to be ſo crooked of the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the mid-way betweene both the crookes.

9 That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our religion is not able to ſtand of it ſelfe, vnleſſe it lean vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment, that it did need to be ob-

That wee are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies either becauſe Papiſts vpbraid vs as haning taken from them or for that they are ſaid hereby to conceiue, I know not what, great hopes. *T.C.l.* 3 *p.* 171. By vſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies.

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iected, or doth deserue to receiue answer. The name of blasphemy in this place, is like the shoo of *Hercules* on a childs foot. If the Church of Rome do vse any such kind of silly exprobration, it is no such vgly thing to the eare, that wee should thinke the honor and credit of our religion to receiue therby any great wound. They which hereof make so perilous a matter, do seeme to imagin, that we haue erected of late a frame of some new Religion; the furniture whereof we should not haue borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieuing vs, might afterwards laugh and gibe at our pouerty: whereas in truth the ceremonies which we haue taken from such as were before vs, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customes of the Church of Christ; whereof our selues being a part, wee haue the selfe-same interest in them which our Fathers before vs had, from whom the same are descended vnto vs. Againe, in case wee had beene so much beholding priuately vnto them, doth the reputation of one Church stand by saying vnto another, *I need thee not?* If some should be so vaine and impotent, as to marre a benefite with reproachfull vpbraiding, where at the least they suppose themselues to haue bestowed some good turne; yet surely a wise bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom hee borrowed peraduenture wherewith to kindle it, might haply cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, Were it not for me thou wouldest freeze, and not bee able to heate thy selfe. As for that other argument deriued from the secret affection of Papists, with whom our conformity in certaine Ceremonies is said to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will haue re-entrance; and therefore none are so clamorous amongst vs for the obseruation of these ceremonies, as Papists, and such as Papists suborne to speake for them: whereby it clearely appeareth how much they reioyce, how much they triumph in these things; our answere hereunto is still the same, that the benefit wee haue by such ceremonies ouerweigheth euen this also. No man which is not exceeding partiall can well denie, but that there is most iust cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as wee are to deliberate for our selues, the freer our mindes are from all distempered affections, the sounder and better is our indgement. When wee are in a fretting moode at the Church of Rome, & with that angry dispositiō enter into any cogitation of the orders and rites of our Church; taking particular suruey of them, wee are sure to haue alwayes one eye fixed vpon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe or heauy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other sutable token eyther of dislike or approbation towards our owne orders. For the rule of our iudgement in such case being onely that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our enemies would haue*; what they seeme contented with, euen for that very cause we reiect, & there is nothing but it pleaseth vs much the better, if we espy that it gauleth them. Miserable were the state and condition of that Church, the waighty affaires whereof should be ordered by those deliberations, wherein such an humour as this were predominant. We haue most heartily to thanke God therefore, that they amongst vs, to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another marke, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his Church, tooke that which they iudged thereunto

T. C. l. 3. p. 179. To proue the Papists triumph and ioy in these things I alleaged further that there are none which make such clamors for these ceremonies, as the Papists and those which they suborne.

ἀ κεν' γνῶσας Πριαμος. ll. α.

vnto neceſſarie, not reiecting any good or conuenient thing, onely becauſe the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If wee haue that which is meete and right, although they bee glad, wee are not to enuie them this their ſolace; wee doe not thinke it a dutie of ours, to bee in euery ſuch thing their Tormentors. And whereas it is ſaid, that Poperie for want of this vtter extirpation hath in ſome places taken roote and flouriſhed againe, but hath not beene able to reeſtabliſh it ſelfe in any place, after prouiſion made againſt it by vtter euacuation of all Romiſh Ceremonies; and therefore as long as we hold any thing like vnto them, wee put them in ſome more hope, than if all were taken away; as wee denie not but this may bee true, ſo being of two euils to chuſe the leſſe, we hold it better that the friends and fauourers of the Church of Rome, ſhould be in ſome kind of hope to haue a corrupt Religion reſtored, then both wee and they conceiue iuſt feare, leſt vnder colour of rooting out Poperie, the moſt effectuall meanes to beare vp the ſtate of Religion be remoued, and ſo a way made either for Paganiſme, or for extreme Barbarie to enter. If deſire of weakning the hope of others ſhould turne vs away from the courſe wee haue taken; how much more the care of preuenting our owne feare, with-hold vs from that wee are vrged vnto? Eſpecially ſeeing that our owne feare wee know, but wee are not ſo certayne what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church haue bred in the hearts of others. For it is no ſufficient Argument therefore to ſay, that in maintayning and vrging theſe Ceremonies, none are ſo clamorous as Papiſts, and they whom Papiſts ſuborne; this ſpeech being more hard to iuſtifie then the former, and ſo their proofe more doubtfull then the thing it ſelfe, which they proue. He that were certayne that this is true, muſt haue marked who they be that ſpeake for Ceremonies; he muſt haue noted, who amongſt them doth ſpeake oftneſt, or is moſt earneſt; he muſt haue beene both acquainted thorowly with the Religion of ſuch, and alſo priuy what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret betweene them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to bee vulgar and common. Yet they which alleage this, would haue it taken as a thing that needeth no proofe, a thing which all men know and ſee. And if ſo be it were granted them as true, what gayne they by it? Sundrie of them that be Popiſh, are eager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtrange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a ſiniſter intent and purpoſe, whoſe forwardneſſe is not therfore a bridle to ſuch as fauour the ſame cauſe with a better and ſincere meaning? They that ſeeke, as they ſay, the remouing of all Popiſh Orders out of the Church, and reckon the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe orders, do (I doubt not) preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute, is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their owne ingenuous acknowledgement, that euen this very cauſe which they terme ſo often by an excellency, *The Lords cauſe is*, gratiſſima *moſt acceptable vnto ſome which hope for prey and ſpoile by it, and that our Age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the very Sectaries of* DIONISIVS *the famous Atheiſt*: Now if hereupon we ſhould vpbraid them with irreligious, as they doe vs, with ſuperſtitious fauourers; if we

T.C. l.3.p.179. Thus they conceiuing hope of hauing the reſt of their Poperie in the end, it cauſeth them to bee more frozen in their wickedneſſe, &c. For not the cauſe but the occaſion alſo ought to bee taken away, &c. Although let the Reader iudge, whether they haue cauſe giuen to hope, that the taile of Popery yet remayning, they ſhall the eaſilier hale in the whole body after: conſidering alſo what Maſter *Bucer* noteth, that where theſe things haue beene left, there Poperie hath returned: but on the other part, in places which haue beene cleanſed of theſe dregs, it hath not beene ſeene that it hath had any entrance.

Eccleſ. diſ. f. 84.

should follow them in their owne kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation, are either Atheists, or else Proctors suborned by Atheists; the answere which herein they would make vnto vs, let them apply vnto themselues, and there an end. For they must not forbid vs to presume our cause in defence of our Church-orders, to bee as good as theirs against them, till the contrarie be made manifest to the World.

The griefe which, they say, godly Brethren conceiue, in regard of such Ceremonies, as wee haue common with the Church of Rome. *T. c. l. 3. p.* 180. There bee numbers which haue Antichristianitie in such detestation, that they cannot without griefe of mind behold them. And afterwards, Such godly Brethren are not easily to begrieued, which they seeme to be, when they are thus martyredin their minds, for Ceremonies, which (to speake the best of them) are vnprofitable.

10 In the meane while sorry wee are, that any good and godly mind should bee grieued with that which is done. But to remedie their griefe, lyeth not so much in vs as in themselues. They doe not wish to bee made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remooue all out of the Church, wherat they shew themselues to be sorrowfull, would be, as we are perswaded, hurtfull, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perswade the contrary, they must and will, I doubt not, find out some other good meane to cheere vp themselues. Amongst which meanes the example of *Geneua* may serue for one. Haue not they the old Popish custome of vsing God-fathers & God-mothers in Baptisme; the old Popish custom of administring the blessed Sacrament of the holy Eucharist with wafercakes? These things the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learn to doe the like, both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further meane peraduenture it might be to asswage their griefe, if so be they did consider the reuenge they take on them, which haue been, as they interpret it, the Workers of their continuance in so great griefe so long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corrosiue to such as oppugne them; vndoubtedly to such as maintayne them, it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reuerence, is oppugned. And therefore they that iudge themselues Martyrs, when they are grieued, should thinke withal what they are whom they grieue. For wee are still to put them in mind, that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided, who haue stood for truth, and who for error. So that till then the most effectuall medicine, and withall the most sound, to ease their griefe, must not bee (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieued, but the altering of that perswasion, which they haue concerning the same. For this we therefore both pray & labour; the more because we are also perswaded, that it is but conceit in them to thinke, that those Romish Ceremonies, whereof wee haue hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious vnto the Church, or like soft and gentle poysons, the venome whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is neuer felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it onely, and the World hath not as yet had so great experience of their art, in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authoritie of their word should perswade in a cause so waightie; they may not thinke much if it be required at their hands to shew, First, by what meanes so deadly infection can grow from similitude betweene vs and the Church of Rome, in these things indifferent: Secondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church would prouide against euery such euill as may come to passe, it is not sufficient that they

T. c. l. 3. p. 171. Although the corruptions in them strike not straight to the heart, yet as gentle poysons they consume by little and little.

they ſhew poſſibilitie of dangerous euent, vnleſſe there appeare ſome likelihood alſo of the ſame to follow in vs, except we preuent it. Nor is this enough, vnleſſe it be moreouer made plaine, that there is no good and ſufficient way of preuention, but by euacuating cleane, and by emptying the Church of euerie ſuch Rite and Ceremonie, as is preſently called in queſtion. Till this bee done, their good affection towards the ſafetie of the Church is acceptable, but the way they preſcribe vs to preſerue it by, muſt reſt in ſuſpenſe. And leſt hereat they take occaſion to turne vpō vs the ſpeech of the Prophet *Ieremie* vſed againſt Babylon, *Behold we haue done our endeuour to cure* the diſeaſes of Babylon, but ſhe through her wilfulnes doth reſt vncured: let the conſider into what ſtreights the Church might driue it ſelfe, in being guided by this their counſell. Their axiome is, that the ſound-beleeuing Church of Ieſus Chriſt, may not bee like Hereticall Churches in any of thoſe indifferent things, which men make choice of, and do not take by preſcript appointment of the Word of God. In the Word of God, the vſe of Bread is preſcribed, as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not be celebrated: but as for the kind of Bread, it is not denyed to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it ſelfe, wee are by this axiome of theirs to auoid the vſe of vnleauened Bread in their Sacrament, becauſe ſuch Bread the Church of Rome being Hereticall vſeth. But doth not the ſelfe-ſame axiome barre vs euen from leauened Bread alſo, which the Church of the Grecians vſeth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the ſame, for which we condemne the Church of Rome; and in ſome things erroneous, where the Church of Rome is acknowledged to be ſoūd; as namely in the Article of the holy Ghoſts proceeding? And leſt heere they ſhould ſay that becauſe the Greeke Church is farther off, & the Church of Rome nearer, wee are in that reſpect rather to vſe that which the Church of Rome vſeth not; let them imagine a reformed Church in the Citie of Venice, where a Greeke Church & a Popiſh both are. And when both theſe are equally neare, let them conſider what the third ſhall doe. Without either leauened or vnleauened Bread, it can haue no Sacrament: the Word of God doth tye it to neither; and their axiome doth exclude it from both. If this conſtraine them, as it muſt, to grant that their axiome is not to take any place, ſaue in thoſe things onely where the Church hath larger ſcope; it reſteth that they ſearch out ſome ſtronger reaſon then they haue as yet alleaged; otherwiſe they conſtraine not vs to thinke that the Church is tyed vnto any ſuch rule or axiome, no not then whē ſhe hath the wideſt field to walke in, and the greateſt ſtore of choice.

Ier. 51. 9.

11 Againſt ſuch Ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of England and of Rome, wee ſee what hath beene hitherto alleaged. Albeit therefore we doe not finde the one Churches hauing of ſuch things, to bee ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not haue them: neuertheleſſe in caſe it may bee prooued, that amongſt the number of Rites and Orders common vnto both, there are particulars, the vſe whereof is vtterly vnlawfull, in regard of ſome ſpeciall bad and noyſome qualitie; there is no doubt but wee ought to relinquiſh ſuch Rites and Orders, what freedome ſoeuer we haue to retayne the other ſtil. As therfore wee haue heard their general exception againſt al thoſe things, which being not commanded in the Word of God, were firſt receiued in the Church of Rome, and from thence haue beene deriued into ours, ſo it followeth that now wee proceed

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as wee haue receiued from the Church of Rome, that Church hauing taken them from the Iewes.

vnto certaine kindes of them, as being excepted against not only for that they are in the Church of Rome, but are besides either Iewish or abused vnto Idolatrie, and so growne scandalous. The Church of Rome they say, being ashamed of the simplicitie of the Gospell, did almost out of all Religions take whatsoeuer had any faire and gorgeous shew, borrowing in that respect from the Iewes sundrie of their abolished Ceremonies. Thus by fooliſh and ridiculous imitation, al their Massing Furniture almost they tooke from the Law, lest hauing an Altar and a Priest, they should want Vestments for their Stage; so that whatsoeuer we haue in common with the Church of Rome, if the same be of this kind we ought to re mooue it. *Constantine the Emperour speaking of the keeping of the Feast of Easter, sayth, That it is an vnworthy thing to haue any thing common with that most spitefull company of the Iewes. And a little after he sayth, That it is most absurde and against reason, that the Iewes should vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keepe those things without their Doctrine. And in another place it is said after this sort; It is conuenient so to order the matter, that wee haue nothing common with that Nation. The Councell of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the sixt generall Councell, decreed that the Christians should not take vnleauened Bread of the Iewes, or communicate with their impietie.*

Eccles. disci. fol. 98. And *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 181. Many of these Popish Ceremonies fault by reason of the pompe in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicitie of the Gospel of Christ crucified.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 132. *Euseb. li.* 3. *c.* 17. *Socra. lib. c.* 9. *To.* 1. *Concil. Laod. Can.* 38.

For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must bee considered, namely the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Iewish Ceremonies; and how farre it ought so to doe. One cause is, that the Iewes were the deadliest and spitefullest Enemies of Christianitie that were in the World, and in this respect their Orders so far forth to be shunned, as wee haue already set downe in handling the matter of Heathenish Ceremonies. For no Enemies being so venemous against Christ as Iewes, they were of all other most odious, and by that meane least to be vsed as fit Church patternes for imitation. Another cause is the solemne abrogation of the Iewes ordinances; which Ordinances for vs to resume, were to checke our Lord himselfe which hath disanulled them. But how farre this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed vpon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame it selfe to the Iewes example, in respect of their persons which are most hatefull; yet God himselfe hauing bin the Author of their Laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed aboue others, as much as the state of things will beare. Iewish Ordiances had some things naturall, and of the perpetuitie of those things no men doubteth. That which was positiue, wee likewise know to haue beene by the comming of Christ partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind Circumcision and Sacrifice were. For this point *Stephen* was accused; and the Euidence which his accusers brought against him in iudgement was, *This man ceaseth not to speake blasphemous words against this holy place and the Law, for we haue heard him say that this Iesus of Nazaret shall destroy this place, and shall change the Ordinances that Moses gaue vs.* True it is that this Doctrine was then taught, which vnbeleeuers condemning for Blasphemie, did therein commit that which they did condemne. The Apostles notwithstanding from whom *Stephen* had receiued it, did not so teach the abrogation, no not of those things which

Acts 6. 13, 14.

were

were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that euen the Iewes being Chriſtians, might for a time continue in them. And therfore in Ieruſalem the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not circumciſed was *Marke*, & he not Biſhop till the dayes of *Adrian* the Emperour, after the ouerthrow of Ieruſalem, there hauing beene fifteene Biſhops before him which were all of the circumciſion. The Chriſtian Iewes did think at the firſt not only themſelues, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound, and that neceſſarily, to obſerue the whole Law. There wēt forth certain of the Sect of Phariſes which did beleeue, & they comming vnto Antioch, taught that it was neceſſary for the Gētiles to be circumciſed, & to keep the Law of *Moſes*. Whereupon there grew diſſention, *Paul* & *Barnabas* diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Councell held at Ieruſalem concerning this matter, was finally this, *Touching the Gentiles which beleeue, wee haue written and determined that they obſerue no ſuch thing*, Their proteſtation by Letters is. *For as much as we haue heard that certaine which departed from vs haue troubled you with words, and cumbred your mindes, ſaying, Yee muſt be circumciſed and keepe the Law; know that we gaue them no ſuch Commandement.* *Paul* therefore continued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not onely that they were not bound to obſerue the Lawes of *Moſes*, but that the obſeruation of thoſe Lawes which were neceſſarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether vnlawfull. In which point his Doctrine was miſ-reported, as though hee had euery where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching the Iewes. Wherefore comming vnto *Iames* and the reſt of the Clergie at Ieruſalem, they told him plainly of it, ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt, brother, how many thouſand Iewes there are which beleeue, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Iewes which are amongſt the Gentiles, to forſake* Moſes, *and ſayeſt that they ought not to circumciſe their Children, neither to liue after the cuſtomes.* And hereupon they gaue him counſell to make it apparant in the eyes of all men, that thoſe flying reports were vntrue, and that himſelfe being a Iew, kept the Law euen as they did. In ſome things therefore we ſee the Apoſtles did teach, that there ought not to bee conformity betweene the Chriſtian Iewes and Gentiles. How many things this Law of inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This generall is true, that the Gentiles were not made cōformable vnto the Iewes, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſſe at the comming of Chriſt. Touching things poſitiue which might either ceaſſe or cōtinue as occaſion ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendring the zeal of the Iewes, thought it neceſſary to bind euen the Gentiles for a time to abſtaine as the Iewes did, frō things offred vnto Idols, from bloud, from ſtrangled. Theſe Decrees were euery where deliuered vnto the Gentiles to be ſtraightly obſerued and kept. In the other matters where the Gentiles were free, & the Iewes in their owne opinion ſtill tyed, the Apoſtles Doctrine vnto the Iew was, *Condemne not the Gentile*; vnto the Gentile, *Deſpiſe not the Iew*: the one ſort they warned to tak heed that ſcrupulo ſitie did not make them rigorous, in giuing vnaduiſed ſētence againſt their Brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become ſcandalous, by abuſing their Libertie and Freedome to the offence to their weake Brethren which were ſcrupulous. From hence therfore two concluſions there are which may euidently be drawne; the firſt, that whatſoeuer conformitie of Poſitiue Lawes the Apoſtles did bring in between the Churches of Iewes & Gentiles it was in thoſe things onely, which might either ceaſſe or continue a ſhorter or a

Vide Niceph. l. 3 c. 25. & Sulpit. Seuer. p. 149. in Edit. Plant.

Acts 15.

Acts 21. 25.

Acts 15. 24.

Acts 21. 20.

Acts 15. 28.

Acts 16. 4.

Rom. 14. 10.

longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, that they did not impose vpon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Iewes Ordinaces with bond of necessary and perpetuall obseruation, (as we alboth by doctrine and practice acknowledge) but only in respect of the conueniencie and fitnesse for the present state of the Church as thē it stood. The words of the Councels decree cōcerning the Gentiles are, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to vs, to lay vpon you no more burden, sauing only those things of necessitie, abstinence from Idoll offerings, from strangled, and bloud, and from fornication.* So that in other things positiue which the comming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to seeme vnreasonable, that the Gentiles should necessarily bee bound and tyed to Iewish Ordināces, so farre forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Iew, who knew that their difference from other Nations which were Aliens & Strangers from God, did especially consist in this, that Gods people had positiue Ordinances giuen to them of God himselfe, it seemed maruellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should bee incorporated into the same Common-wealth with Gods owne chosen people & be subiect to no part of his Statutes, more then onely the Law of Nature, which Heathens count themselues bound vnto. It was an opinion constantly receiued amongst the Iewes, that God did deliuer vnto the sonnes of *Noah* seuen Precepts: namely, to liue in some forme of Regiment vnder, First, publike Lawes: Secondly, to serue and call vpon the Name of God: Thirdly, to shunne Idolatry: Fourthly, not to suffer effusion of bloud: Fiftly, to abhorre all vncleane knowledge in the flesh: Sixtly, to commit no Rapine: Seuenthly, and finally, not to eate of any liuing Creature whereof the bloud was not first let out. If therefore the Gentiles would bee exempt from the Law of *Moses*, yet it might seeme hard they should also cast off euen those things positiue which were obserued before *Moses*, and which were not of the same kinde with Lawes that were necessarily to ceasse. And peraduenture hereupon the Councell saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should according vnto the third, the seuenth, and the fift of those Precepts, abstaine from things sacrificed vnto Idols, from strangled and bloud, & from fornication. The rest the Gentiles did of their owne accord obserue, Nature leading them thereunto. And did not Nature also teach them to abstaine from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason thinke, that as the former two are positiue, so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise vsually vnderstand it. But very Mariage within a number of Degrees, beeing not onely by the Law of *Moses*, but also by the Law of the sonnes of *Noah*, (for so they tooke it) an vnlawfull discouerie of nakednesse; this discouerie of nakednesse by vnlawfull Marriages, such as *Moses* in the Law reckoneth vp, I thinke it for mine owne part more probable to haue been meant in the wordes of that Canon, then fornication according vnto the sense of the Law of Nature. Wordes must bee taken according to the matter whereof they are vttered. The Apostles commande to abstaine from bloud. Conster this according to the Law of Nature, and it will seeme that Homicide only is forbidden. But conster it in reference to the Law of the Iewes about which the question was, and it shal easily appeare to haue a cleane other sense; and in any mans iudgement a truer, when wee expound it of eating, and not of shedding bloud. So if wee speake of fornication, hee that knoweth no law but onely the Law of Nature, must needes

Lib. qui Seder Olam inscribitur

1 ריגיז
2 ברכהשם
3 עא
4 שפיכותדמים
5 גילויערוית
6 הגזל
7 אבר מיז החי

Heb. 13. 4. *1. Cor.* 5. 11. *Gal.* 5. 19.

Leuit. 18.

needes make therof a narrower construction, then he which measureth the same by a Law wherein sundry kindes euen of coniugall copulation are prohibited as impure, vncleane, vnhonest. Saint *Paul* himselfe doth terme incestuous Marriage, fornication. If any doe rather thinke that the Christian Gentiles themselues through the loose and corrupt custome of those times, tooke simple fornication for no sinne, and were in that respect offensiue vnto beleeuing Iewes which by the Law had beene better taught; our proposing of another coniecture, is vnto theirs no preiudice. Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to bee like vnto the Iewes; some things wherein they were commanded not to bee vnlike. Againe, some things also there were, wherein no Law of God did let, but that they might bee either like or vnlike, as occasion should require. And vnto this purpose *Leo* saith, *Apostolicall Ordinance (beloued) knowing that our Lord Iesus Christ came not into this World to vndoe the Law, hath in such sort distinguished the Mysteries of the Olde Testament, that certaine of them it hath chosen out to benefit Euangelicall knowledge withall, and for that purpose appointed that those things which before were Iewish, might now bee Christian Customes.* The cause why the Apostles did thus conforme the Christiãs as much as might be, according to the patterne of the Iewes, was to reine them in by this meane the more, and to make them cleaue the better. The Church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing as about Iudaisme; some hauing thought the whole Iewish Law wicked and damnable in it selfe; some not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, haue notwithstanding iudged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further vnlawfull to be obserued then truth can beare; some of scrupulous simplicitie vrging perpetuall and vniuersal obseruation of the Law of *Moses* necessarie, as the Christian Iewes at the first in the Apostles times; some as Heretickes, holding the same no lesse euen after the contrary determination set downe by consent of the Church at Ierusalem; finally, some being herein resolute through meere infidelitie, and with open professt enmitie against Christ, as vnbeleeuing Iewes. To controule Slanderers of the Law and Prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her Lyturgies hath intermingled with Readings out of the New Testament, Lessons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, saith of the Church of Christ, *It intermingleth with Euangelicall and Apostolicall Writings, the Law and the Prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that Faith which with Water it sealeth, clotheth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the Eucharist, with Martyrdome setteth forward.* They would haue wondered in those times to heare, that any man being not a Fauourer of Heresie, should terme this by way of disdaine, *mangling of the Gospels and Epistles.* They which honor the Law as an Image of the Wisdome of God himself, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the Law so abolished with Christ, that after his Ascentiõ the Office of Priests became immediatly wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exercise of an vngodly Function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that finall desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Iewes did continue with their Sacrifices and other parts of legall seruice. That very Law therefore which our Sauiour was to abolish, did not *so soone* become vnlawful to be obserued as some imagine: nor was it afterward vnlawfull *so far*, that the very name of

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Leo in ieiun. mens. sept. Ser. 9.

Tertull. de præscript. aduers. hæret.

T. C. l. 3. p. 171. What an abusing also is it to affirme, the mangling of the Gospels and Epistles to haue beene brought into the Church by godly and learned men? *T. C. l. 1. p. 216.* Seeing that the Office and Function of Priests was after our Sauiour Christs Ascension naught and vngodly; the name whereby they were called which did exercise that vngodly Function, cannot bee otherwise taken then in the euill part.

Altar,

Altar, of Priest, of Sacrifice it self, should be banished out of the World. For though God do now hate Sacrifice, whether it be Heathenish or Iewish, so that we cannot haue the same things which they had, but with impietie; yet vnlesse there be some greater, let then the only euacuation of the Law of *Moses*, the names themselues may (I hope) be retained without sinne, in respect of that proportiō which things established by our Sauiour haue vnto them, which by him are abrogated. And so through all the Writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literall, they now haue a metaphoricall vse, & are as so many notes of remēbrance vnto vs, that what they did signifie in the letter, is accomplished in the truth. And as no mā can depriue the Church of this liberty, to vse names wherunto the Law was accustomed; so neither are we generally forbiddē the vse of things which the Law hath, though it neither comman vs any particularity, as it did the Iewes a number; & the weightiest which it did commande them, are vnto vs in the Gospell prohibited. Touching such as though simplicitie of error did vrge vniuersall and perpetuall obseruation of the Law of *Moses* at the first, we haue spoken already. Against Iewish Heritickes and false Apostles teaching afterwards the selfesame, Saint *Paul* in euery Epistle commonly either disputeth or giueth warning. Iewes that were zealous for the Law, but withal Infidels in respect of Christianity, and to the Name of Iesus Christ most spitefull Enemies, did while they flourished no lesse persecute the Church then Heathens. And after their estate was ouerthrowne, they were not that way so much to bee feared. Howbeit because they had their Synagogues in euery famous Citie almost throughout the World, and by that means great oportunity to withdraw frō the Christian Faith, which to doe they spared no labour; this gaue the Church occasion to make sundry Lawes against them. As in the Councell of Laodicea, *The Festiuall Presents which Iewes or Hereticks vse to send must not be receiued, nor Holy-dayes solemnized in their company.* Againe, *From the Iewes men ought not to receiue their vnleauened, nor to communicate with their Impieties.* Which Councel was afterwards indeed confirmed by the sixt general Councel. But what was the true sense or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Christians here forbidden to cōmunicate in vnleauened Bread, because the Iewes did so being Enemies of the Church? He which attentiuely shall weigh the words, will suspect that they rather forbid communion with Iewes, then imitation of them much more, if with these two Decrees be compared a third in the Councell of Constantinople; *Let no man either of the Clergy or Laity eate the vnleauened of the Iewes, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor send for them in sicknesse, nor take Physicke at their hands, nor as much as goe into the Bath with them. If any doe otherwise, being a Clergie man, let him bee deposed; if being a Lay person, let Excommunication bee his punishment.* If these Canons were any Argument, that they which made them did vtterly condemne similitude betweene the Christians & Iewes, in things indifferent appertayning vnto Religiō, either because the Iewes were Enemies vnto the Church, or else for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; these Reasons had beene as strong and effectual against their keeping the Feast of Easter on the same day the Iewes kept theirs, and not according to the custome of the West Church. For so they did from the first beginning till *Constantines* time. For in these two things the East & West Churches did interchangeably both confront the Iewes, & concurre with

Concil. Laod. Can. 37. 38. T.C. li. p. 131.

T.C. l. 3. p. 176.

Concil. Constantinop. 6. cap. 11.

them:

them: the Weſt Church vſing vnleauened Bread, as the Iewes in their Paſſeouer did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the Feaſt of Eaſter; cõtrariwiſe the Eaſt Church celebrating the Feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day with the Iewes, but not vſing the ſame kind of Bread which they did. Now if ſo be the Eaſt Church in vſing leuened Bread had done wel, either for that the Iewes were enẽies to the Church, or becauſe Iewiſh ceremonies were abrogated, how ſhould we think but that *Victor* the Biſhop of Rome (whom al iudicious men do in that behalfe diſallow) did well to bee ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the Feaſt of Eaſter? Againe, if the Weſt Churches had in eyther of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the Iewes in the Feaſt of Eaſter, what reaſõ had they to draw the Eaſterne Church herein vnto thẽ, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame themſelues vnto it in the Ceremony of leauened Bread? Difference in Rites ſhould breede no Controuerſie betweene one Church and another: but if Controuerſie bee once bred, it muſt bee ended. The Feaſt of Eaſter being therefore litigious in the dayes of *Conſtantine*, who honored of all other Churches moſt the Church of Rome, which Church was the Mother from whoſe breſts he had drawne that food, which gaue him nouriſhment to eternal life; ſith agreemẽt was neceſſary, & yet impoſſible, vnleſſe the one part were yeelded vnto; his deſire was that of the two the Eaſterne Church ſhould rather yeeld. And to this end he vſeth ſundry perſwaſiue ſpeeches. When *Stephen* the Biſhop of Rome going about to ſhew what the Catholike Church ſhould doe, had alleaged what the Heretikes themſelues did, namely that they receiued ſuch as came vnto them, and offered not to baptiſe them anewe S. *Cyprian* being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether hereticks cõuerted ought to be rebaptiſed, yea or no*, anſwered the allegation of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomacke, ſaying, [a] *To this degree of wretchedneſſe the Church of God and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her wayes ſhee frameth to the example of Heretikes; that to celebrate the Sacraments which heauenly inſtruction hath deliuered, light it ſelfe doth borrow from darknes, & Chriſtians doe that which Antichriſts doe.* Now albeit *Conſtantine* haue done that to further a better cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely, the rebaptization of Heretickes; and haue taken aduantage at the odiouſneſſe of the Iewes, as *Cyprian* of Heritickes, becauſe the Eaſterne Church kept their Feaſt of Eaſter alwayes the fourteenth day of the Moneth as the Iewes did, what day of the weeke ſoeuer it fell; or how ſoeuer *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the handling of that cauſe to ſay, [b] *It is vnworthy to haue any thing common with that ſpitefull Nation of the Iewes*; ſhall euery motiue argument vſed in ſuch kind of conferences, be made a rule for others ſtill to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may leade them to the contrary? Let both this & other allegations ſuteable vnto it, ceaſſe to bark any longer idlely againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

[a] *Cypr. ad Pompei. lib. cont. epiſt. Stephani.*

[b] *Socr. eccleſiaſt. hiſt lib. 5. cap. 22 Plerique in Aſiâ minore antiquitus 14. die menſis, nullâ ratione diei Sabbati habitâ hoc feſtum obſeruarunt. Quod dum faciebant cum aliis qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur, vſq; eò nequaquam diſſenſerunt. quoad Victor Epiſcopus Romanus ſupra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Aſiâ qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίτας appellati excommunicauerit. Ob quod factum Irenaus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per epiſtolam grauiter inuectus eſt. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 3. cap. 17. Quid præſtabilius, quidue auguſtius eſſe poterit, quàm vt hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oſtentatam habemus, vno modo & ratione apud omnes integrè ſincereque obſeruaretur? Ac primùm omnium indignum planè videbatur, vt ritum & conſuetudinem imitantes Iudæorum, (qui quoniam ſuas ipſorum manus immani ſcelere polluerunt, meritò, vt ſceleſtos, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) iſtuc ſe ſtum ſanctiſſimum ageremus. In noſtrâ enim ſitum eſt poteſtate, vt illorum more reiecto, veriore et magis ſincero inſtituto, quod quidem vſq; à primâ paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus huius feſti celebrationem ad poſterorum ſeculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur ſit nobis cum Iudæorum turbâ omnium odioſâ maximè.*

12 But

Their exception against such Ceremonies as haue beene abused by the Church of Rome, and are said in that respect to bee scandalous.

12 But the weightiest exception, and of all the most worthy to bee respected, is against such kinde of Ceremonies, as haue beene so grossely and shamefully abused in the Church of Rome, that where they remayne they are scandalous, yea they cannot choose but be stumbling blockes and grieuous causes of offence. Concerning this point therefore wee are first to note, what properly it is to bee scandalous or offensiue; Secondly, what kinde of Ceremonies are such; and Thirdly when they are necessarily for remedie therof to be taken away, & when not. The common conceipt of the vulgar sort is, whensoeuer they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to thinke that euery such thing is scandalous, and that themselues in this case are the men concerning whome our Sauiour spake in so fearefull manner, saying, *Whosoeuer shall scandalize or offend any one of these little ones which beleeue in me* [that is, as they conster it, whosoeuer shall anger the meanest and simplest Artizan which carryeth a good minde, by not remouing out of the Church such Rites and Ceremonies as displease him] *better he were drowned in the bottome of the Sea.* But hard were the case of the Church of Christ if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when they are moued led, and prouoked vnto sinne. At good things euill men may take occasion to doe euill; and so Christ himselfe was a Rocke of offence in Israel, they taking occasion at his poore estate, and at the ignominie of his Crosse, to thinke him vnworthy the name of that great and glorious *Messias*, whome the Prophets describe in such ample and stately termes. But that which wee therefore terme offensiue, because it inuiteth men to offend, and by a dumbe kind of prouocation incourageth, moueth, or any way leadeth vnto sinne, must of necessitie be acknowledged actiuely scandalous. Now some things are so euen by their very essence and nature, so that whersoeuer they bee found, they are not neither can be without this force of prouocation vnto euill; of which kind all examples of sinne and wickednesse are. Thus *Dauid* was scandalous in that bloudie act, whereby hee caused the Enemies of God to bee blasphemous: thus the whole state of Israel was scandalous, when their publike disorders caused the Name of God to bee ill spoken of amongst the Nations. It is of this kinde that *Tertullian* meaneth; *Offence or scandall, if I be not deceiued,* saith he, *is when the example not of a good but of an euill thing, doth set men forward vnto sin. Good things can scandalize none saue onely euill minds:* good things haue no scandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of it owne nature either good or at least not euill, may by some accident become scandalous at certaine times, and in certaine places, and to certain men, the open vse thereof neuertheless being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some Rites and Ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did vse, and is in all such as the Law of God doth forbid. Some are offensiue only through the agreement of men to vse them vnto euill, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the Heathens did to the seruice of their false gods; which another in heart condemning their Idolatry, could not doe with them in shew and token of approbation, without being guiltie of scandall giuen. Ceremonies of this kinde are eyther deuised at the first vnto euill; as the Eunomian Heretickes in dishonour of the blessed Trinity, brought in the laying on of water but once, to crosse the custome of the Church, which in Baptisme did it thrice: or else hauing

Mat. 18. 6.

1. *Pet.* 2. 8.

2. *Sam.* 12. 14. *Rom.* 2. 24. *Ezech.* 36. 20.

Tertull. lib. de virgin. veland.

uing had a profitable vse, they are afterwards interpreted & wrested to the contrary; as those Heretikes which held the Trinitie to bee three distinct, not persons, but natures, abused the Ceremonie of three times laying on water in Baptisme, vnto the strengthning of their Heresie. The element of Water is in Baptisme necessary: once to lay iron or twice is indifferent. For which cause *Gregory* making mention thereof, saith, *To dine an Infant either thrice or but once in Baptisme, can be no way a thing reproueable, seeing that both in three times washing, the Trinitie of persons: and in one, the vnitie of the God-head may be signified.* So that of these two Ceremonies, neither being hurtfull in it selfe, both may serue vnto good purpose; yet one was deuised, and the other conuerted vnto euill. Now whereas in the Church of Rome, certaine Ceremonies are said to haue beene shamefully abused vnto euill, as the ceremony of crossing at Baptisme, of kneeling at the Eucharists, of vsing Wafer-cakes, & such like; the question is whether for remedy of that euill, wherein such Ceremonies haue beene scandalous, and perhaps may be still vnto some euen amongst our selues, whom the presence and sight of them may confirme in that former error whereto they serued in times past, they are of necessity to be remoued. Are these or any other Ceremonies wee haue common with the Church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man obiecteth. Are any such, as haue been polluted from their very birth, and instituted euen at the first vnto that thing which is euill? That which hath beene ordained impiously at the first, may weare out that impietie in tract of time; and then what doth let, but that the vse thereof may stand without offence? The names of our Moneths and of our Dayes, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonor vnto God they are said to haue beene deuised at the first. What could be spoken against any thing more effectuall to stirre hatred, then that which sometime the ancient Fathers in this case speake? Yet those very names are at this day in vse throughout Christendome, without hurt or scandall to any. Cleere and manifest it is; that things deuised by Heretickes, yea deuised of a very hereticall purpose euen against Religion, and at their first deuising worthy to haue beene withstood, may in time grow meete to bee kept; as that custome, the Inuenters whereof were the *Eunomian* Heretikes. So that customes once established and confirmed by long vse, being presently without harme, are not in regard of their corrupt originall to be held scandalous. But concerning those our Ceremonies which they reckon for most Popish, they are not able to auouch that any of them was otherwise instituted, then vnto good; yea, so vsed at the first. It followeth then that they all are such, as hauing serued to good purpose, were afterward conuerted vnto the contrary. And sith it is not so much as obiected against vs, that we retaine together with them the euill, wherewith they haue beene infected in the Church of Rome: I would demand who they are whom we scandalize, by vsing harmles things vnto that good end for which they were first instituted. Among our selues that agree in the approbation of this kind of good vse, no man will say that one of vs is offensiue & scandalous vnto another.

Epist. ad Leandrum Hisp.

Hom. 11. de Pasch *Idololatriæ consuetudo in tantum homines occæcauerat, vt Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Iouis, Veneris, Saturni, & diuersis elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent.* Beda de ratione temp. c. 4. *Octauus dies idem, primus est, ad quem redit, indeq; rursus Hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à Planetis, Gentilitas indidit, habere se credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luna Corpus, à Marte Sanguinem, à Mercurio ingenium & Linguam, à Ioue Temperantiam, à Venere Voluptatem, à Saturno Tarditatem.* Isid Hisp. l. 5. Etymol. c. 30. *Dies dicti à Dijs, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam syderibus sacrauerunt.*

As

As for the fauourers of the Church of Rome, they know how farre wee herein differ & diſſent from them; which thing neiher we conceale; and they by their publike writings alſo profeſſe daily how much it grieueth them: ſo that of them there will not many riſe vp againſt vs, as witneſſes vnto the Inditement of ſcandall, whereby we might be condemned and caſt, as hauing ſtrengthned them in that euill wherwith they pollute themſelues in the vſe of the ſame Ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtand the Church of England herein, & hate it becauſe it doth not ſufficiently ſeeme to hate Rome, they (I hope) are far enough from being by this meane drawne to any kind of Popiſh error. The multitude therefore of them, vnto whom we are ſcandalous through the vſe of abuſed Ceremonies, is not ſo apparant, that it can iuſtly be ſaid in generall of any one ſort of men or other, we cauſe them to offend. If it bee ſo that now or then ſome few are eſpied, who hauing beene accuſtomed heretofore to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are not ſo ſcowred of their former ruſt, as to forſake their ancient perſwaſion which they haue had, howſoeuer they frame themſelues to outward obedience of Lawes & Orders; becauſe ſuch may miſconſter the meaning of our Ceremonies and ſo take them as though they were in euery ſort the ſame they haue beene, ſhall this be thought a reaſon ſufficient whereon to conclude, that ſome Law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh al ſuch Ceremonies? They anſwere, that there is no law of God which doth bind vs to retaine them. And S. *Pauls* rule is, that in thoſe things from which without hurt we may lawfully abſtaine, wee ſhould frame the vſage of our libertie with regard to the weakneſſe and imbecillitie of our brethren. Wherefore vnto them which ſtood
1. Cor. 6. 12. vpon their owne defence, ſaying, *All things are lawfull vnto me*; he replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are cleane, all meats are lawfull; but euill vnto that man that eateth offenſiuely. If for thy meates ſake thy brother be grieued, thou walkeſt no longer according to Charitie. Deſtroy
Rom. 14. not him with thy meate, for whom Chriſt died. Diſſolue not for foods ſake
Rom. 15. 1. the worke of God. Wee that are ſtrong, muſt beare the imbecillitie of the impotent, and not pleaſe our ſelues. It was a weakneſſe in the Chriſtian Iewes, and a mayme of iudgement in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meates, which themſelues were afraid to touch, for feare of tranſgreſſing the Law of *Moſes*; yea, hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had iuſt cauſe to feare, leſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianitie, then endure any fellowſhip with ſuch, as made no conſcience of that which was vnto them abominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weake by meates, and of diſſoluing the worke of God, which was his Church, a part of the liuing ſtones whereof were beleeuing Iewes. Now thoſe weake brethren before mentioned are ſaid to be as the Iewes were, and our Ceremonies which haue beene abuſed in the Church of Rome, to be as the ſcandalous meats from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtayne in the preſence of Iewes, for feare of auerting them from Chriſtian faith. Therfore as Charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethrēs ſake, which otherwiſe was lawfull enough for them; ſo it bindeth vs for our brethrens ſake likewiſe to aboliſh ſuch Ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe retaine them. But betweene theſe two caſes there are great oddes. For neither are our weake brethren as the Iewes, nor

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the Ceremonies which we vſe as the meates which the Gētiles vſed. The Iewes were knowne to be generally weake in that reſpect; whereas contrariwiſe the imbecillity of ours is not common vnto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there ſome one be found; and therefore ſeeing we may preſume men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſity that our practice ſhould frame it ſelfe by that which the Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Againe, their vſe of meates was not like vnto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of priuate action in common life, where euery man was free to order that which him ſelf did; but this a publike conſtitution for the ordering of the Church: & we are not to looke that the Church ſhould change her publike Lawes and Ordinances, made according to that which is iudged ordinarily & commonly fitteſt for the whole, although it chāce that for ſome particular men the ſame be found inconuenient, eſpecially when there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconueniences. In this caſe therfore where any priuate harme doth grow, we are not to reiect inſtruction, as being an vnmeete plaſter to apply vnto it; neither can we ſay that he which appointeth Teachers for Phyſicians in this kind of euill, is as if a man *would ſet one to watch a child all day long leſt he ſhould hurt himſelfe with a knife, whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is auoided, and the ſeruice of the man better imployed.* For a knife may be taken away from a childe, without depriuing them of the benefit thereof which haue yeeres and diſcretion to vſe it. But the Ceremonies which children doe abuſe, if we remoue quite and cleane, as it is by ſome repuited that we ſhould; then are they not taken from children onely, but from others alſo; which is as though becauſe children may perhaps hurt themſelues with kniues, we ſhould conclude, that therfore the vſe of kniues is to be taken quite and cleane euen from men alſo. Thoſe particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhall in the next Booke haue occaſion more throughly to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the publike duties of the Church wherenn to each of theſe appertaineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch reaſons to be examined as haue at any time bin brought eyther againſt the one or theo ther. In the meane while againſt the cōueniencie of curing ſuch euils by inſtruction, ſtrange it is that they ſhould obiect the multitude of other neceſſary matters, wherein Preachers may better beſtow their time, than in giuing men warning not to abuſe Ceremonies; a wonder it is that they ſhould obiect this, which haue ſo many yeeres together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning theſe things, and are euen to this very houre ſo earneſt in them, that if they write or ſpeake publikely but fine words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous eſtate of the Church of England in reſpect of abuſed Ceremonies. How much happier had it beene for this whole Church, if they which haue rayſed contention therein about the abuſe of Rites and Ceremonies, had conſidered in due time that there is indeed ſtore of matters fitter and better a great deale for Teachers to ſpend time and labour in; It is through their importunate and vehement aſſeuerations, more then through any ſuch experience which wee haue had of our owne, that wee are enforced to thinke it poſſible for one or other now and then, at leaſt-

Vide Harmon. l. 1. tit. 1. §. 28.

T. C. l. 3. p. 178.

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. It is not ſo conuenient that the Miniſter hauing ſo many neceſſary points to beſtow his time in, ſhould be driuen to ſpend it in giuing warning of not abuſing them, of which (although they were vſed to the beſt) there is profit.

wise in the prime of the Reformation of our Church, to haue ſtumbled at ſome kind of Ceremonies. Wherin for as much as we are contented to take this vpon their credit, and to thinke it may be; ſith alſo they further pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a ſnare to their ſoules, that are at any time taken therein, they muſt giue our Teachers leaue for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules (bee they neuer ſo few) to intermingle ſometime with other more neceſſary things, admonition concerning theſe not vnneceſſary. Wherein they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yeeld this leaue, conſidering that hereunto we ſhal not need to vſe the hundreth part of that time, which themſelues thinke very needfull to beſtow in making moſt bitter Inuectiues againſt the Ceremonies of the Church.

Our Ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches reformed before ours, haue caſt our thoſe things, which wee, notwithſtanding their example to the contrary, doe retaine ſtill.

13 But to come to the laſt point of all, the Church of England is grieuouſly charged with forgetfulneſſe of her dutie, which dutie had beene to frame her ſelfe vnto the patterne of their example, that went before her in the Worke of Refor-

T.C.lib.1.p.133 mation. *For as the Churches of Chriſt ought to be moſt vnlike the Synagogue of Antichriſt in their indifferent Ceremonies; ſo they ought to be moſt like one vnto another and for preſeruation of vnity to haue as much as poſsible may be all the ſame Ceremonies. And therefore* S. Paul *to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth,*

1.Cor.16.1. *That they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poore vpon the firſt day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.* Againe, *as children of one father, and ſeruants of one family, ſo all Churches ſhould not only haue one dyet in that they haue one Word, but alſo weare as it were one Liuery in vſing the ſame Ceremonies.* Thirdly, *this rule did the great*

Can.20. The Canon of that Councell which is here cited doth prouide against kneeling at Prayer on Sundayes, or for fifty dayes after Easter on any day, and not at the Feast of Pentecost onely.

Councel of Nice follow, when it ordained, that where certaine at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt did pray kneeling, they ſhould pray ſtanding; the reaſon whereof is added, which is that one cuſtome ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true that the diuerſity of Ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another: but yet it maketh moſt to the auoyding of diſſention, that there be amongſt them an

T.C.lib.1.pag. 182.183. *vnitie, not onely in Doctrine, but alſo in Ceremonies. And therefore our forme of Seruice is to be amended, not only for that it commeth too neere that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the Reformed Churches.* Being asked to what Churches ours ſhould conforme it ſelfe, & why other Reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelues to ours; their anſwere is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which wee haue better than others, they ought to frame themſelues to vs: if they haue better than wee then wee ought to frame our ſelues to them: if the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould con-*

R°m.16,5,7. *forme themſelues to the firſt, as the yonger daughter to the elder. For as* S. Paul *in the members, where all other things are equall, noteth it for a marke of honour aboue the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpel: ſo is it for the ſame*

1.Cor.14.37. *cauſe amongſt the Churches. And in this reſpect he pincheth the Corinths, that not being the firſt which receiued the Goſpel, yet they would haue their ſeuerall manners from other Churches. Moreouer where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conforme themſelues vnto the moe. For as much therefore as all the Churches* (ſo farre as they know which plead after this manner) *of our confeſſion in Doctrine, agree in the abrogation of diuers things which wee retaine: our Church ought either to ſhew that they haue done euil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that, which ſhe cannot denie to be well abrogated.*

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In this axiome, that preſeruation of peace & vnity amongſt Chriſtiā Churches ſhould be by al good meanes procured, we ioyne moſt willingly & gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that to the auoyding of diſſentiō it auaileth much, that there be amongſt them an vnitie as well in Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The only doubt is about the maner of their vnity, how far Churches are boūd to be vniforme in their ceremonies, & what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the rule which they haue ſet downe is, that in ceremonies in different all Churches ought to be one of them vnto another as like as *poßibly* they may be. Which *poßibly* we cannot otherwiſe conſter, then that it doth require them to be euen as like as they may be, without breaking any Poſitiue Ordinance of God. For the ceremonies wherof we ſpeak, being matter of Poſitiue Law; they are indifferent, if God haue neither himſelfe commanded nor forbidden them, but left them vnto the Churches diſcretion, So that if as great vniformity be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that frō the greateſt vnto the leaſt they muſt be in euery Chriſtian Church the ſame, except meere impoſſibilitie of ſo hauing it be the hindrance. To vs this opinion ſeemeth ouer-extreme & violēt: we rather incline to thinke it a iuſt & reaſonable cauſe for any Church, the ſtate whereof is free & independent, if in theſe things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not iudge it ſo fit and expedient to be framed therin by the patterne of their example, as to be otherwiſe framed thā they. That of *Gregorie* vnto *Leander* is a charitable ſpeech and a peaceable: *In vna fide nil officit Eccleſiæ ſanctæ conſuetudo diuerſa; Where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in cuſtomes of the Church doth noe harme.* That of S. *Auguſtine* to *Caſſulanus* is ſomewhat particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremonies they are wherin one Church may varie from the example of another without hurt: *Let the faith of the whole Church, how wide ſoeuer it haue ſpredit ſelfe, be alwaies one, although the vnitie of beliefe be famous for varietie of certaine ordinances, whereby that which is rightly beleeued, ſuffereth no kinde of let or impediment.* CALVIN goeth further, *As concerning rites in particular, let the ſentence of* AVGVSTINE *take place, which leaueth it free vnto all Churches to receiue their owne cuſtome. Yea, ſometime it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference, leſt men ſhould, thinke that Religion is tyed to outward ceremonies. Alwaies prouided that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches delighted with nouelty, affect to haue that which other haue not.* They which grant it true that the diuerſity of ceremonies in this kind ought not to cauſe diſſention in Churches, muſt either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by theſe words; or if any thing be granted, there muſt as much be yeelded vnto, as we affirme againſt their former ſtrict Aſſertion. For if Churches be vrged by way of duty to take ſuch Ceremonies as they like not of; how can diſſenſion be auoided? will they ſay that there ought to be no diſſentiō, becauſe ſuch as are vrged, ought to like of that wherevnto they are vrged? If they ſay this, they ſay iuſt nothing. For how ſhould any Church like to be vrged of dutie, by ſuch as haue no authority or power ouer it, vnto thoſe things which being indifferēt, it is not of duty bound vnto thē? It is their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe that which Churches are not bound vnto, no man ought by way of duty to vrge vpon them; and if any man do, he ſtandeth in the ſight both of God & men moſt iuſtly blameable, as a

Reſpon. ad Mediam.

needleſſe Diſturber of the Peace of Gods Church, and an Author of Diſſention? In ſaying this, they both condemne their owne practice, when they preſſe the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of dutie in theſe things, and they ouerthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies vniformitie, vnleſſe impoſſibilitie hinder it. For proofe whereof it is not enough to alleage what S. *Paul* did about the matter of collections, or what Noblemen doe in the Liueries of their Seruants, or what the Councell of Nice did for ſtanding in time of Prayer on certaine dayes: becauſe though S. *Paul* did will them of the Church of Corinth euery man to lay vp ſomewhat by him vpon the Sunday, and to reſerue it in ſtore, till himſelfe did come thither, to ſend it vnto the Church of Ieruſalem for reliefe of the Poore there; ſignifying withall that hee had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which hee yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to haue beene that, whereunto his words are writhed. *Concerning collection for the Saints* (hee meaneth them of Ieruſalem) *as I haue giuen order to the Church of Galatia, ſo likewiſe do yee,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that is, in euery firſt of the Weeke let each of you lay aſide by himſelfe, and reſerue according to that which God hath bleſſed him with, that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by Letters, to carrie your beneficence vnto Ieruſalem.* Out of which words, to conclude the dutie of vniformitie throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies, will be very hard, and therefore beſt to giue it ouer. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to giue it ſome kind of countenance more than the next of Liuerie-coats affordeth them. For neither is it any mans dutie to cloath all his Children, or all his Seruants with one Weed; nor theirs to cloath themſelues ſo, if it were left to their owne iudgements, as theſe Ceremonies are left of God to the iudgement of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like diuers Families, than like diuers Seruants of one Familie, becauſe euery Church, the State whereof is independent vpon any other, hath authoritie to appoint Orders for it ſelfe in things indifferent; therefore of two we may rather inferre, that as one Familie is not abridged of libertie to be clothed in Friers Gray, for that another doth weare Clay-Colour, ſo neyther are all Churches bound to the ſelfe-ſame indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh ſundrie to vſe. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but reade it and weight it well. The ancient vſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendome was, for fiftie dayes after Eaſter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecoſt, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them which is Whitſunday bee ſo called) in like ſort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole Yeere their manner was to ſtand at Prayer: whereupon their meetings vnto that purpoſe on thoſe dayes, had the name of *Stations* giuen them. Of which cuſtome *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in this wiſe; *It is not with vs thought fit either to faſt on the Lords Day, or to pray kneeling. The ſame immunitie from faſting and kneeling we keepe all the time which is betweene the Feaſts of Eſter and Pentecoſt.*

T.C.l.1.p.133. And therefore S. *Paul*, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gathering for the Poore vpon the firſt day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordayned in other Churches.

1 *Cor.* 16. 1.

T.C.l.3.p.133. So that as children of one Father, & ſeruants of one Maſter, he will haue all the Churches not only haue one diet, in that they haue one word, but alſo weare as it were one liuerie in vſing the ſame Ceremonies.

T.C.l.3 p. 133. This rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, &c.

Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de geniculis adorare, & ieiunium ſoluere. De Coro. Militu.

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This being therefore an order generally receiued in the Church; when ſome began to bee ſingular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremonie which was then iudged very conuenient for the whole Church euen by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the Councell of Nice thought good to incloſe them againe with the reſt, by a Law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certaine which will needs kneele at the time of Prayer on the Lords day, and in the fiftie dayes after Eaſter, the Holy Synode iudging it meet that a conuenient cuſtome be obſerued throughout all Churches, hath decreed, that ſtanding we make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth thinke conuenient for the whole, the ſame if any part doe wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrayled againe by that generall Authoritie whereunto each particular is ſubiect, and that the Spirit of ſingularitie in a few ought to giue place vnto publike iudgement; this doth cleerely enough appeare: but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in euery indifferent Ceremonie to be vniforme; becauſe where the whole hath not tyed the parts vnto one & the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their owne choice, may either doe, as other do or elſe otherwiſe, without any breach of dutie at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath beene heretofore thought good that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould bee vniforme, the way which they now conceiue to bring this to paſſe was then neuer thought on. For till now it hath beene iudged, that ſeeing the Law of God doth not preſcribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may vſe, & in ſo great variety of them as may be found out, it is not poſſible that the Law of nature and reaſon ſhould direct all Churches vnto the ſame things, each deliberating by it ſelfe what is moſt conuenient: the way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout them all, muſt needes bee the iudgement of ſome iudicial authoritie drawne into one onely ſentence, which may be a rule for euery particular to follow. And becauſe ſuch authoritie ouer all Churches, is too much to be granted vnto any one mortall man; there yet remaineth that which hath beene alwaies followed, as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and ſet downe in the aſſembly of ſome generall Councell. But to maintaine that all Chriſtian Churches ought for vnities ſake to be vniforme in all Ceremonies, & then to teach that the way of bringing this to paſſe muſt be by mutual imitation, ſo that where we haue better Ceremonies the others, they ſhal be bound to follow vs, and wee them where theirs are better: how ſhould wee thinke it agreeable and conſonant vnto reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature there is ſuch varietie of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to thinke that better, which another Church led by other inducements iudgeth to bee worſe: (For example, the Eaſt Church did think it better to keep Eaſter day after the māner of the Iewes, the Weſt Church better to doe otherwiſe; the Greeke Church iudgeth it worſe to vſe vnleauened bread in the Euchariſt, the Latine Church leauened: one Church eſteemeth it not ſo good to receiue the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being on the one ſide probable Motiues as well as on the other) vnleſſe they adde ſomewhat elſe to define more certainly what Ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt, in ſuch ſort

needleſſe Diſturber of the Peace of Gods Church, and an Author of Diſſention? In ſaying this, they both condemne their owne practice, when they preſſe the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of dutie in theſe things, and they ouerthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies vniformitie, vnleſſe impoſſibilitie hinder it. For proofe whereof it is not enough to alleage what S. *Paul* did about the matter of collections, or what Noblemen doe in the Liueries of their Seruants, or what the Councell of Nice did for ſtanding in time of Prayer on certaine dayes: becauſe though S. *Paul* did will them of the Church of Corinth euery man to lay vp ſomewhat by him vpon the Sunday, and to reſerue it in ſtore, till himſelfe did come thither, to ſend it vnto the Church of Ieruſalem for reliefe of the Poore there; ſignifying withall that hee had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which hee yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to haue beene that, whereunto his words are writhed. *Concerning collection for the Saints* (hee meaneth them of Ieruſalem) *as I haue giuen order to the Church of Galatia ſo likewiſe do yee.* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that is, in euery firſt of the Weeke let each of you lay aſide by himſelfe, and reſerue according to that which God hath bleſſed him with, that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by Letters, to carrie your beneficence vnto Ieruſalem.* Out of which words, to conclude the dutie of vniformitie throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies, will be very hard, and therefore beſt to giue it ouer. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to giue it ſome kind of countenance more than the next of Liuerie-coats affordeth them. For neither is it any mans dutie to cloath all his Children, or all his Seruants with one Weed; nor theirs to cloath themſelues ſo, if it were left to their owne iudgements, as theſe Ceremonies are left of God to the iudgement of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like diuers Families, than like diuers Seruants of one Familie, becauſe euery Church, the State whereof is independent vpon any other, hath authoritie to appoint Orders for it ſelfe in things indifferent; therefore of two we may rather inferre, that as one Familie is not abridged of libertie to be clothed in Friers Gray, for that another doth weare Clay-Colour, ſo neyther are all Churches bound to the ſelfe-ſame indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh ſundrie to vſe. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but reade it and weight it well. The ancient vſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendome was, for fiftie dayes after Eaſter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecoſt, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them which is Whitſunday bee ſo called) in like ſort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole Yeere their manner was to ſtand at Prayer: whereupon their meetings vnto that purpoſe on thoſe dayes, had the name of *Stations* giuen them. Of which cuſtome *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in this wiſe; *It is not with vs thought fit either to faſt on the Lords Day, or to pray kneeling. The ſame immunitie from faſting and kneeling we keepe all the time which is betweene the Feaſts of Eſter and Pentecoſt.*

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T.C.l.1.p.133. And therefore S. *Paul*, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poore vpon the firſt day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordayned in other Churches.

1 Cor. 16. 1.

T.C.l.3.p.133. So that as children of one Father, & ſeruants of one Maſter, he will haue all the Churches not only haue one diet, in that they haue one word, but alſo weare as it were one liuerie in vſing the ſame Ceremonies.

T.C.l.3 p. 113. This rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, &c.

Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de geniculis adorare, & ieiunium ſoluere. De Coro. Militu.

This being therefore an order generally receiued in the Church; when ſome began to bee ſingular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremonie which was then iudged very conuenient for the whole Church euen by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the Councell of Nice thought good to incloſe them againe with the reſt, by a Law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certaine which will needs kneele at the time of Prayer on the Lords day, and in the fiftie dayes after Eaſter, the Holy Synode iudging it meet that a conuenient cuſtome be obſerued throughout all Churches, hath decreed, that ſtanding we make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth thinke conuenient for the whole, the ſame if any part doe wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrayled againe by that generall Authoritie whereunto each particular is ſubiect, and that the Spirit of ſingularitie in a few ought to giue place vnto publike iudgement; this doth cleerely enough appeare: but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in euery indifferent Ceremonie to be vniforme; becauſe where the whole hath not tyed the parts vnto one & the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their owne choice, may either doe, as other do or elſe otherwiſe, without any breach of dutie at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath beene heretofore thought good that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould bee vniforme, the way which they now conceiue to bring this to paſſe was then neuer thought on. For till now it hath beene iudged, that ſeeing the Law of God doth not preſcribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may vſe, & in ſo great variety of them as may be found out, it is not poſſible that the Law of nature and reaſon ſhould direct all Churches vnto the ſame things, each deliberating by it ſelfe what is moſt conuenient: the way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout them all, muſt needes bee the iudgement of ſome iudicial authoritie drawne into one onely ſentence, which may be a rule for euery particular to follow. And becauſe ſuch authoritie ouer all Churches, is too much to be granted vnto any one mortall man; there yet remaineth that which hath beene alwaies followed, as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and ſet downe in the aſſembly of ſome generall Councell. But to maintaine that all Chriſtian Churches ought for vnities ſake to be vniforme in all Ceremonies, & then to teach that the way of bringing this to paſſe muſt be by mutual imitation, ſo that where we haue better Ceremonies the others, they ſhal be bound to follow vs, and wee them where theirs are better: how ſhould wee thinke it agreeable and conſonant vnto reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature there is ſuch varietie of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to thinke that better, which another Church led by other inducements iudgeth to bee worſe: (For example, the Eaſt Church did think it better to keep Eaſter day after the māner of the Iewes, the Weſt Church better to doe otherwiſe; the Greeke Church iudgeth it worſe to vſe vnleauened bread in the Euchariſt, the Latine Church leauened: one Church eſteemeth it not ſo good to receiue the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being on the one ſide probable Motiues as well as on the other) vnleſſe they adde ſomewhat elſe to define more certainly what Ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt, in ſuch ſort

that all Churches in the World ſhall know them to be the beſt, and ſo know thē, that there may not remain any queſtion about this point, we are not a whit the neerer for that they haue hitherto ſaid. They themſelues although reſolued in their owne iudgements what Ceremonies are beſt, the foreſeeing that ſuch as they are addicted vnto, be not al ſo cleerly and ſo incomparably beſt, but others there are or may bee at leaſtwiſe when all things are well conſidered as good, knew not which way ſmoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without proui ding ſome more certaine rule to be followed for eſtabliſhment of vniformitie in Ceremonies, when there are diuers kinds of equall goodneſſe; and therefore in this caſe they ſay, that the later Churches & the fewer ſhould conforme themſelues vnto the elder and the moe. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the Reformed Churches (ſō farre as they know) which arē of our confeſſion in Doctrine, haue agreed already in the abrogation of diuers things which we retaine: our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is foūd to be in fault for not conforming her ſelfe to thoſe Churches, in that which ſhe cannot denie to be in them well abrogated. For the authoritie of the firſt Churches, (and thoſe they account to be the firſt in this cauſe which were firſt reformed) they bring the compariſon of yonger Daughters conforming themſelues in attire to the example of their elder Siſters; wherein there is iuſt as much ſtrength of reaſon as in the Liuery Coates before mentioned. S^t. *Paul* they ſay, noteth it for a marke of ſpecial honour, that *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all Achaia which did imbrace the Chriſtian faith; after the ſame ſort he toucheth it alſo as a ſpeciall preheminence of *Iunias* & *Andronicus*, that in Chriſtianitie they were his Ancients; the Corinthians he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the Word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man ſhould thinke that alacritie and forwardneſſe in good things doth adde nothing vnto mens commendation; the two former ſpeeches of S^t. *Paul* might lead him to reforme his iudgement. In like ſort to take downe the ſtomacke of proud cōceited men, that glory as though they were able to ſet al others to ſchoole, there can be nothing more fit than ſome ſuch words as the Apoſtles third ſentence doth containe; wherein he teacheth the Church of Corinth to know, that there was no ſuch great oddes betweene them & the reſt of their brethren, that they ſhould thinke themſelues to be Gold, & the reſt to be but Copper. He therefore vſeth ſpeech vnto them to this effect: *Men inſtructed in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt there both were before you, and are beſides you in the World; yeneyther are the Fountaine from which firſt, nor yet the Riuer into which alone the Word hath flowed.* But although as *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all Achaia, ſo Corinth had beene the firſt Church in the whole World that receiued Chriſt: the Apoſtle doth not ſhew that in any kind of things indifferent whatſoeuer, this ſhould haue made their example a Law vnto all others. Indeed the example of ſundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth ſway much; but yet ſtill as hauing the force of an example onely, and not of a Law. They are effectuall to moue any Church, vnleſſe ſome greater thing doe hinder; but they bind none, no not though they be many; ſauing only when they are the Maior part of a generall Aſſembly, and then their voices being moe in number, muſt ouer-ſway their iudgements who are fewer, becauſe in ſuch caſes the greater halfe

T.C.l.3.p.183. If the Ceremonie, be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelues to the firſt, &c. And againe, The fewer ought to conforme themſelues vnto the moe.

Rom.16.5.

1.Cor.14.36.

halfe is the whole. But as they ſtand out ſingle each of them by it ſelfe, their number can purchaſe them no ſuch Authoritie, that the reſt of the Churches being fewer, ſhould be therefore bound to follow them, & to relinquiſh as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of theſe ſo weake Premiſſes, that the retaining of diuers things in the Church of England, which other reformed Churches haue caſt out, muſt, needs argue that we doe not well, vnleſſe wee can ſhew that they haue done ill; what needed this wreſt to draw out from vs an accuſation of forraine Churches? It is not proued as yet, that if they haue done well, our dutie is to follow them, & to forſake our owne courſe, becauſe it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be aswel for vs euery way, as theirs for them. And if the proofes alleaged for cõfirmation hereof had beene ſound, yet ſeeing they lead no further than onely to ſhew, that where we can haue no better Ceremonies, theirs muſt be taken; as they cannot with modeſtie thinke themſelues to haue found out abſolutely the beſt which the wit of men may deuiſe, ſo liking their owne ſomewhat better than other mens, euen becauſe they are their owne, they muſt in equity allow vs to be like vnto them in this affection: which if they doe, they eaſe vs of that vncourteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemne them, or elſe to follow them. They grant wee need not follow them, if our owne wayes alreadie be better. And if our own be but equal, the Law of common Indulgence alloweth vs to thinke them at the leaſt halfe a thought the better, becauſe they are our owne; which wee may very well doe, and neuer draw any Inditement at all againſt theirs, but thinke commendably euen of them alſo.

T.C.l. 3. *p.* 183. Our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that which ſhe cannot denie to be well abrogated.

14 To leaue reformed Churches therfore and their actions for him to iudge of, in whoſe ſight they are, as they are, & our deſire is that they may euen in his ſight bee found ſuch, as wee ought to endeuour by all meanes that our owne may likewiſe bee: ſomewhat wee are enforced to ſpeake by way of ſimple Declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in theſe affaires to the end that men whoſe mindes are free from thoſe partiall conſtructions, whereby the only name of difference from ſome other Churches is thought cauſe ſufficient to condemne ours, may the better diſcerne whether that wee haue done bee reaſonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her receiued Lawes concerning ſuch Orders, Rites and Ceremonies, as had beene in former times an hinderance vnto Pietie and Religious Seruice of God, was to enter into conſideration firſt, that the change of Lawes, eſpecially concerning matter of Religion, muſt bee warily proceeded in. Lawes, as all other things humane, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is ſuppoſed behoofefull vnto men, prooueth oftentimes moſt pernicious. The wiſedome which is learned by tract of time, findeth the Lawes that haue beene in former Ages eſtabliſht, needfull in later to bee abrogated. Beſides, that which ſometime is expedient, doth not alwayes ſo continue: and the number of needleſſe Lawes vnabroliſht, doth weaken the force of them that are neceſſarie. But true withall it is, that alteration, though it be from worſe to better, hath in it inconueniences and thoſe waightie; vnleſſe it bee in ſuch Lawes as haue beene made vpon ſpeciall occaſions, which occaſions ceaſing, Lawes of that kind doe abrogate themſelues. But when we abrogate a Law as being ill made,

A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for eſtabliſhment of things as they are.

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the whole cauſe for which it was made ſtill remayning; do we not herein reuoke our very owne deed, and vpbraid our ſelues with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with ouer-ſight and with error? Further, if it be a Law which the cuſtome and continuall practice of many ages or yeeres hath confirmed in the mindes of men, to alter it, muſt needs be troubleſome and ſcandalous. It amazeth them, it cauſeth them to ſtand in doubt, whether any thing be in it ſelfe by nature either good or euil, & not all things rather ſuch as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold euen thoſe things diſproued, diſanulled, reiected, which vſe had made in a manner naturall. What haue we to induce men vnto the willing obedience and obſeruation of Lawes, but the waight of ſo many mens iudgement, as haue with deliberate aduice aſſented thereunto; the waight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with conſent and good liking? So that to change any ſuch Law, muſt needs with the common ſort impaire & weaken the force of thoſe grounds, whereby all Lawes are made effectuall. Notwithſtanding, we doe not deny alteration of Lawes to be ſometimes a thing neceſſarie; as when they are vnnaturall, or impious, or otherwiſe hurtfull vnto the publike communitie of men, and againſt that good for which humane ſocieties were inſtituted. When the Apoſtles of our Lord and Sauiour were ordayned to alter the Lawes of Heathenish religion receiued throughout the whole world; choſen I grant they were (*Paul* excepted) the reſt ignorant, poore, ſimple, vn-ſchooled altogether and vnlettered men, howbeit extraordinarily indued with ghoſtly wiſedome from aboue before they euer vndertooke this enterpriſe, yea, their authoritie confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainely appeare that they were the Lords Ambaſſadors, vnto whoſe Soueraigne power for all fleſh to ſtoope, for all the Kingdomes of the earth to yeeld themſelues willingly cõformable in whatſoeuer ſhould be required, it was their duetie. In this caſe therefore their oppoſitions in maintenance of publique ſuperſtition againſt Apoſtolique endeuours, as that they might not condemne the wayes of their ancient Predeceſſors, that they muſt keepe *Religiones traditas*, the rites which from Age to Age had deſcended, that the ceremonies of Religion had beene euer accounted by ſo much holyer as elder; theſe and the like allegations in this caſe were vaine and friuolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of ſuch Lawes as haue beene ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the euidence that they are ſuch muſt be great. If we haue neither voyce from heauen that ſo pronounceth of them; neither ſentence of men grounded vpon ſuch manifeſt and cleere proofe, that they in whoſe hands it is to alter them may likewiſe infallibly euen in heart and conſcience iudge them ſo; vpon neceſſitie to vrge alteration, is to trouble and diſturbe without neceſſitie. As for arbitrarie alterations, when Lawes in themſelues not ſimply bad or vnmeete are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better deuiſed be but ſmall, ſith the cuſtome of eaſineſſe to alter and change is ſo euill, no doubt but to beare a tolerable ſore, is better then to venter on a dangerous remedie. Which being generally thought vpon, as a matter that touched neerely their whole enterpriſe; whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſarie, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receiue by a number of things then in

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vſe, wherupon a great deale of that which had bin, was now to be taken away & remoued out of the Church; yet ſith there are diuers waies of abrogating things eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut off preſently ſuch things, as might in that ſort bee extinguiſhed without danger, leauing the reſt to bee aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure thereof, Rites and Ceremonies, and other external things of like nature beeing hurtfull vnto the Church, eyther in reſpect of their qualitie, or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what ſhould be done, their deliberatiõ in the later was more hard. And therfore in as much as they did reſolue to remoue only ſuch things of that kind as the Church might beſt ſpare, retayning the reſidue; their whole counſell is in this point vtterly condemned, as hauing eyther proceeded from the blindnes of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honour and glory, or from an erronious opinion that ſuch things might bee tolerated for a while, or if it did proceed (as they which would ſeeme moſt fauourable, are content to thinke it poſſible) from a purpoſe *partly the eaſilier to draw Papiſts vnto the Goſpell*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeeme peace thereby, the breach whereof they might feare would enſue vpon more thorow alteration*, or howſoeuer it came to paſſe, the thing they did is iudged euill. But ſuch is the lot of all that deale in publike affaires, whether of Church or Common-wealth, that which men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doings being it good or ill, they muſt beforehand patiently arme their minds to indure. Wherfore to let go priuate ſurmiſes, whereby the thing in it ſelfe is not made either better or worſe, if iuſt & allowable reaſons might lead them to do as they did, then are all theſe cẽſures fruſtrate. Touching ceremonies harmeles therefore in thẽſelues, & hurtful only in reſpect of number, was it amiſſe to decree, that thoſe things which were leaſt needful & newlieſt come ſhould be the firſt that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of Saints daies & of other the like cuſtomes it appeareth they did, till afterwards the forme of Common Prayer being perfited, Articles of ſound Religion & Diſcipline agreed vpõ, Catechiſmes framed for the needful inſtruction of youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burthenſome to the people, or to the ſimple offenſiue and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length vnto that wherein now we ſtand? Or was it amiſſe, that hauing this way eaſed the Church as they thought of ſuperfluity, they wẽt on til they had pluckt vp euen thoſe things alſo, which had taken a great deale ſtronger & deeper root, thoſe things which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harme thereby ariſing, had beene to alter vnneceſſarily (in their iudgements) the ancient receiued cuſtome of the whole Church, the vniuerſall practice of the people of God, & thoſe very decrees of our Fathers, which were not only ſet downe by agreement of generall Councels, but had accordingly bin put in vre, & ſo continued in vſe till that very time preſent? True it is that neither Councels nor cuſtomes, be they neuer ſo ancient and ſo generall, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtfull to be retained. Where things haue beene inſtituted, which being conuenient and good at the firſt, doe afterward in proceſſe of time waxe otherwiſe; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea though Councels or Cuſtomes General haue receiued them. And therefore it is but a needles kind

T.C.l.2.p.19. It may wel be, their purpoſe was by that temper of Poiſh Ceremonies with the Goſpel, partly the eaſilier to draw the Papiſts to the Goſpell, &c. partly to redeeme peace thereby.

T.C.l.3.p.33.

kind of oppoſition which they make who thus diſpute, *If in thoſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerued of the Church, which is the cuſtome of the people of God & decree of our forefathers, then how can theſe things at any time be varied*, which heretofore haue beene once ordained in ſuch ſort? Wherto we ſay, that things ſo ordayned are to bekept howbeit not neceſſarily, any longer, then till there grow ſome vrgent cauſe to ordaine the contrarie. For there is not any Poſitiue Law of men, whether it be generall or particular, receiued by formall expreſſe conſent, as in Councels; or by ſecret approbation, as in cuſtomes it commeth to paſſe, but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerue. Euen as we al know, that many things kept generally heretofore, are now in like ſort generally vnkept and aboliſhed euery where. Notwithſtanding till ſuch things be aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the iudgement of S. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, that, Of things harmeleſſe whatſoeuer there is, which the whole Church doth obſerue throughout the world, to argue for any mans immunitie from obſeruing the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madnes? And ſurely, odious it muſt needs haue bin for one Chriſtian Church, to aboliſh that which all had receiued and held for the ſpace of many ages, & that without any detriment vnto Religion ſo manifeſt and ſo great, as might in the eyes of vnpartiall men appeare ſufficient to cleere them from all blame of raſh & inconſiderate proceeding, if in feruor of zeale they had remoued ſuch things. Wheras cõtrariwiſe ſo reaſonable moderation herin vſed, hath freed vs frõ being deſeruedly ſubiect vnto that bitter kind of obloquy, wherby as the Church of Rome doth vnder the color of loue towards thoſe things which be harmleſſe maintaine extremely moſt hurtfull corruptions; ſo wee peraduenture might be vpbrayded, that vnder colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are, on the other ſide as extreme, euen againſt moſt harmeleſſe Ordinances. And as they are obſtinate to retaine that, which no man of any cõſcience is able well to defend: ſo we might be reckoned fierce and violent, to teare away that which if our owne mouthes did condemne, our conſciences would ſtorme and repine thereat. The Romans hauing baniſhed *Tarquinius* the Proud, & taken a ſolemne oath that they neuer would permit any man more to reigne, could not herewith content themſelues, or thinke that tyrannie was throughly extinguiſhed, till they had driuen one of their Conſuls to depart the Citie, againſt whom they found not in the world what to obiect, ſauing only that his name was *Tarquine*, & that the Cõmon-wealth could not ſeeme to haue recouered perfect freedome, as long as a man of ſo dangerous a name was left remayning. For the Church of England to haue done the like, in caſting out Papall tyrannie & ſuperſtition, to haue ſhewed greater willingnes of accepting the very Ceremonies of the Turke, Chriſts profeſſed enemy, than of the moſt indifferẽt things which the Church of Rome approueth: to haue left not ſo much as the names which the Church of Rome doth giue vnto things innocent: to haue eiected whatſoeuer that Church doth make account of, be it neuer ſo harmeleſſe in it ſelfe, and of neuer ſo ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, thẽ onely that it hath beene the hap thereof to be vſed by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the Word of God: this kinde of proceeding might haply haue pleaſed ſome few men, who hauing begunne ſuch a courſe themſelues,

T.C.lib.3.p.30.

Aug. ep.118.

T.C.lib.1.p.131. For indeede it were more ſafe for vs to conforme our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turkes which are far off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo neere.

ſelues muſt needes bee glad to ſee their example followed by vs. But the Almightie which giueth wiſdome, and inſpireth with right vnderſtanding whomſoeuer it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which mans wit had neuer beene able to reach vnto, namely, what Tragedies the attempt of ſo extreme alteration would raiſe in ſome parts of the Chriſtian World, did for the endleſſe good of his Church (as we cannot chuſe but interpret it) vſe the bridle of his prouident reſtrayning hand, to ſtay thoſe eager affections in ſome, and to ſettle their reſolution vpon a courſe more calme and moderate; leſt as in other moſt ample and heretofore moſt flouriſhing Dominions it hath ſince falne out, ſo likewiſe if in ours it had come to paſſe, that the aduerſe part being inraged, and betaking it ſelfe to ſuch practices as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to deſperate extremities, and no hope leſt to ſee any other end than onely the vtter oppreſſion and cleane extinguiſhment of one ſide; by this meane Chriſtendome flaming in all parts of greateſt importance at ance, they all had wanted that comfort of mutuall reliefe, whereby they are now for the time ſuſtained (and not the leaſt by this our Church which they ſo much impeach) till mutual combuſtions, bloud-ſheds & waſtes (becauſe no other inducements will ſerue) may enforce them through very faintnes, after the experience of ſo endleſſe miſeries, to enter on al ſides at the length into ſome ſuch conſultation, as may tend to the beſt re-eſtabliſhment of the whole Church of Ieſus Chriſt. To the ſingular good whereof it cannot but ſerue as a profitable direction, to teach men what is moſt likely to prooue auailable, when they ſhal quietly conſider the tryall that hath beene thus long had of both kinds of Reformation, as wel this moderate kind which the Church of England hath taken as that other more extreme & riogorus which certaine Churches elſe where haue better liked. In the meane while it may be, that ſuſpence of iudgement and exerciſe of charitie were ſafer and ſeemelier for Chriſtian men, than the hote purſuite of theſe Controuerſies, wherein they that are more feruent to diſpute, bee not alwayes the moſt able to determine. But who are on his ſide and who againſt him, our Lord in his good time ſhall reueale. And ſith thus farre we haue proceeded in opening the things that haue beene done, let not the principall doers thē ſelues be forgotten. When the ruines of the houſe of God (that houſe which conſiſting of religious Soules, is moſt immediatly the precious Temple of the Holy Ghoſt) were become not in his ſight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world ſo exceeding great, that very Superſtition began euen to feele it ſelfe too farre growne: the firſt that with vs made way to repaire the decayes thereof by beheading Superſtition, was King *Henry* the Eight. The Sonne and Succeſſor of which famous King, as we know, was *Edward* the Saint: in whom (for ſo by the euent we may gather) it pleaſed God Righteous and Iuſt to let England ſee, what a bleſſing ſinne and iniquitie would not ſuffer it to enioy. Howbeit that which the Wiſeman hath ſayd concerning *Enoch* (whoſe dayes were, though many in reſpect of ours, yet ſcarce, as three to nine in compariſon of theirs with whom he liued) the ſame to that admirable Child moſt worthily may be applied, *Though He departed this World ſoone, yet fulfilled He much time.* But what enſued? That worke, which the one in ſuch ſort had begun, and the other ſo farre proceeded in, was in ſhort ſpace ſo ouerthrowne, as if almoſt it had

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neuer beene: till ſuch time as that God, whoſe property is to ſhew his mercies then greateſt when they are neereſt to be vtterly deſpaired of, cauſed in the depth of diſcomfort and darkneſſe a moſt glorious Starre to ariſe, and on her head ſettled the Crowne, whom himſelfe had kept as a Lambe from the ſlaughter of thoſe bloudy times, that the experience of his goodnes in her owne deliuerance, might cauſe her merciſull diſpoſition to take ſo much the more delight in ſauing others, whom the like neceſſitie ſhould preſſe. What in this behalfe hath beene done towards Nations abroad, the parts of Chriſtendome moſt afflicted can beſt teſtifie. That which eſpecially concerneth our ſelues in the preſent matter we treat of, is the ſtate of reformed Religion, at thing at Her comming to the Crowne, euen raiſed as it were by miracle from the dead, a thing which we ſo little hoped to ſee, that euen they which beheld it done, ſcarcly beleeued their owne ſenſes at the firſt beholding. Yet being then brought to paſſe, thus many yeeres it hath continued, ſtanding by no other wordly meane but that one only hand which erected it, that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cauſe at the firſt to with-hold it ſelfe, ſo neither haue the practices ſo many, ſo bloudie following ſince, beene euer able to make weary. Nor can we ſay in this caſe ſo iuſtly, that *Aaron* and *Hur* the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill States haue ſuſtained the hand which did liſt it ſelfe to Heauen for them; as that Heauen it ſelfe hath by this hand ſuſtained them, no aide or helpe hauing thereunto beene miniſtred for performance of the worke of reformation, other than ſuch kind of helpe or aide as the Angell in the Prophet *Zacharie* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neither by an Army nor ſtrength, but by my Spirit, ſayth the Lord of Hoſtes.* Which grace and fauour of Diuine aſſiſtance, hauing not in one thing or two ſhewed it ſelfe, nor for ſome few dayes or yeeres appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſinnes and tranſgreſſions ſtriuing to the contrary; what can wee leſſe thereupon conclude, than that God would at leaſt wiſe by tract of time teach the World, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth ſo ſtrangely, cannot chooſe but be of him? Wherefore if any refuſe to beleeue vs diſputing for the veritie of Religion eſtabliſhed, let them beleeue God himſelfe thus miraculouſly working for it, and wiſh life euen for euer and euer vnto that Glorious and Sacred Inſtrument whereby he worketh.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

By RICHARD HOOKER.

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1632.

TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTERBVRY *His* GRACE, *Primate and* Metropolitane of all ENGLAND.

MOST *Reuerend in Chriſt, the long continued, and more then ordinary fauour, which hitherto your Grace hath been pleaſed to ſhew towards me, may iuſtly claime at my hands ſome thankefull acknowledgement thereof. In which conſideration, as alſo for that I embrace willingly the auncient receiued courſe, and conueniencie of that Diſcipline, which teacheth inferiour degrees and orders in the Church of God, to ſubmit their writings to the ſame authoritie, from which their allowable dealings whatſoeuer, in ſuch affaires, muſt receiue approbation, I nothing feare but that your accuſtomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of theſe my ſimple and meane labours, beſtowed for the neceſſary iuſtification of lawes heretofore made queſtionable, becauſe, as I take it, they were not perfectly vnderſtood. For ſurely, I can not finde any great cauſe of iuſt complaint, that good lawes haue ſo much been wanting vnto vs, as we to them. To ſeeke*

reformation of euill lawes is a commendable endeuour, but for vs the more neceſſary is a ſpeedy redreſſe of our ſelues. We haue on all ſides loſt much of our firſt feruency towards God; & therefore concerning our own degenerated waies, we haue reaſon to exhort with S. Gregorie, ὁ πάρ᾽ ἡμῶν γενώμεθα

Gre. Naz. Let vs returne againe vnto that which wee ſometime were: *but touching the exchange of Lawes in practice, with Lawes in deuice, which, they ſay, are better for the ſtate of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cauſe we finde to conclude* μέσωμενοὁπερ ἐσμεν, although we continue the ſame we are, the harme is not great. *Theſe feruent reprehenders of thigns eſtabliſhed by publique authoritie, are alwaies cõfident & bold ſpirited men. But their confidẽce for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit giuen to their owne wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldome free from errours. The errours which we ſeeke to reforme in this kind of men, are ſuch as both receiued at your owne hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent, haue beene proceeded in with that moderation, which vſeth by patience to ſuppreſſe boldneſſe, and to make them conquer that ſuffer. Wherein conſidering the nature and kinde of theſe controuerſies, the dangerous ſequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many waies wee haue beene thereby taught wiſedome, I may boldly auerre concerning the firſt, that at the waightieſt conflicts the Church hath had, were thoſe which touched the head, the perſon of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the next of importance, thoſe queſtions, which are at this day betweene vs and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the Church of God, ſo theſe which*

haue

haue laſtly ſprung vp for complements, rites and ceremonies of Church actions, are in truth for the greateſt part ſuch ſilly things, that very eaſineſſe doth make them hard to bee diſputed of in ſerious manner. Which alſo may ſeeme to be the cauſe, why diuers of the Reuerend Prelacie, and other moſt iudicious men, haue eſpecially beſtowed their paines about the matter of juriſdiction. Notwithſtanding led by your Graces example, my ſelfe haue thought it conuenient to wade through the whole cauſe, following that method, which ſearcheth the truth by the cauſes of truth. Now, if any maruaile, how a thing in it ſelfe ſo weak, could import any great danger, they muſt conſider not ſo much how ſmall the ſparke is that flieth vp, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politike, being ſubiect as much as naturall, to diſſolution, by diuers meanes, there are vndoubtedly moe eſtates ouerthrowne through diſeaſes, bred within themſelues, then through violence from abroad, becauſe our manner is allwayes to caſt a doubtfull and a more ſuſpicious eye towards that, ouer which we know we haue leaſt power; and therefore, the feare of externall dangers, cauſeth forces at home to be the more vnited, it is to all ſorts a kind of bridle, it maketh vertuous mindes watchfull, it holdeth contrary diſpoſitions in ſuſpence, and it ſetteth thoſe wits on worke in better things, which could bee elſe imployed in worſe; whereas on the other ſide, domeſticall euils, for that we thinke wee can maſter them at all times, are often permitted to runne on forward, till it bee too late to recall them. In the meane while the Common-wealth is not onely through vnſoundneſſe ſo farre impaired, as thoſe euils chance to preuaile; but farther alſo

through oppoſition ariſing betweene the vnſound parts and the ſound, where each endeuoureth to draw euermore contrary wayes, till deſtruction in the end bring the whole to ruine. To reckon vp how many cauſes there are by force whereof diuiſions may grow in a Common-wealth, is not here neceſſarie. Such as riſe from varietie in matter of Religion, are not onely the farthest ſpred, becauſe in Religion all men preſume themſelues intereſſed alike; but they are alſo for the moſt part hotlier proſecuted and purſued then other ſtrifes, forasmuch as coldeneſſe, which in other contentions may be thought to proceede from moderation, is not in theſe ſo fauourably conſtrued. The part which in this preſent quarrell ſtriueth againſt the current and ſtreame of Lawes, was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt contented not to call to minde how errours haue their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reaſon whereupon they would ſeeme built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancie which is caſt towards them, and proceedeth from other cauſes. For there are diuers motiues, drawing men to fauour mightily thoſe opinions, wherein their perſwaſions are but weakely ſettled: and if the paſſions of the minde be ſtrong, they eaſily ſophiſticate the vnderſtanding, they make it apt to beleeue vpon very ſlender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where ſcarce any probable ſhew appeareth. Thus were thoſe poore ſeduced creatures Hacquet, *and his other two adherents, whom I can neither ſpeake nor thinke of, but with much commiſeration and pitie, thus were they trained by faire wayes firſt, accompting their owne extraordinary loue to this Diſcipline, a token of Gods more then ordinarie loue towards them;*

them: from hence they grew to a ſtrong conceite, that God which had moued them to loue his Diſcipline; more then the common ſort of men did, might haue a purpoſe by their meanes to bring a wonderfull work to paſſe, beyond all mens expectation, for the aduancement of the throne of diſcipline by ſome tragicall execution, with the particularities wherof it was not ſafe for their friends to be made acquainted, of whom, they did therefore but couertly demaund what they thought of extraordinary motions of the ſpirit in theſe dayes, and withall requeſt to be commended vnto God by their Prayers, whatſoeuer ſhould be vndertaken by men of God, in meere zeale to his glory, and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this vnuſuall and ſtrange courſe they went on forward, till God, in whoſe heauieſt worldly iudgements, I nothing doubt, but that there may lye hidden mercie, gaue them ouer to their owne inuentions, and left them made in the end an example for head-ſtrong and inconſiderate zeale, no leſſe fearefull then Achitophell, *for proud and irreligious wiſedome. If a ſparke of errour haue thus farre preuailed, falling euen where the wood was greene, and fartheſt off to all mens thinking, from any inclination vnto furious attempts, muſt not the perill thereof be greater in men, whoſe minds are of themſelues as dry fewell, apt before-hand vnto tumults, ſeditions and broyles? But by this we ſee in a cauſe of Religion, to how deſperate aduentures men will ſtraine themſelues for reliefe of their owne part, hauing law & authority againſt them. Furthermore, let not any man think, that in ſuch diuiſions, either part can free it ſelfe from inconueniencies, ſuſtained not only through a kind of Truce, which vertue on both ſides doth make*

with

with vice, during warre betweene truth and errour; but also in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministred for men to purchase themselues to wel-willers by the colour, vnder which they oftentimes prosecute quarels of enuie or inueterate malice, and especially because contentions were as yet neuer able to preuent two euils, the one a mutuall exchange of vnseemely and vniust disgraces, offered by men whose tongues and passions are out of rule, the other, a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by such as study how to work vpon all occurrents, with most aduantage in priuate. I denie not therefore, but that our Antagonists in these controuersies may peraduenture haue met with some, not vnlike to Ithacius, *who mightily bending himselfe by all meanes against the heresie of* Priscillian, *the hatred of which one euill was all the vertue he had, became so wise in the end, that euery man, carefull of vertuous conuersation, studious of Scripture, and giuen vnto any abstinence in diet, was set downe in his Kalender of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it should be expedient to approue their soundnesse of faith by a more licentious and loose behauiour. Such Proctors and Patrons the truth might spare. Yet is not their grossenesse so intollerable, as on the contrarie side, the scurrilous and more then Satyricall immodestie of Martinisme, the first published schedules whereof, being brought to the hands of a graue, and a very Honourable Knight, with signification giuen, that the Booke would refresh his spirits, he tooke it, saw what the title was, reade ouer an vnsauorie sentence or two, and deliuered backe the Libell with this answere,* I am sorie you are of the minde to bee solaced with these sports, and sorrier you haue herein thought mine affection

Sulp. Seuer. Epist. hist. Eccl.

fection to bee like your owne. *But as theſe ſores on all hands lie open, ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God haue beeue more ſoftly and cloſely giue. It being perceiued that the plot of Diſcipline did not onely bend it ſelfe to reforme ceremonies, but ſeeke farther to erect a popular authoritie of Elders, and to take awvy Epiſcopall iuriſdiction, together with all other ornaments & meanes, whereby any difference or inequalitie is vpheld in the Eccleſiaſticall order, towards this deſtructiue part, they haue found many helping hands, diuers although peraduenture not willing to be yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to vphold oppoſition againſt Biſhops, not without greater hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings in the buſines of God & her Maieſties ſeruice, then otherwiſe much more waighty aduerſaries had been able by their owne power to haue brought to paſſe. Men are naturally better contented to haue their coõmendable actions ſuppreſt, then the contrary much diuulged. And becauſe the wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cãnot lay hold on at once but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoeuer, ſundry other in the meane time may eſcape them vnperceied; therfore if men deſirous to haue their vertues noted, doe in this reſpect grieue at the fame of others, whoſe glory obſcureth and darkneth theirs, it cãnot be choſen but that whẽ the eares of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamatiõs againſt abuſes in the Church, theſe tunes come alwaies moſt acceptable to thẽ, whoſe odious & corrupt dealings in ſecular affaires, both paſſe by that meane the more couertly, & whatſoeuer happen doe alſo the leaſt feele that*

ſcourge

ſcourge of vulgar imputatiõ, which notwithſtãding they moſt deſerue. All this conſidered, as behooueth, the ſequele of duty on our part is onely that, which our Lord and Sauiour requireth, harmleſſe diſcretion, the wiſdome of Serpents tempered with the innocent meeknes of doues. For this world will teach them wiſedome that haue capacitie to apprehend it. Our wiſdome in this caſe muſt be ſuch, as doth not propoſe to it ſelfe τὸ ἴδιον *our owne particular, the partial & immoderate deſire wherof poiſoneth whereſoeuer it taketh place: but the ſcope & marke which we are to aime at, is* τὸ κοινὸν *the publike and common good of all, for the eaſier procurement whereof our diligence muſt ſearch out all helps & furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, counſels, fathers, hiſtories, the lawes and practices of all Churches, the mutuall conference of all mens collections and obſeruations may afford, our induſtrie muſt euen anatomize euery particle of that body, which wee are to vphold ſound, & becauſe, be it neuer ſo true which we teach the world to beleeue, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a ſmall thing perſwadeth them to change their opinions, it behooueth that we vigilantly note and preuent by all meanes thoſe euils, whereby the hearts of men are loſt, which euils for the moſt part being perſonall, do arme in ſuch ſort the aduerſaries of God and his Church againſt vs, that if through our too much neglect and ſecurity the ſame ſhould runne on, ſoone might we feele our eſtate brought to thoſe lamentable termes, whereof this hard and heauy ſentence was by one of the ancients vttered vpon like occaſions,* Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, ſacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu ſtare non poterit, *But the gracious prouidence of Almightie God*

Leg. Carol. Mag. fo. 421.

hath

hath, I truſt, put theſe thornes of contradiction in our ſides, leſt that ſhould ſteale vpon the Church in a ſlumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his aſsiſtance may be turned away from vs bending thereunto our ſelues with conſtancie, conſtancie in labour to doe all men good, conſtancie in prayer vnto God for all men, her eſpecially, whoſe ſacred power matched with incomparable goodnes of nature, hath hitherto beene Gods moſt happy inſtrument, by him miraculouſly kept for workes of ſo miraculous preſeruation and ſafetie vnto others; that as By the ſword of God and Gedeon, *was ſometime the cry of the people Iſraell, ſo it might deſeruedly be at this day the ioyfull ſong of innumerable multitudes, yea the Embleme of ſome Eſtates and Dominions, in the world, and (which muſt bee eternally confeſt euen with teares of thankefulnes) the true inſcription, ſtile or title of all Churches as yet ſtanding within this Realme,* By the goodneſſe of Almightie God Iud. 7. 20.
and his ſeruant Elizabeth we are. *That God, who is able to make moralitie immortall, giue her ſuch future continuance as may be no leſſe glorious vnto all proſperitie, then the dayes of her regiment paſt haue beene happy vnto our ſelues, and for his moſt deare annoynteds ſakes, grant them all proſperitie, whoſe labours, cares, and counſels, vnfainedly are referred to her endleſſe welfare, through his vnſpeakable mercy, vnto whom we all owe euerlaſting praiſe. In which deſire I will here reſt, humbly beſeeching your Grace, to pardon my great boldneſſe, and God to multiply his bleſſings vpon them that feare his name.*

Your Graces in all dutie,

Richard Hooker.

OF THE LAVVES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The fifth Booke,

Of their fourth Assertion, that touching the seuerall publike duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst vs much *Superstition retayned in them; and concerning persons which for* performance of those duties are indued with the power of Ecclesiasticall Order, our Lawes and proceedings according thereunto *are many wayes herein also corrupted.*

The matter contained in this fifth Booke.

1 *TRue Religion is the Root of all true Vertues, and the stay of all well-ordered Common-wealths.*
2 *The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheisme.*
3 *Of Superstition and the root thereof, either misguided zeale, or ignorant feare of diuine Glorie.*
4 *Of the redresse of Superstition in Gods Church, and concerning the question of this Booke.*
5 *Foure generall Propositions demanding that which may reasonably bee granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exercise of true Religion. And fiftly, Of a Rule, not safe, nor reasonable in these cases.*
6 *The first Proposition touching iudgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church Affaires.*
7 *The second Proposition.*
8 *The third Proposition.*
9 *The fourth Proposition.*
10 *The rule of mens priuate Spirits, not safe in these cases to be followed.*
11 *Places for the publike Seruice of God.*
12 *The solemnitie of erecting Churches, condemned; the hallowing and dedicating of them, scorned by the Aduersarie.*
13 *Of the names, whereby we distinguish our Churches.*
14 *Of the fashion of our Churches.*

15 *The ſumptuouſneſſe of Churches.*
16 *What holineſſe and vertue we aſcribe to the Church, more then other places.*
17 *Their pretence that would haue Churches vtterly razed.*
18 *Of publike teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kind thereof, Catechizing.*
19 *Of preaching, by reading publikely the Bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed vntruths in thoſe Tranſlations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.*
20 *Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning Bookes Apocryphall.*
21 *Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons bee the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods Truth.*
22 *What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading alſo.*
23 *Of Prayer.*
24 *Of publike Prayer.*
25 *Of the forme of Common Prayer.*
26 *Of them, which like not to haue any ſet forme of Common Prayer.*
27 *Of them, who allowing a ſet forme of Prayer, yet allow not ours.*
28 *The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papiſts, too farre different from that of other Reformed Churches, as they pretend.*
29 *Attire belonging to the Seruice of God.*
30 *Of geſture in praying, and of different places, choſen to that purpoſe.*
31 *Eaſineſſe of prayer after our forme.*
32 *The length of our Seruice.*
33 *In ſtead of ſuch Prayers, as the Primitiue Churches haue vſed, and thoſe that be reformed now vſe, wee haue (ſay they) diuers ſhort cuts, or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes then Prayers.*
34 *Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.*
35 *The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords Prayer.*
36 *The peoples ſaying after the Miniſter.*
37 *Our manner of reading of Pſalmes, otherwiſe then the reſt of the Scripture.*
38 *Of Muſique with Pſalmes.*
39 *Of ſinging or ſaying Pſalmes, and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and the Miniſter anſwer one another by courſe.*
40 *mf* Magnificat, Benedictus, *and* Nunc dimittis.
41 *Of the Letanie.*
42 *Of* Athanaſius *Creed, and* Gloria Patri.
43 *Our want of particular Thankſgiuing.*
44 *In ſome things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, is vnſound.*
45 *When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdome of Heauen vnto all Beleeuers.*
46 *Touching Prayer for deliuerance from ſuddaine death.*
47 *Prayer for thoſe things, which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske, God, for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would vouchſafe to grant.*
48 *Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie.*
49 *Prayer that all men may find mercie, and of the will of God, that all men might be ſaued.*

50 *Of*

50 Of the name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes, to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.
51 That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall incarnation of the Sonne, who is very God.
52 The miſinterpretations, which Hereſie hath made, of the manner, how God and Man are vnited in one Chriſt.
53 That by the vnion of the one, with the other nature in Chriſt, there groweth neither gaine nor loſſe of eſſentiall properties to either.
54 What Chriſt hath obtained according to the fleſh, by the vnion of his fleſh with the Deitie.
55 Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt euery where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted he is euery where preſent according to the fleſh.
56 The vnion or mutuall participation, which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt, in this preſent World.
57 The neceſſitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Chriſt.
58 The ſubſtance of Baptiſme, the rites or ſolemnities thereunto belonging, and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſme may giue place to neceſſitie.
59 The ground in Scripure, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward Baptiſme hath bin built.
60 What kind of neceſſitie in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeed is.
61 What things in Baptiſme haue beene diſpenſed with by the Fathers reſpecting neceſſitie.
62 Whether Baptiſme by Women, be true Baptiſme, good, and effectuall, to them that receiue it.
63 Of interrogatories in Baptiſme, touching faith, & the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.
64 Interrogatories propoſed vnto Infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered, as in their names by God-fathers.
65 Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.
66 Of Confirmation after Baptiſme.
67 Of the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt.
68 Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.
69 Of Feſtiuall dayes, and the naturall cauſes of their conuenient Inſtitution.
70 The manner of celebrating Feſtiuall Dayes.
71 Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtiuall Dayes, beſides the Sabbath.
72 Of Dayes appointed, as well for ordinarie as for extraordinarie Faſts in the Church of God.
73 The celebration of Matrimonie.
74 The Churching of Women.
75 The Rites of Buriall.
76 Of the nature of that Miniſterie, which ſerueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſſe, not eternall only, but alſo temporall, doth depend vpon it.
77 Of power giuen vnto men, to execute that heauenly office, of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in ordination; and whether conueniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.
78 Of degrees, whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.

79 *Of oblations, foundations, endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religion, which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certaine and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of Church-liuings be made frustrate.*

80 *Of Ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their qualitie is that enter into holy Orders.*

81 *Of the Learning that should be in Ministers, their Residence and the number of their Liuings.*

True Religion is the roote of all true vertues, and the stay of all well ordered Common-weales.



EW there are of so weake capacitie, but publike euils they easily espie; fewer so patient, as not to complaine, when the grieuous inconueniences thereof worke sensible smart. Howbeit, to see wherein the harme which they feele consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toyle, and the practice so bee set with difficulties, that wary and respectiue men had rather seeke quietly their owne, and wish that the World may goe well, so it be not long of them, then, with paine and hazard make themselues aduisers for the common good. Wee which thought it at the very first a signe of colde affection towardes the Church of God, to preferre priuate ease before the labour of appeasing publike disturbance, must now of necessitie, referre euents to the gracious prouidence of Almightie God, and, in discharge of our dutie towards him, proceed with the plaine, and vnpartiall defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeauour is not so much to ouerthrow them, with whom we contend, as to yeeld them iust and reasonable causes of those things, which for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceiued, accusing Lawes for mens ouersights, imputing euils growne through personall defects, vnto that which is not euill, framing vnto some Sores vnholesome Plasters, and applying other some where no Sore is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, *Wee agree*, that pure and vnstained Religion ought to bee the highest of all cares appertaining to publike Regiment: as well in regard of that [a] aide and protection, which they, who faithfully serue God, confesse they receiue at his mercifull hands; as also for the force which Religion hath to qualifie all sorts of men, and to make them in publike affaires the more seruiceable, Gouernours the apter to rule with conscience, Inferiours for conscience sake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious, from whose abilities the same proceed. For if [b] the course of publike affaires cannot in any good sort goe forward without fit Instruments, and that which fitteth them be their vertues, let Policie acknowledge it selfe indebted to Religion, godlinesse being the [c] chiefest top and wel-spring of all true vertues, euen as God is of all good things. So naturall is the vnion of Religion with Iustice, that we may boldly deeme there is neither, where

a *Psal.* 144. C. Th. lib. 6. tit. 2. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus, quàm officijs & labore corporis vel sudore nostram rempublicam contineri.*

b Ἔστι δ' οὐθὲν ἂν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ ποιοῦντινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ ὅτον σπουδαῖον. τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. *Arist. Magn. moral. lib.* 1. *c.* 1.

c Ἀρχὴ δ' ἁπάντων τῶν ὄντων θεὸς ἀρετῶν δ' ἐυσέβεια. *Philo de dec. præcept.*

where both are not. For how ſhould they be vnfainedly iuſt, whom Religion doth not cauſe to be ſuch; or they religious, which are not found ſuch by the proofe of their iuſt actions? If they, which imploy their labour and trauaile about the publique adminiſtration of Iuſtice, follow it only as a Trade, with vnquenchable and vnconſcionable thirſt of gaine, being not in heart perſwaded that [d] Iuſtice is Gods owne worke, and themſelues his agents in this buſineſſe, the ſentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themſelues his Prieſts to deliuer it; formalities of Iuſtice doe but ſerue to ſmother right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good, is through ſhamefull abuſe made the cauſe of common miſerie. The ſame Pietie, which maketh them that are in authoritie deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by Iuſtice, inflameth euery way men of action with zeale to doe good (as farre as their place will permit) vnto all. For [e] that they know, is moſt noble and diuine. Whereby, if no naturall nor caſuall inabilitie croſſe their deſires, they alwayes delighting to iniure themſelues with actions moſt beneficiall to others, cannot but gather great Experience, and through Experience the more Wiſedome, becauſe Conſcience, and the feare of ſwaruing from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſeruers of circumſtances, the looſe regard whereof is the Nurſe of vulgar Folly, no leſſe then *Salomons* attention thereunto was of naturall furtherances the moſt effectuall to make him eminent aboue others. For he [f] gaue good heed, and pierced euery thing to the very ground, and by that meanes became the Author of many Parables. Concerning fortitude, ſith euils great and vnexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant mindes) doe cauſe oftentimes euen them to thinke vpon diuine Power with [g] fearefulleſt ſuſpitions, which haue bin otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof, how ſhould we looke for any conſtant reſolution of mind in ſuch caſes, ſauing onely where vnfained affection to God-ward hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to be aſſiſted by his hand? For proofe whereof, let but the Acts of the ancient Iewes be indifferently weighed, from whoſe magnanimitie, in cauſes of moſt extreme hazard, thoſe ſtrange & vnwonted reſolutions haue growne, which for all circumſtances, no people vnder the roofe of Heauen did euer hitherto match. And that which did alwayes animate them, was their meere Religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their full perfection, neuertheleſſe the mind that ſhould poſſeſſe them diuorced from Pietie, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; euen as that bodie is, which adorned with ſundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-ſight, the chiefeſt grace that Nature hath in that kind to beſtow. They which commend ſo much the felicitie of that innocent World, wherein it is ſaid, that men of their owne accord did embrace fidelitie and honeſtie, not for feare of the Magiſtrate or becauſe reuenge was before their eyes, if at any time they ſhould doe otherwiſe, but that which held the people in awe, was the ſhame of ill doing, the loue of equitie and right it ſelfe, a barre againſt all oppreſſions which greatneſſe of power cauſeth, they which deſcribe vnto vs any ſuch eſtate of happineſſe amongſt men, though they ſpeake not of Religion, doe notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her onely working. For if Religion did poſſeſſe ſincerely and ſufficiently the hearts of all men, there would

[d] 2. *Chro.* 1. 9. 6.

[e] Αγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

[f] *Eccleſ.* 12. 10.

[g] *Wiſd.* 17. 13.

would need no other reſtraint from euill. This doth not onely giue life and perfection to all endeuours wherewith it concurreth; but what euent ſoeuer enſue, it breedeth, if not ioy and gladneſſe alwayes, yet alwayes patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of minde. Whereupon it hath beene ſet downe as an axiome of good experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand, are [a] proſperouſly ended; becauſe whether men in the end haue that which Religion did allow them to deſire, or that which teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, [b] they are in neither euent vnfortunate. But leſt any man ſhould heere conceiue, that it greatly skilleth not of what ſort our Religion be, in as much as Heathens, Turkes, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the ſame effects, which our ſelues aſcribe thereunto, they hauing ours in the ſame deteſtation that we theirs: it ſhall be requiſite to obſerue well, how farre-forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. Firſt, by the bitter ſtrife, which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalfe, and is by ſo much alwayes greater, as the matter is of more importance; wee ſee a generall agreement in the ſecret opinion of men, that euery man ought to imbrace the Religion which is true, and to ſhunne, as hurtfull, whatſoeuer diſſenteth from it, but that moſt, which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generalitie of which perſwaſion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a ſpurre to our induſtrie, in ſearching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to ſwarue in the leaſt points is Errour, ſo the capitall Enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly Foes, Aliens, and without Repentance, children of endleſſe perdition. Such therefore, touching mans immortall ſtate after this life, are not likely to reape benefit by their Religion, but to looke for the cleane contrary, in regard of ſo important contrarietie betweene it and the true Religion. Neuertheleſſe, in as much as the Errours of the moſt ſeduced this way haue beene mixed with ſome Truthes, wee are not to maruaile, that although the one did turne to their endleſſe woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the Affaires of this preſent life. There were in [c] theſe quarters of the World ſixteene hundred Yeeres agoe, certaine ſpeculatiue men, whoſe authoritie diſpoſed the whole Religion of thoſe Times. By their meanes it became a receaued opinion, that the ſoules of men departing this life, doe flit out of one bodie into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the ſoules of men doe neuer periſh, abated the feare of death in them which were ſo reſolued, and gaue them courage vnto all Aduentures. The Romans had a vaine Superſtitious cuſtome in moſt of their Enterprizes, to coniecture before-hand of the euent, by certaine tokens which they noted in Birds, or in the intrayles of Beaſts, or by other the like friuolous Diuinations. From whence notwithſtanding as oft as they could receiue any Signe, which they tooke to be fauourable, it gaue them ſuch hope, as if their Gods had made them more then halfe a promiſe of proſperous ſucceſſe. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did preuaile, eſpecially being men of their owne naturall inclination, hopefull and ſtrongly conceited, whatſoeuer they tooke in hand. But could their fond Superſtition haue furthered ſo great Attempts, without the mixture of a true perſwa-

ſion

[a] Pſal. 1. 3.

[b] Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πάντας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἥκιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Ariſt. Ethic. l. 1. c. 10.

[c] Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6.

ſion, concerning the vnreſiſtable force of diuine power? Vpon the wilfull violation of oathes, execrable blaſphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion, euen vnto falſe gods, fearefull tokens of diuine reuenge haue beene knowne to follow. Which occurrents the deuouter ſort did take for manifeſt arguments, that the gods whom they worſhipped, were of power to reward ſuch as ſought vnto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the [a] *Wiſeman* rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it was not the power of them by whom they ſware, but the vengeance of them that ſinned, which puniſhed the offences of the vngodly. It was their hurt vntruely to attribute ſo great power vnto falſe Gods. Yet the right conceite which they had, that to periurie vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the courſe of their liues, who feared the wilfull violation of oathes in that reſpect. And whereas we read ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their milde and mercifull diſpoſition, ſome for their vertuous ſeueritie, ſome for integritie of life, all theſe were the fruits of true and infallible principles deliuered vnto vs in the Word of God, as the axiomes of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts alſo, and taking better roote in ſome then in moſt others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidſt the heapes of manifold repugnant errours, which errours of corrupt religion had alſo their ſutable effects in the liues of the ſelfe-ſame parties. Without all controuerſie, the purer and perfecter our Religion is; the worthier effects it hath in them, who ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely imbrace it, in others not. They that loue the Religion which they profeſſe, may haue failed in choiſe, but yet they are ſure to reape what benefit the ſame is able to afford; whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that beare it not the like affection, yeeldeth them, retaining it in that ſort, no benefit. *Dauid* was a man after Gods owne heart, ſo termed, becauſe his affection was heartie towards God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which liued vnder him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, [b] *O keepe this for euer in the purpoſe and thoughts of the heart of this people.* But when, after that *Dauid* had ended his dayes in in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place, for the moſt part followed him not in qualitie, when their Kings (ſome few excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their owne, and their peoples ghoſtly condition vncared for, by wofull experience they both did learne, that to forſake the true God of Heauen, is to fall into all ſuch euils vpon the face of the earth, as men either deſtitute of grace diuine may commit, or vnprotected from aboue indure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appeare, that the ſafetie of all eſtates dependeth vpon Religion; that Religion vnfainedly loued, perfecteth mens abilities vnto all kinds of vertuous ſeruices in the Common-wealth; that mens deſire is in generall to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatſoeuer good effects doe grow out of their Religion, who imbrace inſtead of the true, a falſe, the rootes thereof are certaine ſparkes of the light of truth intermingled with the darkeneſſe of errour, becauſe no Religion can wholly and onely conſiſt of vntruths, wee haue reaſon to thinke that all true vertues are to honour true Religion as their parent, and all well ordered Common-weales to loue her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

a *Wiſd.* 14. 13.

b 1. *Chro.* 29. 17.

a They

The most extreame opposite to true religion, is effected Atheisme,

2 They of whom God is altogether vnapprehended, are but few in number, and for grosseneſſe of wit ſuch, that they hardly and ſcarcely ſeeme to hold the place of humane being. Theſe wee ſhould iudge to be of all others moſt miſerable, but that a wretcheder ſort there are, on whom, whereas nature hath beſtowed riper capacity, their euill diſpoſition ſeriouſly goeth about therewith to apprehend God, as being not God. Whereby it commeth to paſſe that of theſe two ſorts of men, both godleſſe, the one hauing vtterly no knowledge of God, the other ſtudie how to perſwade themſelues that there is no ſuch thing to be knowne. The [a] fountaine and welſpring of which impietie, is a reſolued purpoſe of mind to reape in this world what ſenſuall profit or pleaſure ſoeuer the world yeeldeth, and not to be barred from any whatſoeuer meanes auaileable thereunto. And that is the very radicall cauſe of their Atheiſme, no man (I thinke) will doubt which conſidereth what paines they take to deſtroy thoſe principall ſpurres and motiues vnto all vertue, the creation of the World, the prouidence of God, the reſurrection of the Dead, the ioyes of the Kingdome of heauen, and the endleſſe paines of the wicked, yea aboue all things, the authority of the Scripture, becauſe on theſe poynts it euermore beateth, and the Soules immortality, which granted, draweth eaſily after it the reſt, as a voluntary traine. Is it not wonderfull, that baſe deſires ſhould ſo extinguiſh in men the ſenſe of their owne excellencie, as to make them willing that their ſoules ſhould be like to the ſoules of beaſts, mortall and corruptible with their bodies? Till ſome admirable or vnuſuall accident haphen (as it hath in ſome) to worke the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, diſputation about the knowledge of God with ſuch kind of perſons commonly preuaileth little. For how ſhould the brightneſſe of wiſedome ſhine, where the windowes of the ſoule are of [b] very set purpoſe cloſed? True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof gauleth and troubleth their mindes. Being therefore loth that inquirie into ſuch matters ſhould breed a perſwaſion in the end contrarie vnto that they imbrace, it is their endeuour to baniſh, as much as in them lyeth, quite and cleane from their cogitation whatſoeuer may ſound that way. But it commeth many times to paſſe (which is their torment) that the thing they ſhunne doth follow them, truth, as it were, euen obtruding it ſelfe into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be ſo ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, in as much as the nature of man is vnwilling to continue doing that wherein it ſhall alwayes condemne it ſelfe, they continuing ſtill obſtinate, to follow the courſe which they haue begunne, are driuen to deuiſe all the ſhifts that wit can inuent for the ſmoothering of this light, all that may but with any the leaſt ſhew of poſſibility ſtay their mindes from thinking that true, which they heartily wiſh were falſe, but [c] cannot thinke it ſo, without ſome ſcruple and feare of the contrarie. Now becauſe that iudicious learning, for which we commend moſt worthily the ancient Sages of the world, doth not in this caſe ſerue the turne, theſe trencher-mates (for ſuch the moſt of them be) frame to themſelues a way more pleaſant, a new method they haue of turning things that are ſerious into mockerie, an Art of Contradiction by way of ſcorne, a learning wherewith we were

a *Wiſd.* 2. 21. Such things they imagine, and go aſtray, becauſe their owne wickednes hath blinded them. Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. *Ariſt. Ethic. l. 6. cap. 5.*

b *Suſan. verſ.* 9. They turned away their mind and caſt downe their eyes that they might not ſee heauen nor remember iuſt iudgements.

c *Hæc eſt ſumma delicti, nolle agnoſcere quem ignorare non poſſis. Cypr. de Idol. vanit.*

were [b] long ſithence forewarned, that the miſerable times whereinto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudie, this they practiſe, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluitie of wit, too much inſulting ouer the patience of more vertuouſly diſpoſed minds. For towards theſe ſo forlorne creatures we are (it muſt be confeſſed) too patient. In zeale to the glory of God, Babylon hath exceeded Sion. Wee want that [c] decree of *Nabuchodonoſor*; the furie of this wicked brood hath the reines too much at libertie, their tongues walke at large, the ſpit venome of their poyſoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their vntamed luſt ſuggeſteth, the ſame their licentious mouthes doe euery where ſet abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humour alſo is much ſtrengthened. Nothing pleaſeth them better, then theſe manifold oppoſitions about the matter of Religion, as well for that they haue hereby the more opportunitie to learne on one ſide how another may bee oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credit of all vnto themſelues; as alſo becauſe by their hot purſute of lower controuerſies amongſt men profeſſing Religion, and agreeing in the principall foundations thereof, they conceiue hope that about the higer principles themſelues, time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſticke not ſometime in other mens perſons, yea ſometime, without any vizard at all, directly to trie, what the moſt religious are able to ſay in defence of the higheſt points, whereupon all Religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out touching things which generally are receiued, that although in themſelues they bee moſt certaine, yet becauſe men preſume them granted of all, wee are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proofe of their certaintie, as may ſatisfie gaine-ſayers, when ſuddenly and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and vnreadineſſe, when they find in vs, they turne it to the ſoothing vp of themſelues in that curſed phanſie, whereby they would faine beleeue that the heartie deuotion of ſuch, as indeed feare God, is nothing elſe but a kinde of harmeleſſe errour, bred and confirmed in them by the ſlight of wiſer men. For a politique vſe of Religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather, that Religion it ſelfe is a meere politique deuice, forged purpoſely to ſerue for that vſe. Men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually, then by poſitiue Lawes reſtrained from doing euill, in as much as thoſe Lawes haue no farther power, then ouer our outward actions onely, whereas vnto mens [d] inward cogitations, vnto the priuie intents and motions of their hearts, Religion ſerueth for a bridle. What more ſauage, wilde, and cruell then man, if he ſee himſelfe able either by fraud to ouer-reach, or by power to ouer-beare, the Lawes whereunto he ſhould be ſubiect? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſſe to offend, it behoueth that the World ſhould be held in awe, not by a vaine ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſome what, which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. This is the politike vſe of Religion. In which reſpect there are of theſe wiſe malignants ſome, who haue vouchſafed it their maruellous fauorable countenance and ſpeech, very grauely affirming that Religion honored, addeth greatneſſe, and contemned, bringeth ruine vnto Common-weales, that Princes and States, which will continue, are aboue all things to vphold the reuerend regard of Religion, and to prouide for the ſame by all meanes

[b] 2. *Pet.* 3. 2. *Iude verſe* 18.

[c] *Dan.* 3. 29.

[d] *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus. Minut. Fel in Octau.* *Summum præſidium regni eſt iuſtitia ob atrocitatem tumultus, & religio ob occultationem.* Carda. de Sapien. lib. 3.

meanes in the making of their Lawes. But when they ſhould define what meanes are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extoll the wiſdome of Paganiſme, they giue it out as a myſticall precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are vnder them in moſt authoritie or credit with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare euents, and from what cauſe ſoeuer the ſame doe proceed, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthening of their Religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to vſe, if need be, plaine forgeries. Thus while they ſtudie how to bring to paſſe that Religion may ſeeme but a matter made, they loſe themſelues in the very maze of their owne diſcourſes, as if reaſon did euen purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God the Author thereof. For ſurely a ſtrange kind of madneſſe it is, that thoſe men, who though they be void of pietie, yet, becauſe they haue wit, cannot chuſe but know, that treacherie, guile and deceit are things, which may for a while, but doe not vſe long to goe vneſpied, ſhould teach that the greateſt honour to a State is perpetuitie; and grant, that alterations in the ſeruice of God, for that they impaire the credit of Religion, are therefore perilous in Common-weales, which haue no continuance longer then Religion hath all reuerence done vnto it; and withall acknowledge (for ſo they doe) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentilitie was built, their hearts were vtterly auerted from it; and notwithſtanding counſell, Princes, in ſober earneſt for the ſtrengthning of their States, to maintaine Religion, and, for the maintenance of Religion not to make choiſe of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choiſe of by thoſe falſe and fraudulent meanes, which in the end muſt needs ouerthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godleſſe, when they would ſhew themſelues politike deuiſers, able to create God in man by Art.

Of ſuperſtition, and the root thereof, either miſguided zeale, or ignorant feare of diuine glorie,

3 Wherefore to let goe this execrable crue, and to come to extremities on the contrarie hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they beare the greater or leſſer ſway in mans heart, frame accordingly the ſtampe and character of his Religion, the one zeale, the other feare. Zeale, vnleſſe it be rightly guided, when it indeuoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth vpon him thoſe vnſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwerue, be compared with ſuch ſincere, ſound and diſcreet as *Abraham* was in matter of Religion, the ſeruice of the one, is like vnto flatterie, the other like the faithfully ſedulitie of [a] friendſhip. Zeale, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it ſelfe vnto conflict with things either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite vnto Religion, vſeth the razor many times with ſuch eagerneſſe, that the very life of Religion it ſelfe is therby hazarded, through hatred of tares the corne in the field of God is pluckt vp. So that zeale needeth both wayes a ſober guide. Feare, on the other ſide, if it haue not the light of true vnderſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe ſuperſtition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things diuine, we ſhould worke too much vpon the ſpur, either of zeale or feare. Feare is a good ſolicitor to deuotion. Howbeit, ſith feare in this kind doth grow from an apprehenſion of Deitie indued with irreſiſtable power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the vnapteſt to admit any conference with reaſon, for which cauſe the [b] *Wiſeman* doth ſay of feare, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reaſonable

a *Chron.* 20. 7. *Abraham* thy friend.

b *Wiſd.* 17. 11.

ſonable vnderſtanding, therefore except men know before-hand what manner of ſeruice pleaſeth God, while they are fearefull, they trie all things which fancie offereth. Many there are who neuer thinke on God, but when they are in extremitie of feare: and then becauſe, what to thinke, or what to doe they are vncertaine, perplexitie not ſuffering them to be idle, they thinke and doe, as it were in a phrenſie, they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kind, nor obſerueth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the ſeruice of God, but is alwayes ioyned with a wrong opinion touching things diuine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhorred or obſerued, with a zealous or fearefull, but erroneous relation to God. By meanes whereof, the ſuperſtitious doe ſometimes ſerue, though the true God, yet with needleſſe Offices, and defraud him of duties neceſſarie, ſometime load others then him with ſuch honours as properly are his. The one their ouer-ſight, who miſſe in the choiſe of that wherewith; the other theirs, who faile in the election of him towards whom they ſhew deuotion: this the crime of Idolatrie, that the fault of voluntarie, either niceneſſe, or ſuperfluitie in Religion. The Chriſtian World it ſelfe being diuided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the generall view of both, that with matter of Hereſie the Weſt hath beene often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part neuer quiet, till the deluge of miſerie wherein now they are, ouer-whelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeeme to haue lien in the reſtleſſe wits of the Grecians, euermore proud of their owne curious and ſubtile inuentions, which when at any time they had contriued, the great facilitie of their language ſerued them readily to make all things faire and plauſible to mens vnderſtanding. Thoſe grand hereticall impieties therefore, which moſt highly and immediatly touched God and the glorious Trinitie, were all in a manner the monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deale, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more neerely and directly concerned rather men then God; the Latines being alwayes to capitall hereſies leſſe inclined, yet vnto groſſe ſuperſtition more. Superſtition ſuch as that of the [b] Phariſies was, by whom diuine things in deed were leſſe, becauſe other things were more diuinely eſteemed of then reaſon would; the ſuperſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingleth it ſelfe with the Rites euen of very Diuine Seruice done to the onely true God, muſt be conſidered of, as a creeping and incroching euill; an euill, the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmeleſſe, ſo that it proueth onely then to be an euill, when ſome farther accident doth grow vnto it, or it ſelfe come vnto farther growth. For in the Church of God ſometimes it commeth to paſſe, as in ouer battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much ranknes, things leſſe profitable, whereby, that which principally it ſhould yeeld, being either preuented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment, faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſarie) might be exemplified euen by heapes of Rites and Cuſtomes, now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian World, which in their firſt originall beginnings, when the ſtrength of vertuous, deuout or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could iuſtly haue condemned as euill.

[b] *Marke 7. 9.*

4 But

Of the redreſſe of Superſtition in Gods Church, and concerning the queſtion of this Booke.

4. But howſoeuer ſuperſtition doe grow, that wherein vnſounder times haue done amiſſe, the better Ages inſuing muſt rectifie, as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe accuſations brought againſt vs by pretenders of reformation, the firſt in the ranke whereof is ſuch, that if ſo be the Church of England did at this day therewith as iuſtly deſerue to be touched, as they in this cauſe haue imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeeke pardon euen with teares at the hands of God, then meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might thinke fauourably of them. For as the caſe of this World, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccour haue we to leane vnto, ſauing the teſtimony of our conſcience, and the comfort we take in this, that we ſerue the liuing God (as neere as our wits can reach vnto the knowledge thereof) euen according to his owne will, and doe therefore truſt that his mercie ſhall be our ſafegard againſt thoſe inraged powers abroad, which principally in that reſpect are become our enemies? But ſith no man can doe ill with a good conſcience, the conſolation which we herein ſeeme to find, is but a meere deceitfull pleaſing of our ſelues in errour, which at the length muſt needes turne to our greater griefe, if that which wee doe to pleaſe God moſt, be for the manifold defects thereof offenſiue vnto him. For ſo it is iudged, our Prayers, our Sacraments, our Faſts, our times and places of publique meeting together for the worſhip and ſeruice of God, our Marriages, our Burials, our Functions, Elections and Ordinations Eccleſiaſticall, almoſt whatſoeuer wee doe in the exerciſe of our Religion according to Lawes for that purpoſe eſtabliſhed, all things are ſome way or other thought faultie, all things ſtained with ſuperſtition. Now although it may be, the wiſer ſort of men are not greatly moued hereat, conſidering how ſubiect the very beſt things haue bin alwayes vnto cauill, when wits poſſeſſed either with diſdaine or diſlike thereof, haue ſet them vp as their marke to ſhoot at: ſafe notwithſtanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that eſpecially in regard of them, who deſiring to ſerue God as they ought, but being not ſo skilfull as in euery point to vnwinde themſelues where the ſnares of gloſing ſpeech doe lie to intangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they heare ſo bitter inuectiues againſt that which this Church hath taught them to reuerence as holy, to approue as lawfull, and to obſerue as behoouefull for the exerciſe of Chriſtian dutie. It ſeemeth therefore at the leaſt for their ſakes very meete, that ſuch as blame vs in this behalfe be directly anſwered, and they which follow vs, informed plainly in the reaſons of that we doe. On both ſides the end intended betweene vs, is to haue Lawes and Ordinances, ſuch as may rightly ſerue to aboliſh ſuperſtition, and to eſtabliſh the ſeruice of God with all things thereunto appertaining, in ſome perfect forme. There is an inward [a] reaſonable, and there is a [b] ſolemne outward ſeruiceable worſhip belonging vnto God. Of the former kind are all manner vertuous duties, that each man in reaſon and conſcience to God-ward oweth. Solemne and ſeruiceable worſhip we name for diſtinction ſake, whatſoeuer belongeth to the Church or publique ſocietie of God by way of externall adoration. It is the later of theſe two whereupon our preſent queſtion groweth. Againe, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principall matters, by none but

a Rom. 12. 1.
b Luke 1. 23.

Pre-

Precepts Diuine onely; partly, and as concerning things of inferiour regard, by Ordinances as well humane as diuine: about the ſubſtance of Religion wherein Gods only Law muſt be kept, their is heere no Controuerſie; the crime now intended againſt vs is that our Lawes haue not ordered thoſe inferiour things as behoueth, and that our cuſtomes are either ſuperſtitious, or otherwiſe amiſe, whether we reſpect the exerciſe of publike duties in Religion, or the functions of perſons authoriſed thereunto.

5 It is with teachers of Mathematicall Science vſuall, for vs in this preſent queſtion neceſſary, to lay downe firſt, certaine reaſonable demands, which in moſt particulars following are to ſerue as Principles whereby to worke, and therfore muſt be before-hand conſidered. The men whom we labour to inform in the Truth, perceiue that ſo to proceed is requiſite. For to this end they alſo propoſe touching cuſtomes and rites indifferent their general axiomes, ſome of them ſubiect vnto iuſt exceptions, and as we thinke, more meete by them to be farther conſidered, then aſſented vnto by vs. As that, *In outward things belonging to the Seruice of God, reformed Churches ought by all meanes to ſhunne conformitie with the Church of Rome*; that, *The reformed ſhould bee a patterne whereunto all that comes after ought to conforme themſelues*; that *ſound Religion may not vſe the things, which being not commanded of God, haue beene either deuiſed or abuſed vnto Superſtition.* Theſe and the reſt of the ſame conſort we haue in the Booke going before examined. Other Canons they alleage, and rules not vnworthy of approbation, as *That in all ſuch things the glorie of God and the edification or ghoſtly good of his people muſt bee ſought; that nothing ſhould be vndecently or vnorderly done.* But for as much as all the difficultie is in diſcerning what things doe glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not; when we ſhould thinke them decent and fit, when otherwiſe: becauſe theſe rules being too generall, come not neere enough vnto the matter which we haue in hand; and the former Principles being neerer the purpoſe, are too farre from truth, we muſt propoſe vnto all men certaine petitions incident, and very materiall in cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate iudgement hath cauſe to thinke vniuſt or vnreaſonable.

Foure generall Propoſitions, demanding that which may reaſonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exerciſe of true Religion, And fiftly, of a Rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.

6 The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch cuſtomes or rites, as publikely are eſtabliſhed, is, when there ariſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe cuſtomes and rites in themſelues apparent reaſon, although not alwayes to proue them better, then any other that might poſſibly bee deuiſed, (for who did euer require this in mans Ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conueniencie and fitneſſe, in regard of the vſe for which they ſhould ſerue. Now touching the nature of religious Seruices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt cleere, that whereas the greatneſſe and dignitie of all manner actions is meaſured by the worthineſſe of the ſubiect from which they proceed, and of the Obiect whereabout they are conuerſant; wee muſt of neceſſitie in both repects acknowledge, that this preſent World affordeth not any thing comparable vnto the publike duties of Religion. For if the beſt things haue the perfecteſt and beſt operation, it will follow, that ſeeing man is the worthyeſt Creature vpon Earth, and euery ſociety of men more worthy then

The firſt Propoſition touching indgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church Affaires.

any man, and of ſocieties that moſt excellent which wee call the Church; there can bee in this World no worke performed equall to the exerciſe of true Religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Againe, for as much as Religion worketh vpon him, who in Maieſty and Power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, vnleſſe wee eſteeme it euen [a] according to that very height of excellencie which our hearts conceiue, when diuine ſublimitie it ſelfe is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our ſoules God requireth the vttermoſt which our vnfained affection towards him is able to yeeld: So that if we affect him not farre aboue and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould haue, neither doe wee indeed worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the duties of our Religion which are ſeene, muſt be ſuch as that affection which is vnſeene ought to be. Signes muſt reſemble the things they ſignifie. If Religion beare the greateſt ſaw in our hearts, our outward religious duties muſt ſhew it as farre as the Church hath outward abilitie. Duties of Religion performed by whole Societies of men, ought to haue in them according to our power a ſenſible excellence, [b] correſpondent to the Maieſtie of him whom wee worſhip. Yea then are the publike duties of Religion beſt ordered, when the Militant Church doth [c] reſemble by ſenſible meanes, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden Dignitie and Glory wherewith the Church Triumphant in Heauen is beautified. Howbeit, euen as the very heat of the Sunne it ſelfe, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the Deſert a grieuous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinarie Prouidence ordained a Cloudie Piller to ouer ſhadow them: So things of generall vſe and benefit (for in this world what is ſo perfect that no inconuenience doth euer follow it? may by ſome accident be incommodious to a few. In which caſe, for ſuch priuate euils remedies there are of like condition, though publike Ordinances wherein the common good is reſpected, be not ſtirred. Let our firſt demand be therefore, that in the externall forme of Religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proued effectuall and generally fit to ſet forward Godlineſſe, either as betokening the greatneſſe of God, or as beſeeming the dignitie of Religion, or as concurring with celeſtiall Impreſſions in the minds of men may be reuerently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſuall, and tolerable, or otherwiſe curable inconueniences notwithſtanding.

a *Iohn* 4.24. *Wiſ.* 6.10. 1. *Chron.* 29.17.

b 2. *Chron.* 3.5.

c Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανὸς. Gerτερὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων γουμένων. *Delectatio Domini in Eccleſio eſt, Eccleſia verò eſt imago cœleſtium Amb. de interpel. Da. Facit in terris opera cœlorum, Sidon. Apol. Epiſt. lib.* 6.

The ſecond Propoſition.

7 Neither may we in this caſe lightly eſteeme what hath beene allowed as fit in the iudgement of antiquitie, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church, from which vnneſſarily to ſwerue, experience hath neuer as yet found it ſafe. For wiſdomes ſake wee reuerence them no leſſe that are yong, or not much leſſe, then if they were ſtricken in yeares. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, that their ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding is [d] *gray haire*, and their vertues *olde Age*. But becauſe Wiſdome and Youth are ſeldome ioyned in one, and the ordinary courſe of the World is more according to *Iobs* obſeruation, who giueth men aduice to ſeeke Wiſdome [e] *amongſt the ancient*, and in the *length of dayes* vnderſtanding, therefore if the compariſon doe ſtand betweene man and man, which ſhall hearken vnto other ſith the aged for the moſt

d *Wiſd.* 4.9.

e *Iob* 10.12.

moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubiect to raſh and vnaduiſed paſſions, it hath beene euer iudged reaſonable, that their ſentence in matter of counſell ſhould be better truſted, and more relyed vpon then other mens. The goodneſſe of God hauing furniſhed Man with two chiefe Inſtruments, both neceſſarie for this Life, Hands to execute, and a Mind to deuiſe great things; the one is not profitable, longer then the vigour of Youth doth ſtrengthen it, nor the other greatly till age and experience hath brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, ſuch muſt bee contented to follow them in whom it hath, For this cauſe none is more attentiuely heard, then they whoſe ſpeeches are as *Dauids* were, *I haue bin young, and now am olde*, much I haue ſeene and obſerued in the world. Sharpe and ſubtile diſcourſes of witt procure many times very great applauſe, but being laid in the ballance with that which the habit of ſound experience plainely deliuereth, they are ouer-weighed. God may indue men extraordinarily with vnderſtanding as it pleaſeth him. But let no man preſuming thereupon neglect the inſtructions, or diſpiſe the ordinances of his elders, ſith he, whoſe gift wiſedome is, hath ſaid, [a] *Aske thy Father, and he will ſhew thee, thine ancients, & they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the voyce both of God and Nature, not of learning onely, that eſpecially in matters of action and policie, [b] *The ſentences and iudgements of men experienced, aged, and wiſe, yea though they ſpeake without any proofe or demonſtration, are no leſſe to be hearkned vnto, then as being demonſtrations in themſelues, becauſe ſuch mens long obſeruation is as an eye, wherewith they preſently and plainely behold thoſe principles which ſway ouer all actions.* Whereby we are taugh both the cauſe wherefore wiſe mens iudgements ſhould be credited, and the meane how to vſe their iudgements to the increaſe of our owne wiſedome. That which ſheweth them to be wiſe, is the gathering of principles out of their owne particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles, ſhall make vs ſuch as they are. If therefore, euen at the firſt, ſo great account ſhonld be made of wiſe mens counſels touching things that are publikely done, as time ſhall adde thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding ages, their credit and authoritie muſt needs be greater. They which doe nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they doe amiſſe, yet the leſſe faulty becauſe they are not the authors of harme. And doing well, their actions are freed from preiudice of noueltie. To the beſt and wiſeſt, [c] while they liue, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſeruer of their defects aud imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe, many times that which moſt deſerueth approbation, would hardly be able to find fauour, if they which propoſe, it were not content to profeſſe themſelues therein ſchollers and followers of the auncient. For the world will not endure to heare that wee are wiſer then any haue beene which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why wee ſhould bee slow and vnwilling to change, with very vrgent neceſſity, the ancient ordinances, rites, and long approued cuſtomes of our venerable predeceſſors. The loue of things ancient doth argue [d] ſtayednes; but leuitie and want of experience maketh apt vnto innouations. That which wiſedome did firſt begin,

a *Deut.* 32. 7.

b *Ariſt. Eth.* 6. *cap.* 11.

c Πρὸς τὰς ἐκ παλαιῶν φθόνος ἀεὶ τοῖς φύεται, *Philo.* Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τέτωσωται τίθεται, *Syneſ.* Τὸ ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀντιλαττει κὴ ἔτ' ἀντίμητας ἀφθόνως, *Greg. Naz.* ἐν Στηχ.

d ὅσοι δ' ἐυσεβέιαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαίοτητος σεμνὸν τῶ καινοπρεπεῖ.

προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραποίητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν κατὰ τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν ταύτῃ κέχρηται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 7.

and hath beene with good men long continued, chalengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it plead for it selfe nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth feare condemnation before triall; till tryall no man doth acquite or trust it, what good soeuer it pretend and promise. So that in this kinde there are few things knowne to be good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vaine pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to haue been so much alleaged, hath wrought such preiudice against them in the minds of the common sort, as if they had vtterly no force at all, whereas (especially for these obseruances which concerne our present question) antiquitie, custome, and consent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth establish, are themselues most sufficient reasons to vphold the same, vnlesse some notable publique inconuenience inforce the contrarie. For a small thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our second petition this that in things the fitnesse whereof is not of it selfe apparent, nor easie to be made sufficiently manifest vnto all, yet the iudge ment of antiquitie concurring with that which is receiued, may induce them to thinke it not vnfit, who are not able to alleage any knowne waighty inconuenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against.

ἃ ὀ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ παρεκβαίνων ἐ ψέγεται. Arist. Ethic. 2. cap 9.

Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet. Tiraquel. de iud. in reb. exig. c. 10.

8. All things cannot bee of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needfull for the ordering of spirituall affaires: but the Church being a Bodie which dieth not, hath alwayes power, as occasion requireth, no lesse to ordain that which neuer was, then to ratifie what hath bin before. To prescribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogatiue which [b] *Wisdome* hath as Queene or Soueraigne commandresse ouer other vertues. This in euery seuerall mans actions of common life appertaineth vnto *Morall*, in publique and politique secular affaires vnto *Ciuill* wisedome. In like manner to deuise any certaine forme for the ovtward administration of publique duties in the seruice of god, or things belonging thereunto, and to finde out the most, conuenient for that vse, is a poynt of wisdome *Ecclesiasticall*. It is not for a man which doth know, or should know what order is, and what peaceable gouernment requireth, to tske, *why we should hang our iudgement vpon the Churches sleeue*, & *whe in matters of Order more then in matters of Doctrine*. The Church hath authority that to establish for an order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliuer rightly as a truth, no man say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly auouch the contrary. Lawes touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not so. We reade often in the writings of Catholike & holy men touching matters of doctrine, *This wee beleeue, this we hold, this the Prophets and Euangelists haue declared, this the Apostles haue deliuered, this Martyrs haue sealed with their bloud, and confessed in the midst of torments, to this we cleaue, as to the anker of our soules, against this, though an Angell from heauen should preach vnto vs, we would not beleeue*. But did we euer in any of them read touching matters of meere comelinesse, order, and decencie, neither commanded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Euangelist, any Apostle, *Although the Church wherein wee liue*

b ἡμὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo. p 35.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 171.

doe or daine them to be kept, although they be neuer ſo generally obſerued, though all the Churches in the world ſhould command them, though Angels from Heauen ſhould require our ſubiection thereunto, I would hold him accurſed that *doth obey?* Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliuer, to that the firſt place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatſoeuer any man can neceſſarily conclude by force of Reaſon; after theſe the voice of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her Eccleſiaſticall authoritie ſhall probably thinke and define to be true or good, muſt in congruitie of reaſon ouer-rule all other inferiour iudgements whatſoeuer. To them which aske why wee thus hang our iudgement on the Churches ſleeue, I anſwere with *Salomon*, Becauſe [a] *two are better then one. Yea ſimply* (ſaith [b] *Baſil*) *and vniuerſally, whether it be in workes of Nature, or of voluntarie choice and counſell, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould bee, if it be wrought by an agent ſingling it ſelfe from conſorts.* The Iewes haue a ſentence of good aduice, [c] *Take not vpon thee to be a Iudge alone, there is no ſole Iudge but one onely; ſay not to others, Receiue my ſentence, when their authority is aboue thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould it ſelfe in theſe things ſtop their mouthes, who liuing vnder it, dare preſume to barke againſt it. *There is* (ſaith [d] *Caſſianus*) *no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yeelded to that which all haue agreed vpon.* Might we not thinke it more then wonderfull, that Nature ſhould in all communities appoint a predominant iudgement to ſway and ouer-rule in ſo many things; or that God himſelfe ſhould allow ſo much authoritie and power vnto euery poore Family, for the ordering of all which are in it; and the Citie of the liuing God, which is his Church, be able neyther to command, nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole authorities ſake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that euill, the grieuous inconuenience whereof wee feele. Our diſlike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath beene attributed vnto the Church, is growne to an errour on the contrary hand, ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which remoouall of one extremitie with another, the World ſeeking to procure a remedie, hath purchaſed a meere exchange of the euill which before was felt. Suppoſe wee that the ſacred Word of God can at their hands receiue due honour, by whoſe incitement the holy Ordinances of the Church indure euery where open contempt? No, it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerue as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw vnneceſſarily their owne, or their brethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this buſineſſe is neither of capacitie, I truſt, ſo weake, nor ſo vnſtrengthned, I know, with authoritie from aboue, but that her Lawes may exact obedience at the hands of her owne children, and enioyne gain-ſayers ſilence, giuing them roundly to vnderſtand, that where our dutie is ſubmiſſion, weake oppoſitions betoken Pride. Wee therefore craue, thirdly, to haue it granted, that where neither the euidence of any Law diuine, nor the ſtrength of any inuincible Argument otherwiſe found out by the light of Reaſon, nor any notable publike inconuenience doth make againſt that which our owne Lawes Eccleſiaſticall haue, although but newly inſtituted, for the ordering of theſe Affaires,

a *Eccleſ.* 4. 9.
b *Baſil. Epiſt.* 68. *d* 8. *c. quæ contra.*
Turpis eſt omnis pars vniuerſo ſuo non congruens.
c *R. Iſmael in Cap. Patr.*
d *Caſſian. de incarn. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6

the very authoritie of the Church it ſelfe, at the leaſt in ſuch caſes, may giue ſo much credit to her owne Lawes, as to make their ſentence touching fitneſſe and conueniencie waightier then any bare and naked conceit to the contrarie; eſpecially in them who can owe no leſſe then childlike obedience to her that hath more then Motherly power.

The fourth Propoſition.

9 There are ancient Ordinances, Lawes which on all ſides are allowed to be iuſt and good, yea Diuine and Apoſtolike Conſtitutions, which the Church, it may be, doth not alwayes keepe, nor alwayes iuſtly deſerue blame in that reſpect. For in euils that cannot be remoued, without the manifeſt danger of greater to ſucceed in their roomes, wiſedome, of neceſſitie, muſt giue place to neceſſitie. All it can doe in thoſe caſes, is to deuiſe, how that which muſt be endured, may be mitigated, and the inconueniences thereof counteruailed as neere as may be; that when the beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may be made of thoſe that are. Nature then, which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more vniforme in all her wayes, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her hand, yea, and change her courſe, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by neceſſitie countermaund. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelfe ſometime to vnlooſe the very tongues euen of dumbe creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their owne defence, leſt the crueltie of man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their wonted courſe, when ſome inuincible impediment hath hindered. If we leaue Nature, and looke into Art, the Workman hath in his heart a purpoſe, he carrieth in minde the whole forme which his worke ſhould haue, there wanteth not in him skill and deſire to bring his labour to the beſt effect, only the matter which hee hath to worke on is vnframable. this neceſſity excuſeth him, ſo that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his workes perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more fauourably heard then theirs, who alleage ſincerely for themſelues, that they did as neceſſity conſtrayned them. For when the minde is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome externall impediment croſſing well aduiſed deſires, ſhall potently draw men to leaue what they principally wiſh, and to take a courſe which they would not, if their choice were free; what neceſſitie forceth men vnto, the ſame in this caſe it [a] maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in it ſelfe euill, nothing abſolutely ſinfull or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable Law, wherby, whatſoeuer is condemned as euill, can neuer any way be made good. The caſting away of things profitable for the ſuſtenance of mans life, is an vnthankfull abuſe of the fruits of Gods good Prouidence towards Mankinde. Which conſideration for all that did not hinder [b] Saint *Paul* from throwing Corne into the Sea, when care of ſauing mens liues made it neceſſary, to loſe that which elſe had beene better ſaued. Neither was this to doe euill, to the end that good might come of it. For of two ſuch euils, being not both euitable, the choice of the leſſe is not euill. And euils muſt be in our conſtruction iudged ineuitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to auoid them, becauſe where counſell and aduice beare rule, of Gods extraordinary power, without extraordinary warrant we cannot preſume. In Ciuill Affaires to declare what ſway neceſſitie hath euer beene accuſtomed to beare,

Numb. 22.28.

[a] *Neceſſitas quicquid coegit defendit.* Senec. *Contron. lib.* 9.

[b] *Acts* 27.38.

were

were labour infinite. The Lawes of all States and Kingdomes in the world haue ſcarſly of any thing more common vſe. Should then only the Church ſhew it ſelfe inhumane and ſterne abſolutely vrging a rigorous obſeruation of ſpirituall Ordinances, without relaxation or exception what neceſſitie ſoeuer happen? We know the [c] contrary practice to haue beene commended by him, vpon the warrant of whoſe iudgement, the Church moſt of all delighted with merciſull and moderate courſes, doth the oftner condeſcend vnto like equitie, permitting in caſes of neceſſitie that, which otherwiſe it diſalloweth and forbiddeth. Caſes of neceſſitie being ſometime but vrgent, ſometime extreme, the conſideration of [d] publike vtilitie is by very good aduice iudged at the leaſt equiualent with the eaſier kind of neceſſitie. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorme againſt ſome neceſſarie tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſſe with ſilence, conſidering that in Politie as well Eccleſiſticall as Ciuill, there are and will be alwayes euils, which no art of man can cure, breaches and leakes moe then mans wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious vnto them many things, wherein notwithſtanding the truth is, that very iuſt regard hath beene had of the publike good; that which in a great part of the weightieſt cauſes belonging to this preſent Controuerſie, hath inſnared the iudgements both of ſundry good, and of ſome well learned men, is the manifeſt truth of certaine generall Principles, whereupon the Ordinances that ſerue for vſuall practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which Principles men knowing to be moſt ſound, and that the ordinarie practice accordingly framed is good, whatſoeuer is ouer and beſides that ordinarie, the ſame they iudge repugnant to thoſe true Principles. The cauſe of which errour is ignorance, what reſtraints and limitations all ſuch Principles haue, in regard of ſo manifold varieties, as the [e] *matter* whereunto they are appliable, doth commonly afford. Theſe varieties are not knowne but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all Principles, to diſcerne how farre-forth they take effect, to ſee where and why they faile, to apprehend by what degrees and meanes they lead to the practice of things in ſhew, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more ſharpneſſe of wit, more intricate circuitions of diſcourſe, more induſtrie and depth of iudgement then common abilitie doth yeeld. So that generall rules, till their limits be fully knowne (eſpecially in matter of publike and Eccleſiaſticall affaires) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of mans vnderſtanding, then cloudie miſts caſt before the eye of common ſenſe. They that walke in darkneſſe know not whither they goe. And euen as little is their certaintie, whoſe opinions generalities only doe guide. With groſſe and popular capacities, nothing doth more preuaile, then vnlimited generalities, becauſe of their plaineneſſe at the firſt ſight; nothing leſſe with men of exact iudgement, becauſe ſuch rules are not ſafe to be truſted ouer-farre. Generall Lawes are like generall rules of Phyſick, according whereunto, as no Wiſeman will deſire himſelfe to be cured, if there be ioyned with his diſeaſe ſome ſpeciall accident, in regard whereof, that whereby others in the ſame infirmitie, but without the like accident, recouer health, would be to him either hurtfull, or at the leaſt vnprofitable: So we muſt not, vnder a colourable commendation of holy

[c] *Luke 6. 4.*

[d] *Cauſa neceſſitatis & vtilitatis æquiparantur in iure. Ab Panor. ad c. vt ſuper. nu. 15. de reb. Eccleſ. non alien.*

[e] Ἐντοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί ἐισιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιμέρους ἀληθινώτεροι· περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. *Ariſt. Eth. lib. 1. c. 7.*

holy Ordinances in the Church, and of reaſonable cauſes whereupon they haue beene grounded for the common good, imagine that all mens caſes ought to haue one meaſure. Not without ſingular wiſedome therefore it hath beene prouided, that as the ordinary courſe of common affaires is diſpoſed of by generall Lawes, ſo likewiſe mens rarer incident neceſſities and vtilities ſhould be with ſpeciall equitie conſidered. From hence it is, that ſo many priuiledges, immunities, exceptions, and diſpenſations haue beene alwayes with great equitie and reaſon granted, not to turne the edge of Iuſtice, or to make void at certaine times, and in certaine men through meere voluntary grace or beneuolence, that which continually and vniuerſally ſhould be of force (as ſome vnderſtand it) but in very truth to practiſe generall Lawes according to their right meaning. Wee ſee in contracts and other dealings which daily paſſe betweene man and man, that, to the vtter vndoing of ſome, many things by ſtrictneſſe of Law may be done, which equitie and honeſt meaning forbiddeth. Not that the Law is vniuſt, but vnperfect; nor equitie againſt, but aboue the Law; binding mens conſciences in things which Law cannot reach vnto. Will any man ſay, that the vertue of priuate equitie is oppoſite and repugnant to that Law, the ſilence whereof it ſupplyeth in all ſuch priuate dealing? No more is publike equitie againſt the Law of publike Affaires, albeit the one permit vnto ſome in ſpeciall conſiderations, that which the other agreeably with generall Rules of Iuſtice doth in generall ſort forbid. For ſith all good Lawes are the voices of right Reaſon, which is the inſtrument wherewith God will haue the world guided, and impoſſible it is that right ſhould withſtand right; it muſt follow that Principles and Rules of Iuſtice, be they neuer ſo generally vttered, doe no leſſe effectually intend, then if they did plainly expreſſe an exception of all particulars, wherein their litterall practice might any way preiudice equity: and becauſe it is naturall vnto all men to wiſh their owne extraordinarie benefit, when they thinke they haue reaſonable inducements ſo to doe; and no man can be preſumed a competent Iudge what equity doth require in his owne caſe, the likelieſt meane whereby the wit of man can prouide, that he which vſeth the benefit of any ſpeciall benignity aboue the common courſe of others may enioy it with good conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of Lawes, which in outward ſhew are contrarie, muſt needs be to arme with authoritie ſome fit both for qualitie and place to adminiſter that, which in euery ſuch particular ſhal appeare agreeable with equitie: wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that ſometimes the practice of ſuch iuriſdiction may ſwarue through error euen in the very beſt, and for other reſpects where leſſe integritie is: So the watchfulleſt obſeruers of inconueniences that way growing, and the readieſt to vrge them in diſgrace of authorized proceedings, doe very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who liue in no worldly awe or ſubiection, but is committed to them whom Law may at all times bridle, and ſuperior power controll; yea, to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that Law it ſelfe hath ſet downe to what perſons, in what cauſes, with what circumſtances, almoſt euery facultie of fauour ſhall be granted, leauing in a manner nothing vnto them, more then onely to deliuer what is alreadie giuen by Law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſſe reaſonable, that vnder pretenſe of

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nconueniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well preuented, that none may, men ſhould be altogether barred of the libertie that Law with equitie and reaſon granteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, wee laſtly require, that it may not ſeeme hard, if in caſes of neceſſitie, or for common vtilities ſake, certaine profitable ordinances ſometimes be releaſed, rather then all men alwayes ſtrictly bound to the generall rigor thereof.

The rule of mens priuate ſpirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.

10 Now where the Word of God leaueth the Church to make choice of her owne ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which haue beene receiued with great reaſon, or againſt that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of minde, or againſt ſuch ordinances as the power and authoritie of that Church vnder which wee liue hath it ſelfe deuiſed for the publique good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church, in mittigating ſometimes with fauourable equitie, that rigour which otherwiſe the literall generalitie of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes hath iudged to be more conuenient and meete, if againſt all this it ſhould be free for men to reproue, to diſgrace, to reiect at their owne libertie what they ſee done and practiſed according to order ſet downe, if in ſo great varietie of wayes, as the wit of man is eaſily able to find out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially haue vnto thoſe inuentions, whereby ſome one ſhall ſeeme to haue beene more inlightned from aboue then many thouſands, the Church did giue euery man licenſe to follow what himſelfe imagineth that *Gods Spirit doth reueale* vnto him, or what hee ſuppoſeth that God is likely to haue reuealed to ſome ſpeciall perſon, whoſe vertues deſerue to be highly eſteemed, what other effect could hereupon enſue, but the vtter confuſion of his Church, vnder pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof doe ſo naturally all tend vnto common peace, that where ſuch ſingularitie is, they whoſe hearts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe preuaile with others, the ſame God which reuealeth it to them, would alſo giue them power of confirming it vnto others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and inuincible remonſtrance of ſound reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appeare that God would indeed haue all mens iudgements giue place vnto it; whereas now the errour and vnſufficiencie of their arguments doth make it on the contrarie ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moued their hearts to thinke ſuch things, as he hath not inabled them to proue. And ſo from rules of generall direction it reſteth, that now wee deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of particulars, wherein thoſe rules haue their ſpeciall efficacie.

Places for the publique ſeruice of God.

11 Solemne duties of publique ſeruice to be done vnto God, muſt haue their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort as beſeemeth actions of that regard. *Adam* euen during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had [a] where to preſent himſelfe before the Lord. *Adams* ſonnes had out of Paradiſe in like ſort [b] whither to bring their ſacrifices. The Patriarks vſed [c] altars, and [d] mountaines and [e] groues to the ſelfe-ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt wilderneſſe, when the people of God had themſelues no ſetled habitation, yet a moueable [f] Taberpacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge

a *Gen.*3.8.
b *Gen.*4.3.
c *Gen.*13.4.
d 22.1.
e 21.33.
f *Exod.*26.

charge was giuen them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelues
a *Deut.*12.5. in the land which had beene promiſed vnto their fathers, a *Yee ſhall ſeeke that place which the Lord your God ſhall chuſe.* When God had choſen Ieruſalem, and
b 2 *Chron.*3 1. in Ieruſalem mount b *Moria*, there to haue his ſtanding habitation made, it
c 2.*Chron.* 6.7. *Pſal.*132.5. was in the chiefeſt of c *Dauids* deſires to haue performed ſo good a worke. His griefe was no leſſe, that he could not haue the honour to build God a Temple, then their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their owne tongues with very wrath, that they haue not as yet the power to pull downe the Temples which they neuer built, and to leuell them with the ground. It was no meane thing which hee purpoſed. To performe a worke ſo maieſticall and ſtately was no
d 2 *Chro.* 25 9. ſmall charge. Therefore d hee incited all men vnto bountifull contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, Gold, Siluer, Braſſe, Iron, Wood,
e 1.*Chro.* 29.3. precious ſtones in great abundance. Yea moreouer, e *becauſe I haue* (ſaith *Dauid*) *a ioy in the houſe of my God, I haue of mine owne gold and ſiluer, beſides all that I haue prepared for the houſe of the Sanctuarie, giuen to the houſe of my God three thouſand talents of gold, euen the gold of Ophir, ſeuen thouſand talents of fined ſiluer.* After the ouerthrow of this firſt houſe of God, a ſecond was inſtead
f *Ezr.*3.12. *Agge* 2.4. thereof erected, but with ſo great oddes, that f they wept which had ſeene the former, and beheld how much this later came behind it, the beautie whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that euen this was alſo the wonder of the whole World. Beſides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and euen in Ieruſalem, by proceſſe of time, no ſmall number of Synagogues for men to reſort vnto. Our Sauiour himſelfe, and after him the Apoſtles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in Ieruſalem, and held that profeſſion which had not the publique allowance and countenance of authoritie, could not ſo long vſe the exerciſe of
g *Acts* 2.13. & 2.1. & 2.46. Chriſtian Religion but in g priuate only: So that as Iewes they had acceſſe to the Temple and Sinagogues, where God was ſerued after the cuſtome of the Law; but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they was of neceſſity forced other where to aſſemble themſelues. And as God gaue increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroad that purpoſe not the fitteſt (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to doe) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſſe of time ſome whiles by ſufferance, ſome whiles by ſpeciall leaue and fauor, they beganne to erect to themſelues Oratories, not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner, which neither was poſſible by the reaſon of the poore eſtate of the Church, and had beene perilous in regard of the worlds enuie towards them. At the length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe vp Kings and Emperours fauouring ſincerely the Chriſtian truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durſt not doe, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected. No coſt was ſpared, nothing iudged too deare which that way would be ſpent. The whole world did ſeeme to exult, that it had occaſion of powring out gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That cheereſull ſ euotion which
h 1.*Chron.*29. 17,18. *Dauid* this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and h wiſh that the ſame in the Iewiſh people might the perpetuall, was then in Chriſtian people euery where to bee ſeene. Their actions till this day alwayes accuſtomed to be ſpoken of with great honor, are now called openly into queſtion. They and as many

as

as haue beene followers of their example in that thing; we eſpecially that worſhip God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other men ſithence haue framed by the like patterne, are in that reſpect charged no leſſe then with the very ſinne of Idolatrie. Our Churches in the ſome of that good Spirit, which directeth ſuch fierie tongues, they terme ſpitefully the Temples of *Baal*, are Idoll Synagogues, abominable Styes.

12 Wherein the firſt thing which moueth them thus to caſt vp their poyſon, are certaine Solemnities vſuall at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although the ſame ſhould be blame-worthy, yet this Age (thankes be to God) hath reaſonably well forborne to incurre the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot be laid to many mens charge at this day liuing, either that they haue beene ſo curious, as to trouble Biſhops with placing the firſt ſtone in the Churches they built, or ſo ſcrupulous, as after the erection of them, to make any great adoe for their dedication. In which kind notwithſtanding as wee doe neither allow vnmeet, nor purpoſe the ſtiffe defence of any vnneceſſary cuſtome [a] heretofore receiued: So we know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them publique, at the time when they are deliuered, as it were, into Gods owne poſſeſſion, and when the vſe whereunto they ſhall euer ſerue is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompany ſuch actions be vſuall, as [b] in the pureſt time they haue beene. When [c] *Conſtantine* had finiſhed an houſe for the ſeruice of God at Ieruſalem, the Dedication he iudged a matter not vnworthy, about the ſolemne performance whereof, the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendome ſhould meete together. Which thing they did at the Emperours motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that action to their power; ſome with Orations, ſome with Sermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of Prayers vnto God for the peace of the World, for the Churches ſafetie, for the Emperours and his Childrens good. [d] By *Athanaſius* the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of Alexandria, in a worke of the like deuout Magnificence. So that whether Emperours or Biſhops in thoſe dayes were Church-founders, the ſolemne Dedication of Churches they thought not to be a worke in it ſelfe either vaine, or ſuperſtitious. Can wee iudge it a thing ſeemely for any man to goe about the building of an houſe to the God of Heauen with no other apparance, than if his end were to reare vp a Kitchin, or a Parlor for his owne vſe? Or when a worke of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remayneth there nothing but preſently to vſe it, and ſo an end? It behoueth that the place where God ſhall be ſerued by the whole Church, be a publike place, for the auoiding of priuie Conuenticles, which couered with pretence of Religion, may ſerue vnto dangerous practiſes. Yea, although ſuch Aſſemblies be had indeed for Religions ſake, hurtfull neuertheleſſe they may eaſily proue, as well in regard of their fitneſſe to ſerue the turne of Heretiques, and ſuch as priuily will ſooneſt aduenture to inſtill their poyſon into mens minds; as alſo for the occaſion, which thereby is giuen to malicious perſons, both of ſuſpecting & of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe actions, which in themſelues being holy, ſhould be ſo ordered, that no man might probably otherwiſe thinke of them. Which conſiderations haue by ſo much the greater weight, for that of theſe inconueniẽces the Church here-

The ſolemnitie of erecting Churches condemned by *Bar pag.* 130 The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned, *p.* 141.

[a] *Durand. rationall. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6 & *de conſecrat. d.* 1. *c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib.* 10. *Epiſt.* 12. & *lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 71. & *lib.* 8. *Epiſt.* 63.

[b] Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι πάλαιος νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἐκδέδεται ἐνιαυτῶν περὶ τροπὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρας ἐπαγγέσης ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἑτέρου τοῦ χρόνου γένηται τὰ κάλλα. *Gregor. Nazian. orat.* εἰς τὸν κυριακόν.

[c] *Vide Euſeb. de vita Conſtant lib.* 4. *cap.* 41. 43. 44 45.

[d] *Athanaſ. Apolog. ad Conſtantium.*

heretofore had ſo plaine experience, when Chriſtian men were driuen to vſe ſecret meetings, becauſe the libertie of publique places was not graunted them. There are which hold, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the duties of Religion performed amongſt them, doe make the place of their Aſſembly publique, euen as the preſence of the King and his retinue maketh any mans houſe a Court. But this I take to be an errour, in as much as the only things which maketh any place publique, is the publique aſſignement thereof vnto ſuch duties. As for the multitude there aſſembled or the duties which they performe, it doth not appeare how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch Prerogatiue. Nor doth the ſolemne dedication of Churches ſerue onely to make them publique, but further alſo to ſurrender vp that right which otherwiſe their Founders might haue in them, and to make God himſelfe their Owner. For which cauſe at the erection and conſecration as well of the a Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleaſed the Almightie to giue a manifeſt ſigne that he tooke poſſeſſion of both. Finally, b it notifieth in ſolemne manner the holy and religious vſe whereunto it is intended ſuch Houſes ſhall bee put. c Theſe things the Wiſedome of *Salomon* did not account ſuperfluous. Hee knew how eaſily that which was meant ſhould be holy and ſacred, might be drawne from the vſe whereunto it was firſt prouided; he knew how bolde men are to take euen from God himſelfe; how hardly that Houſe would bee kept from impious prophanation, he knew; and right wiſely therefore endeuoured by ſuch ſolemnities to leaue in the mindes of men that d impreſſion, which might ſomewhat reſtrayne their boldneſſe, and nouriſh a reuerend affection towards the Houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt Houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the Children of Iſrael after their returne from captiuitie, they kept the e dedication euen of this Houſe alſo with ioy. The f Argument which our Sauiour vſeth againſt Prophaners of the Temple, he taketh from the vſe whereunto it was with ſolemnitie conſecrated. And as the Prophet *Ieremie* forbiddeth the carrying of g burthens on the Sabbath, becauſe that was a ſanctified day: So becauſe the Temple was a place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer, no h not the carriage of a Veſſell thorrow the Temple. Theſe two Commandements therefore are in the Law conioyned, i *Yee ſhall keepe my Sabbaths, and reuerence my Sanctuarie*. Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words, k *Haue ye not houſes to eate and drinke?* albeit Temples, ſuch as now, were not then erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, l it hath beene neuertheleſſe not abſurdly conceiued, that he teacheth what difference ſhould bee made betweene Houſe and Houſe; that what is fit for the dwelling place of God, and what for mans Habitation he ſheweth; he requireth that Chriſtian men at their owne home take common foode, and the Houſe of the Lord none but that foode which is heauenly; hee inſtructeth them, that as in the one place they vſe to refreſh their bodies, ſo they may in the other learne to ſeeke the nouriſhment of their ſoules; and as there they ſuſtaine temporall life, ſo heere they would learne to make prouiſion for eternall. CHRIST could not ſuffer that the Temple ſhould ſerue for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt, that the Church ſhould bee made an Inne. When therefore wee ſanctifie or hallow Churches, that which

a *Exod.* 40. 34. 1. *Reg.* 8 11.
b *Exod.* 40. 9.
c 1. *Reg.* 8.
d *Leuit.* 16. 2. The place named holy.
e *Ezr.* 6. 16.
f *Mat.* 21. 13.
g *Ier.* 17. 24.
h *Mark.* 11. 16.
i *Leuit.* 26. 2.
k 1. *Cor.* 11. 22.
l *Petr. Cluniac.*

which we doe, is onely to teſtifie that we make them places of publique reſort, that wee inueſt God himſelfe with them, that wee ſeuer them from common vſes. In which action, other ſolemnities then ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe wee approue none. Indeed we condemne not all as vnmeet, the like whereunto haue beene either deuiſed or vſed hapely amongſt Idolators. For why ſhould conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawfull, when they thinke that which is true, if in action, when they doe that which is meet, it be not lawfull to bee like vnto them? are wee to forſake any true opinion, becauſe Idolators haue maintained it? Nor to ſhun any requiſite action, onely becauſe we haue in the practiſe thereof beene preuented by Idolators. It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſometimes they may iudge as rightly what is decent aboue externall affaires of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoeuer Idolaters haue either thought or done, but let whatſoeuer they haue either thought or done *idolatrouſly, be ſo farre foorth* abhorred. For of that which is good in euill things, God is Author.

Of the names whereby wee diſtinguiſh our Churches.

13 Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtome of ſo naming them is very ancient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the vſe and continuance with vs at this preſent hurtfull. That Churches were conſecrated vnto none but the Lord onely, the very generall name it ſelfe doth ſufficiently ſhew, is as much as by plaine grammaticall conſtruction, [a] *Church* doth ſignifie no other thing then *The Lords houſe*. And becauſe the multitude, as of perſons, ſo of things particular, cauſeth varietie of proper names to be deuiſed for diſtinctions ſake, founders of *Churches* did herein that which beſt liked their owne conceit at their preſent time; yet each intending, that as oft as thoſe buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put them in mind of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it commeth to paſſe, that all Churches haue had their names, [b] ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſedome, ſome in memorie of the trinitie it ſelfe; ſome of Chriſt vnder ſundrie titles; of the bleſſed Virgin not of a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of euery one vnderſtood, they haue beene in later ages conſtrued, as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which was denominated of Angels and Saints, ſhould ſerue for the worſhip of ſo glorious creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the Ancients doe vtterly diſclaime. [c] To them ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, we appoynt no Churches, becauſe they are not to vs as Gods. Againe, *The Nations to their Gods erected Temples, wee not temples vnto our Martyrs, as vnto Gods, but memorials as vnto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill liuing.* Diuers conſiderations there are, For which Chriſtian Churches might firſt take their names of Saints: as either becauſe by the miniſterie of Saints it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or elſe in regard of death, which thoſe Saints hauing ſuffered for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they dyed venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to giue ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often, to the ende that the naming of their perſons might cauſe inquirie to bee made, and meditation to bee had of their vertues.

a From Κυριακὴ, *Kyrie*, and by adding letters of aſpiration, *Chyrch*.

b *Vide Socr. lib. 1. Cap. 16. Euagr. lib. 4. cap. 30. Hiſt. Trip. lib. 4. cap. 1, 18.*

c *Vide Aug. lib. 8. de Ciuit. Dei, Cap. 27. lib. 22. cap. 10. Epiſt. 49. ad Deogra.*

The dutie which Chriſtian men performed in keeping feſtiuall dedications.

S. *Baſil* termeth λατρίαν τῷ θεῷ acknowledging the ſame to haue beene withall, τιμὰς τῶν μαρτύρων. *Baſil in Pſal. 114.*

vertues. Wherefore seeing that wee cannot iustly account it superstition, to giue vnto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things, if it bee plaine that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not wee in otherwise taking them, offer them iniurie? Or if it bee obscure or vncertaine what they meant, yet this construction being more fauourable, charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtfull of their mindes, to leane to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carrie. Yea, although it were cleere, that they all (for the errour of some is manifest in this behalfe) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault preiudice vs, (who as all men know) doe vse but by way of meere distinction the names which they of superstition gaue? In the vse of those names whereby we distinguish both dayes and moneths, are we culpable of superstition, because they were, who first inuented them? The signe a *Castor* and *Pollux* superstitiously giuen vnto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Euangelists pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to *Daniel* there had beene giuen no other name, but onely b *Beltshazzer*, giuen him in honour of the Babilonian Idoll *Belti*, should their idolatrie, which were authors of that name, cleaue vnto euery man which had so tearmed him by way of personall difference onely? were it not to satisfie the mindes of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthie the labour which wee bestow to answere them.

a *Act.*21.11.

b *Dan.*4.5. *Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. lib.*6, *pag.*277.

Of the fashion of the Churches.

14 The like vnto this is a fancie, which they haue against the fashion of our Churches, as being framed according to the patterne of the Iewish Temple. A fault no lesse grieuous, if so be it were true, then if some King should build his mansion house by the modell of *Salomons* Palace. So farre-forth as our Churches and their Temple haue one end, what should let, but that they may lawfully haue one forme? The Temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had roomes to that purpose, such as ours haue none. Our Churches are places prouided, that the people might the assemble themselues in due and decent mauner, according to their seuerall degrees and orders. Which thing being common vnto vs with Iewes, we haue in this respect our Churches diuided by certaine partition, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their seuerall for Heathen Nations, their seuerall for the people of their owne Nation, their seuerall for men, their seuerall for women, their seuerall for the Priests, and for the high Priest alone their seuerall. Their being in ours for locall distinction betweene the Clergie and the rest (which yet wee doe not with any great strictnesse or curiosity obserue neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries, might their assemble themselues, and no other creepe in amongst them; this is now made a matter so hainous, as if our Religion thereby were become euen plaine Iudaisme, and as though we retayned a most holy place, whereinto there might not any high Priest alone enter, according to the custome of the Iewes.

The sumptuousnesse of Churches.

15 Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expences this way are imployed: *The mother of such magnificence* (they thinke) *is but onely a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far & wide. Suppose we that God himselfe delighted to dwel sumptuously,*

touſly, or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pompe? No, then was the Lord moſt acceptably ſerued, when his Temples were roomes borrowed within the houſes of poore men. This was ſutable vnto the nakedneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt and the ſimplicity of his Goſpell. What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of thoſe things, the vſe and benefit whereof hath deſcended vnto our ſelues, as we doe not know, ſo we need not ſearch. It commeth (we grant) many times to paſſe, that the workes of men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are diuers The charge of *Herod* about the Temple of God was ambitious, yet *Salomons* vertuous, *Conſtantines* holy. But howſoeuer their hearts are diſpoſed by whom any ſuch thing is done in the World, ſhall we thinke that it baneth the worke which they leaue behinde them, or taketh away from others the vſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelfe, hath hee any where reuealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that hee taketh no pleaſure to be worſhipped, ſauing onely in poore Cottages? Euen then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as euer, when the ſtatelieſt places and things in the whole World were ſought out to adorne his Temple. This is moſt [y] ſuteable, decent and fit for the greatneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for the ſublimitie of his Goſpell, except wee thinke of Chriſt and his Goſpell as [a] the Officers of *Iulian* did. As therefore the ſonne of *Syrach* giueth verdict concerning thoſe things, which God hath wrought, [b] *A man need not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for in their ſeaſon they are all worthie praiſe:* the like we may alſo conclude, as touching theſe two ſo contrary wayes of prouiding in meaner or in coſtlier ſort for the honour of Almightie God, *A man need not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable*, the one, when the ſtate of the Church is poore, the other, when God hath inriched it with plentie. When they, which had ſeene the beautie of the firſt Temple, built by *Salomon* in the dayes of his great proſperitie and peace, beheld how farre it excelled the ſecond, which had not builders of like abilitie, the teares of their grieued eyes the Prophets [c] endeuoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glorie thereof is leſſe, they ſhould haue done better to reioyce then weep, their Prophets better to reproue then comfort. It being obiected againſt the Church in the times of vniuerſall perſecution, that her ſeruice done to God was not ſolemnely performed in Temples fit for the honour of diuine Maieſty, their moſt conuenient anſwere was, that [d] *The beſt Temples which wee can dedicate to God, are our ſanctified ſoules and bodies.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, how the Fathers, when they were vpbraided with that defect, comforted themſelues with the meditation of Gods moſt gracious and mercifull nature, who did not therefore the leſſe accept of their heartie affection and zeale rather, then tooke any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of externall Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their onely lacke of abilitie; abilitie ſeruing, they wanted them not. Before the [e] Emperour *Conſtantines* time, vnder *Seuerus, Gordian, Philip*, and *Galienus*, the ſtate of Chriſtian affaires being tolerable, the former building which were but of meane and ſmall eſtate contented them not, ſpacious and ample Churches they erected throughout euery Citie. No enuie was able to be

y Ἔρρωτο μεγαλοπρεπὲς καλὸν τίμιον. τῷ γὰρ τοιούτῳ ἡ θεραπεία θαυμαστή. *Ariſt. Eth. l. 4. c. 2.* τὸ αὐτοθήσ καλὰ καὶ νόησ καλῶν ἐπιτόνης. *Philo Iud.*

a *Fœlix theſaurū imperialis quæſtor conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorū pretia, Enquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio.* Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 12.

b *Eccleſ. 39. 34*

c *Aggæ 2. 5. 10.*

d *Minut. Fel. in Octau.*

e *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

their hinderance, no practice of Sathan or fraude of men auaileable against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feele the aide of the arme of God extended ouer them for their safetie. These Churches *Diocletian* [a] caused by solemne Edict to be afterwardes ouerthrowne. *Maximinus* with like authoritie giuing leaue to erect them, the hearts of all men were euen wrapt with diuine ioy, to see those places, which tyrannous impietie had laid waste, recouered, as it were out of mortall calamitie, Churches [b] *reared vp to an height immeasurable, and adorned with farre more beautie in their restauration, then their Founders before had giuen them.* Whereby wee see how most Christian minds stood then affected, wee see how ioyfull they were to behold the sumptuous statelinesse of Houses built vnto Gods glory. If wee should, ouer and besides this, alleage the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of *Moses* might be as beautifull, gorgeous and rich, as art could make them, or what trauell and cost was bestowed, that the goodlinesse of the Temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the World; this they will say was figuratiue, and serued by Gods appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true euerlasting glorie of a more diuine Sanctuary, whereinto Christ being long sithence entred, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also our selues would grant, if the vse thereof had beene meerely and onely mysticall. But sith the Prophet *Dauid* doth mention a naturall conueniencie which such kinde of bounteous expences haue, as well for that we doe thereby giue vnto God a testimonie of our [c] cheerefull affection, which thinketh nothing too deere to bee bestowed about the furniture of his seruice, as also because it serueth to the world for a witnesse of his [d] Almightinesse, whom wee outwardly honor with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himselfe incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should haue made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leaue them all to be consumed in secular vanitie, allowing none but the baser sort to be imployed in his owne seruice? To set forth the [e] Maiestie of Kings his Vicegerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath, are procured. Wee thinke, [f] belike, that hee will accept what the meanest of them would disdaine. If there bee great care to build and beautifie these corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the liuing Temples of the holy Ghost, the deerely redeemed soules of the people of God may bee edified huge expences vpon Timber and Stone, but towards the relieue of the poore small deuotion; Cost this way infinite, and in the meane while Charitie cold; wee haue in such case iust occasion to make complaint as [g] Saint *Ierome* did, *The walles of the Church there are enow contented to build, and to vnderset it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the roofes shine with gold, the Altar hath precious stones to adorne it: and of Christs Ministers no choice at all.* The same *Ierome* both in that place and [h] elsewhere debaseth with like intent the glory of such magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affections in those times needed no spurre) thereby to extoll the necessity sometimes of charitie and almes, sometimes of other the most principall duties belonging vnto Christian men, which duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the directest

a *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2.*

b *Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 2.*

c *1. Chro. 28. 14.*

d *2. Chron. 2. 5.*

e *Matth. 6. 29.*

f *Malac. 1. 8.*

g *Ad Nepotian. de vita cleric.*

h *Ad Demetr. Epist. 12 ad Gaudentium.*

directeſt ſentence we can giue of them both, as vnto mee it ſeemeth, is this, *God, who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honourable worke.*

16 Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which ſuch places haue, is, I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtaine of hereſie. Churches receiue, as euery thing elſe, their chiefe perfection to the end whereunto they ſerue. Which end being the publike worwip of God, they are, in conſideration, houſes of greater dignitie, then any prouided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeeme after a ſort euen to mourne, as being iniured and defrauded of their right, when places not ſanctified as they are, preuent them *vnneceſſarily* in that preeminence and honour. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſſe, that the ſeruice of God hath not then it ſelfe *ſuch perfection of grace and comelineſſe*, as when the dignitie of the place it wiſheth for doth concurre. Againe, albeit the true worſhip of God to be God in it ſelfe acceptable, who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place, as with what affection hee is ſerued; and therefore *Moſes* in the midſt of the ſea, *Iob* on the dunghill, *Ezechias* in bed, *Ieremie* in mire, *Ionas* in the Whale, *Daniel* in the denne, the Children in the furnace, the Thiefe on the Croſſe, *Peter* and *Paul* in priſon, calling vnto God were heard as [a] S. *Baſil* noteth: manifeſt notwithſtanding it is, that the very maieſty and holineſſe of the place, where God is worſhiped, hath *in regard of vs* great vertue, force and efficacie, for that it ſerueth as ſenſible help to ſtirre vp deuotion, and *in that reſpect*, no doubt, *bettereth* euen our holieſt and beſt actions in this kinde. As therefore wee euery where exhort all men to worſhip God, euen ſo, for performance of this ſeruice by the people of God aſſembleth, we thinke not any place *ſo good* as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as that of *Dauid* [b] *O worſhip the Lord in the beautie of holineſſe.*

What holines and vertue we aſcribe to the Church, more then other places.

a *Exhort. ad bapt. & paniten.*

17 For of our Churches thus it becommeth vs to eſteeme, howſoeuer others rapt with the pang of a furious zeale, doe power out againſt them deuout blaſphemie, crying [c] *Downe with them, downe with them, euen to the very ground; For to Idolatrie they haue beene abuſed. And the places where Idols haue beene worſhipped, are by* [d] *the Law of God deuote to vtter deſtruction. For execution of which Law the* [e] *Kings that were Godly, as* Aſa, Iehoſaphat, Ezechia, Ioſia, *deſtroyed all the high places, Altars and Groues, which had beene erected in Iuda and Iſrael. He that ſaid. Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt vtterly deface and deſtroy all theſe Sinagogues and places where ſuch Idols haue beene worſhipped. This Law containeth the temporall puniſhment which God hath ſet downe, and will that men execute, for the breach of the other Law. They which ſpare them therefore, doe but reſerue, as the Hypocrite* Saul *did, execrable things, to worſhip God withall.* The truth is, that as no man ſerueth God, and loueth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely loue God, and not extreemely abhorre that ſinne, which is the higheſt degree of treaſon againſt the ſupreame Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whoſe diuine authoritie and power it inueſteth others. By meanes whereof the ſtate of Idolaters it two wayes miſerable. Firſt, in that which they worſhip [f] they finde no ſuccour; and ſecondly, at his hands whom they ought to ſerue, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of moſt iuſt diſpleaſure, the [g] withdrawing of grace, [h] dereliction in this world, and in the world to come [i] confuſion.

b *Pſal.* 96.9

Their pretenſe that would haue Churches vtterly razed.

c *Pſal.* 137.7.

d *Deut.* 12.2.

e 2. *Chron.* 17.6 2. *chron.* 29. 2. *Chron.* 3.

f *Iſa.* 8.21. 4.20. *Hoſ.* 14.4. *Iſa* 41.24.

g *Pſal.* 115.8. 18.13. *Rom.* 1.24.

h *Iudic.* 6.13.

i *Apoc.* 21.1. *Iſa.* 2.21.

sion. [k] *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when Infidels admiring their vertues, went about
k *Act.*14.14. to sacrifice vnto them, rent their garments in token of horrour, and as frighted persons, ranne crying thoro w the preasse of the people, *O men, wherefore*
l *Deut.*28.10. *doe yee these things*? They knew the force of that dreadfull [l] curse whereunto Idolatry maketh subiect. Nor is there cause why the guilty sustayning the same, should grudge or complayne of iniustice. For whatsoeuer euill befalleth in that respect [m] themselues haue made themselues worthie to suffer
m *Ier.*2.17. it. As for those things either *whereon*, or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and depriued of that dignitie which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieue, and as it were, euen loathit selfe, whensoeuer iniquitie causeth it to serue vnto vile purposes. Idolatrie therefore maketh, whatsoeuer it toucheth, the worse. Howbeit sith creatures which haue no vnderstanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sinne; and onely that which sinneth is subiect to *punishment*; which way should any such creature be *punishable* by the law of God? There may bee cause sometime to *abolish*, or to *extinguish* them. But surely neuer by way of punishment *to the things themselues*. Yea farther. howsoeuer the Law of *Moses* did punish Idolaters, we finde not that God hath appointed for vs any definite or *certaine temporall iudgement*, which the Christian Magistrate *is of necessitie for euer* bound to execute vpon *offenders* in that kind, much lesse vpon *things* that way *abused* as meere *instruments*. For what God did commaund touching Canaan, the same concerneth not vs any otherwise then only as a fearefull patterne of his iust displeasure and wrath against sinnefull Nations. It teacheth vs how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them It doth not appoint in what forme and manner *wee ought* to punish the sinne of Idolatrie *in all others*. Vnlesse they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no couenant with the people of that Land, therefore leagues and truces made betweene superstitious persons, and such as serue God aright, are vnlawfull altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to roote them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas
n *Deut.*12.2. [n] *Commandement* was also giuen to destroy all *places* where the Cananites had serued the Gods, and not to conuert any of them to the honour of the true God: *this precept had reference vnto a speciall intent* and purpose, which was that there should be *but one onely place* in the whole Land, whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their *Leuiticall* law did require. By which law, seuere charge was giuen them in that respect, not to conuert *those places* to the worship of the liuing God, where Nations before
o *Deut.*12.4.5. them had serued Idols, [o] *But to seeke the place which the Lord their God should chuse out of all their tribes.* Besides, it is reason wee should likewise consider how great a difference there is betweene their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to haue neither people nor law, neither regiment nor religion the same that was, and theirs, who onely reforme a decayed estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swarued. In this case wee are to retaine as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore examples haue not *generally* the force of lawes which all men ought to keepe, but of counsels onely and perswasions not amisse to bee

followed

followed by them whoſe caſe is the like, ſurely where caſes are ſo vnlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did, ſhould induce, much leſſe any way enforce vs to the ſame practice, eſpecially conſidering that *groues* and *hill-altars* were, while they did remaine, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſſe, which people ſuperſtitiouſly giuen, might haue alwayes thereunto with eaſe, neither could they remayning ſerue with any fitneſſe vnto better purpoſe: whereas our Temples (their former abuſe being by order of law remoued) are not onely free from ſuch perill, but withall ſo conueniently framed for the people of God to ſerue and honour him therein, that no man beholding them, can chuſe but thinke it exceeding great pittie they ſhould be euer any otherwiſe employed. Yea but the cattell of *Amalek* (you will ſay) were *fit* for ſacrifice; and this was the very conceit which ſometime deceiued *Saul*. It was ſo. Nor doe I any thing doubt, but that *Saul* vpon this conceit might euen lawfully haue offered to God thoſe reſerued ſpoiles, had not the Lord *in that particular eaſe* giuen *ſpeciall charge* to the contrarie. As therefore notwithſtanding the commandement of *Iſrael* to deſtroy Gananites, Idolaters may be conuerted and liue: ſo the temples which haue ſerued Idolatrie as Inſtruments, may bee ſanctified againe and continue, albeit, to *Iſrael* commandement haue beene giuen, that *they* ſhould deſtroy all Idolatrous places *in their land*; and to the good Kings of *Iſrael* commendation for fulfilling, to the euill for diſobeying the ſame commandement, ſometimes puniſhment, alwayes ſharpe and ſeuere reproofe hath euen from the Lord himſelfe befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to haue written in defence of thoſe Chriſtian oratories, the ouerthrow and ruine whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turkes, but by a ſpeciall refined ſect of Chriſtian beleeuers; pretending themſelues exceedingly grieued at our ſolemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which we ſuffer them to hold, at their forme and faſhion, at the ſtatelineſſe of them and coſtlineſſe, at the opinion which wee haue of them, and at the manifold ſuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they haue beene put.

18 Places of publique reſort being thus prouided for, our repaire thither is eſpecially for mutuall conference, and as it were commerce to be had betweene God and vs. Becauſe therefore want [a] of the knowledg of God is the cauſe of all iniquitie amongſt men, as contrariwiſe, the very ground of all our happineſſe, and the ſeed of whatſoeuer perfect vertue groweth from vs, is a right opinion touching things diuine, this kind of knowledge wee may iuſtly ſet downe for the firſt and chiefeſt thing which God imparteth vnto his people, and our dutie of receiuing this at his mercifull hands, For the firſt of thoſe religious offices wherewith we publikely honour him on earth. For the inſtruction therefore of all ſorts of men to eternall life, it is neceſſary that the ſacred and ſauing truth of God be openly publiſhed vnto them. Which open publication of *heauenly myſteries*, is by an excellencie termed *preaching*. For otherwiſe there is not any thing *publikely notified*, but we may in that reſpect, rightly and properly ſay it is [b] *preached*. So that when the ſchoole of God doth vſe it as a *word of arte*, wee are accordingly to vnderſtand it with reſtraint to

Of publike teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kinde thereof, Catechiſing.

[a] *Contraria fortia in quibus homines ſibi inimicem opponantur ſecundum exercitia & deſideria & opiniones omnia prouenient ex ignorantia: ſicut cæcus ex priuatione ſui viſus vocatur vbiq; & leditur Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimiticiam & odium. Hoc primiſit ſancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, repleta eſt terra ſapiencia Domini, Moſes Aegypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. cap. 12.* [b] *Luk. 8. 39. 12, 3.*

ſuch

ſuch ſpeciall matter as that ſchoole is accuſtomed to publiſh. Wee finde not in the world any people that hath liued altogether without religion. And yet this dutie of religion, which prouideth that publiquely all ſorts of men may be inſtructed in the feare of God, is to the Church of God, and hath beene alwayes ſo peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how [a] curious ſoeuer in ſearching out all kindes of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could euer once ſo much as endeuour to reſemble *herein* the Churches care for the endleſſe good of her Children. Wayes of teaching there haue beene ſundrie alwayes vſuall in Gods Church. For the firſt introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, [b] the Iewes euen till this day haue their Catechiſmes. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences, the firſt deliuerie of the elements thereof muſt, for [c] like conſideration, bee framed according to the weake and ſlender capacitie of young beginners: vnto which manner of teaching principles in Chriſtianitie, the Apoſtle in the ſixth to the Hebrewes is himſelfe vnderſtood to allude. For this cauſe therefore, as the Decalogue of *Moſes* declareth ſummarily thoſe things which we ought to doe; the Prayer of our Lord whatſoeuer wee ſhould requeſt or deſire: ſo either by the [d] Apoſtles, or at the leaſtwiſe out of their Writings, we haue the ſubſtance of Chriſtian beliefe compendiouſly drawne into few and ſhort Articles, to the end that the weakneſſe of no mans wit might either hinder *Altogether* the knowledge, or excuſe the vtter ignorance of needfull things. Such as were trained vp in theſe rudiments, and were ſo made fit to be afterward by Baptiſme receiued into the Church, the Fathers vſually in their Writings doe terme [e] *Hearers*, as hauing no farther communion or fellowſhip with the Church, then onely this, that they were admitted to heare the principles of Chriſtian Faith made plaine vnto them. Catechiſing may be in ſchooles, it may be in priuate families. But when we make it a kind of Preaching, we meane alwayes the publike performance thereof in the open hearing of men, becauſe things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are publiſhed.

a *Vide Tertul. de præſcr. ad. hær.*

b The Iewes *Catech.* called *Lekach*, Tob.

c *Incipientibus breuius ac ſimplicius tradi præcepta magis conuenit. Aut enim difficultate inſtitutionis tam numeroſa atque perplexa deterreri ſolent; aut eo tempore quo præcipuæ alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quædam enutrienda ſunt aſperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur.* Fab. procem. lib. 8. *Incipientibus nobis exponere iura populi Romani, ita videntur poſſe tradi commodiſſimè, ſi primo leui ac ſimplici via poſt deinde diligentiſſima atque exactiſſima interpretatione ſingula tradantur. Alioqui ſi ſtatim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum ſtudioſi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus duorum alterum, aut deſertorem ſtudiorum afficiemus, aut cum magno labore eius, ſæpè etiam cùm diffidentia (quæ plerumque iuuenes auertit) ſerius ad id perducemus, ad quod leuiore via ductus, ſine magno labore & ſine vlla diffidentia maturius perduci potuiſſet.* Inſtitut. Imper. lib. 1. tit. 1.

d *Vide Ruff. in Symb.*

e Tertul. de pœnitent. *An alius eſt tinctis Chriſtus? Alius Audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præſumere oportet.* Cyprian. Epiſt. 17. lib. 3. *Audientibus vigilantia veſtra non deſit.* Rupert. de diuin. offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. *Audiens quiſque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.*

Of Preaching, by reading publikely the bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed vntruths in thoſe tranſlations of ſcripture which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choiſe which we make in reading.

19 *Moſes* and the Prophets Chriſt and his Apoſtles, were in their times all Preachers of Gods Truth; ſome by word, ſome by writing, ſome by both. This they did partly as faithfull *witneſſes*, making meere *relation* what God himſelfe had *reuealed* vnto them; and partly as carefull *Expounders*, teachers, perſwaders thereof. The Church in like caſe *preacheth* ſtill, firſt publiſhing by way of *teſtimonie* or relation, the truth which from them ſhe hath receiued, euen in ſuch ſort as it was receiued, *written in the ſacred Volumes of Scripture*; ſecondly, by way of *explication*, diſcouering the myſteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witneſſe, preacheth his meere reuealed Truth, by *reading* publikely the ſacred Scripture. So that a ſecond kind of preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldlier ſpeake, being ſtrengthened [f] with the

Acts 15. 21.

example

example of ſo reuerend a Prelate as ſaith, that *Moſes* from the time of ancient generations and ages long ſince paſt, had amongſt the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* hee was read euery Sabboth day. For ſo of neceſſitie it muſt be meant, in as much as we know, that the Iewes haue alwayes had their weekly readings of the *Law of Moſes*; but that they alwayes had in like manner their weekly *Sermons vpon ſome part of the Law of Moſes*, wee no where find. Howbeit ſtill wee muſt here remember, that the Church, by her publike reading of the Booke of God, preacheth only *as a witneſſe*. Now the principall thing required in a witneſſe is a fidelitie. Wherefore as we cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture, deliuereth in ſtead of diuine ſpeeches, any thing repugnant vnto that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame, which in both theſe reſpects hath beene laid vpon the Church of England, is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching Tranſlations of Holy Scripture, albeit wee may not diſallow of their painfull trauailes herein, who ſtrictly haue tied themſelues to the very originall letter, yet the iudgement of the Church as wee ſee by the practice of all Nations, *Greekes*, *Latines*, *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, hath beene euer, that the fitteſt for publike audience are ſuch, as following a middle courſe betweene the rigor of literall Tranſlators, and the libertie of Paraphraſts, doe with greateſt ſhortneſſe and plainneſſe deliuer the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. Which being a labour of ſo great difficultie, the exact performance thereof wee may rather wiſh then looke for. So that, except betweene the *words of tranſlation* and the *minde of Scripture* it ſelfe, there be *Contradiction*, euery little difference ſhould not ſeeme an intolerable blemiſh neceſſarily to be ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the [a] Prophet *Dauid* in a certaine Pſalme doth ſay concerning *Moſes* and *Aaron*, that they *were* obedient to the Word of God, and in the ſelfeſame place our allowed Tranſlation ſaith, they *were not* obedient; wee are for this cauſe challenged as manifeſt gain-ſayers of Scripture, euen in that which we reade for Scripture vnto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the minde of the ſpeaker conceiueth, and conceits are images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of, it followeth that they who will iudge of words, ſhould haue recourſe to the things themſelues from whence they riſe. In ſetting downe that miracle, at the ſight whereof *Peter* fell downe aſtoniſhed before the feet of Ieſus, and cryed, *Depart, Lord, I am a ſinner*, the [b] Euangeliſt Saint *Luke* ſaith, the ſtore of the fiſh which they tooke was ſuch, that the net they tooke it in *brake*, and the ſhips which they loaded therewith ſuncke; [c] Saint *Iohn* recording the like miracle, ſaith, that albeit the fiſhes in number were ſo many, yet the net with ſo great a waight was *not broken*. Suppoſe they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifeſt ſhew of iarre; yet none, if wee looke vpon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both haue ſpoken euen of one miracle, the very ſame which they ſpake of diuers, the one intending thereby to ſignifie that the greatneſſe of the burthen exceeded the naturall ability of the inſtruments which they had to beare it; the other, that the weakneſſe thereof was ſupported by a ſupernatuall and miraculous addi-

[a] *Pſal.* 105. 28.

[b] *Luc.* 5. 6, 7.

[c] *Iohn* 21. 11.

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tion of ſtrength. The Nets, as touching themſelues *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the wordes of the [a] Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethleem*, Thou *Bethleem* the leaſt? And doth not the very [b] Euangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, Thou *Bethleem not the leaſt?* the one regarding the quantitie of the place, the other the dignitie. *Micheas* attributeth vnto it ſmalneſſe, in reſpect of circuit; *Matthew* greatneſſe, in regard of honour and eſtination, by being the natiue ſoyle of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt. Sith therefore ſpeeches, which gain-ſay one another, muſt of neceſſitie be applied both vnto one and the ſame ſubiect; ſith they muſt alſo the one affirme, the other deny the ſelfe-ſame thing: what neceſſitie of contradiction can there be betweene the letter of the Prophet *Dauid* and our authorized tranſlation thereof, if hee vnderſtanding *Moſes* and *Aaron* doe ſay, *They* were not *diſobedient*; we applying our ſpeech to *Pharao* and the *Ægyptians*, doe ſay of them, *They* were not *obedient?* Or (which the matter it ſelfe will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the *Ægyptians* being meant by both, it be ſaid that *they*, in regard of [c] their offer to let goe the people, when they ſaw the fearefully darkneſſe, *diſobeyed not* the Word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his Word, in as much as the ſheepe and cattell at the ſelfe-ſame time they withheld. Of both Tranſlations the better. I willingly acknowledge, that which commeth neerer to the very letter of the originall veritie: yet ſo, that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any perill at all of gain-ſaying, as much as the leaſt iot or ſyllable of Gods moſt ſacred and precious truth. Which truth as in this we doe not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gain-ſayed or croſt, no not in thoſe very preambles placed before certaine readings, wherein the ſteps of the Latine Seruice-booke haue bin ſomewhat too neerly followed. As when wee ſay, Chriſt ſpake [d] *to his Diſciples*, that which the Goſpell declareth he ſpake [e] *vnto the Phariſes*. For doth the Goſpell affirme he ſpake to the *Phariſes only?* doth it meane that they, and beſides them, no man elſe was at that time ſpoken vnto by our Sauiour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diuerſitie no contrarietie. I ſuppoſe it ſomewhat probable, that Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Matthew*, which haue recorded thoſe Sermons, heard them, and being hearers, did thinke themſelues as well reſpected as the *Phariſes*, in that which their Lord and Maſter taught, concerning the Paſtorall care he had ouer his owne flocke, and his offer of grace made to the whole World, which things are the matter whereof he treateth in thoſe Sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we reade for the Word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant vnto his Word. Furthermore ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed, in that wee follow not the method of reading which [f] in their iudgement is moſt commendable, the method vſed in ſome forren Churches, where Scriptures are read *before* the time of diuine Seruice, and without either *choice* or *ſtint appointed* by any *determinate* order. Neuertheleſſe, till ſuch time as they ſhall vouchſafe vs ſome iuſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, wee muſt by their patience, if not allowance, retaine the [g] ancient receiued cuſtome which wee now obſerue. For with vs the reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Liturgie, a ſpeciall portion of the Seruice which wee doe to God, and not an exerciſe to ſpend the time when one doth waite for anothers comming, till the aſſembly of them that ſhall afterward worſhip him be complete. Where-

fore

a *Matth.* 5.2.
b *Matth.* 2.6.
c *Exod.* 10.24.
d The Goſpell on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the twentieth after Trinitie.
e *Iohn* 10.11. *Matth.* 22.1.
f *T. C. l.* 2 *p.* 381 Although it be very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches, where before preachingtime the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare publike reading in the Church neceſſarie had.
g *Aug. de Ciuit. de lib.* 22 *cap.* 8. *Facto ſilentio ſcripturarum ſunt lecta diuina ſolennia.* That for ſeuerall times ſeuerall pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Seruice of the Greek Church, the Fathers therof in their ſundry Homilies and other Writings doe all teſtifie the like order in the Syrian Churches, is cleere by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their tranſlation of the New Teſtament. See the Edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerpe.

fore as the forme of our publique ſeruice is not voluntary, ſo neither are the parts thereof vncertaine, but they are all ſet downe in ſuch order, and with ſuch choiſe, as hath in the wiſedome of the Church ſeemed beſt to concurre as well with the ſpeciall occaſions, as with the generall purpoſe which wee haue to glorifie God.

2o Other publique readings there are of Bookes and writings not Canonicall, whereby the Church doth alſo preach, or openly make knowne the doctrine of vertuous conuerſation; wherevpon, beſides thoſe things, in regard whereof wee are thought to reade the Scriptures of God amiſſe, it is thought amiſſe, that wee reade in our Churches any thing at all beſides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any ſuch profitable inſtruction, as the Church hath deuiſed for the better vnderſtanding of Scripture, or for the eaſier trayning vp of the people in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe of life, they a pleade, that God in the Law would haue *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither beſomes, nor fleſh-hookes, nor trumpets, but thoſe onely which were ſanctified; that for the expounding of darker places, we *ought* to follow the Iewes * Politie, who vnder *Antiochus*, where they had not the commoditie of Sermons, appointed alwayes at their meetings ſomewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and ſo by the one made the other plainer to bee vnderſtood; that before and after our Sauiours comming they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Ionathans* Paraphraſe, though hauing both, but contented themſelues[b] with the reading onely of Scriptures; that if in the Primitiue Church there had beene any thing read beſides the monuments of the Prophets and Apoſtles. [c] *Iuſtin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention theſe, would haue ſpoken of the other likewiſe; that [d] the moſt auncient and beſt Councels forbid any thing to be read in Churches ſauing Canonicall Scripture onely; that when [e] other things were afterwards permitted [f] fault was found with it, it ſucceeded but ill, the Bible it ſelfe was thereby in time quite and cleane thruſt out. Which arguments, if they be onely brought in token of the Authors good-will and meaning towards the cauſe which they would ſet forward, muſt accordingly bee accepted of by them, who already are perſwaded the ſame way. But if their drift and purpoſe be to perſwade others, it would be demaunded, by what rule the legall *hallowing of* beſomes and fleſhhookes muſt muſt needes exclude all other readings in the Church ſaue Scripture. Things ſanctified were thereby in ſuch ſort appropriated vnto God, as that they might neuer afterwards againe be made common. For which cauſe, the Lord, to ſigne and marke them as his owne, [g] appoynted oyle of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawfull to make for ordinary and daily vſes. Thus the [h] anoynted of *Aaron* and his ſonnes tyed them to the office of the Prieſt-hood for euer; the anoynting not of thoſe ſiluer trumpets (which [i] *Moſes* as well for ſecular as ſacred vſes was commanded to make, not to ſanctifie) but the vnction of the [k] Tabernacle, the table, the lauer, the Altar of God, with all the inſtruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for euer holy vnto him, in whoſe ſeruice they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things

Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning bookes Apocriphall.

a *T.C.l.* 1. *pag.* 196. Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are all to bee read in the Church. Wherein firſt it is good to conſider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times paſt, when hee commanded *Exod.* 30.29 that no veſſell, nor no inſtrument, eyther beſome or fleſh hooke or pan ſhould once come into the Temple, but thoſe onely which were ſanctified and ſet apart for that vſe. And in the Booke of Numbers, hee will haue no other trumpets blowne to call the people together, but thoſe onely which were ſet apart for that purpoſe. *Numb.* 10.2.

* *T.C.l.*2.*p.*197. Beſides this, the Politie of the Church of God in times paſt is to bee followed, &c.

b *Act.* 13.15. *Act.* 15.21.

c *Iuſtin. Apol.* 2. *Origen. Hom.* 1. *ſuper Exod. & in Iudic.*

d *Concil. Laod. cap.* 59.

e *Concil. Vaſenſe.*

f *Concil. Colon. par.* 2.

g *Exod.* 30.25. 32.

h *Exod.* 40.15.

i *Numb.* 10.2.

k *Exod.* 27.3. & 30.26.27.28

things now in the Church, from the greateſt *to the leaſt*, are vnholy, which the Lord hath not himſelfe preciſely inſtituted? For ſo thoſe rudiments, they ſay, doe import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authoritie hath appoynted, and conſequently all poſitiue ordinances that euer were made by Eccleſiaſticall power, touching ſpirituall affaires, are prophane, they are vnholy. I would not wiſh them to vndertake a worke ſo deſperate as to proue, that for the peoples inſtruction no kinde of reading is good, but onely that which the Iewes deuiſed vnder *Antiochus*, although euen that bee alſo miſtaken. For according to m *Elias* the Leuite (out of whom it doth ſeeme borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbad, was the publique reading of the Law, and not *Sermons* vpon the Law. Neither did the Iewes reade a portion of the Prophets, together with the Law, to ſerue for an interpretation thereof, becauſe Sermons were not permitted them; But inſtead of the Law, which they might not reade openly, they reade of the Prophets that, which in likenſſe of matter came neereſt to each ſection of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the a Law was reſtored, the ſelfe ſame cuſtome b as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Iewes haue vſed publikely to reade their Paraphraſts, c nor the Primitiue Church for a long time any other writings then Scripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it, were ſome Law of God, or reaſon forbidding them to doe that which we doe, why ſhould the latter ages of the Church bee depriued of the Libertie the former had? Are wee bound while the world ſtandeth, to put nothing in practice, but onely that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Councell of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonicall, ſo it maketh d ſome things not Canonicall which are. Their iudgement in this wee may not, and in that we need not follow. We haue by thus many yeares experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconuenience, hath growne by the cuſtome which wee now obſerue. As for the harme whereof iudicious men haue complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture but that ſo euill choiſe was made. With vs there is neuer any time beſtowed in diuine Seruice, without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which wee account a thing moſt neceſſary. Wee dare not admit any ſuch forme of Liturgie, as either appointeth no ſcripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to bee feared, where men eſteeme it a matter e ſo indifferent, whether the ſame bee by ſolemne appointment read publiquely, or not read, the bare text excepted, which the Preacher happily chuſeth out to expound. But let vs heere conſider what the Practice of our Fathers before vs hath beene, and how farre foorth the ſame may bee followed. Wee finde, that in auncient times there was publiquely read firſt the f Scripture, as namely, ſome thing out of the Bookes of the g Prophets of God, which were of old, ſomething out of

]T.C.l.1 p.197. The Lord would by theſe rudiments and pædagogie teach, that he would haue nothing brought into the Church, but that which hee had appointed.

m *Elias Theſb. in verbo Patar.*

a *Acts* 15.21.

b *Acts* 13.15.

c T.C.l.1 p.197 This practice continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appeare by the ſecond Apologie of *Iuſtin. Martyr.* *Idem. p.* 198. It was decreed in the Councell of Laodicea, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonicall bookes of the old and new Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs liues was permitted. But beſides the euill ſucceſſe thereof that vſe and cuſtome was controld as may appeare by Counſell of Colon. albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies & Martyrs liues, hath thruſt the Bible cleane out of the Church, or into a corner. d The Apocalips. e T.C.l.2.p.381. It is vntrue, that *ſimple reading* is neceſſarie in the Church. A number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods Commandement, which they might be if ſimple reading were *neceſſary*. [By ſimple reading, he meaneth the cuſtome of beare reading more, then the Preacher at the ſame time expoundeth vnto the people] f *Coimus ad diuinarum literarum commemorationem*, Tertul. Apolog. p. 692. g *Iudaicarum hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſiis.* Orig. in Ioſ. Hom 15.

the

[a] the Apoſtles writings; and laſtly out of the holy [b] Euangeliſts, ſome things which touched the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The cauſe of their reading firſt the old Teſtament, then the new, and alwaies ſomewhat out of both, is moſt likely to haue beene that which *Iuſtin Martyr* and S. *Auguſtine* obſerue in comparing the two Teſtaments. [c] *The Apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *hath taught vs as themſelues did learne, firſt the precepts of the Law, and then the Goſpels. For what elſe is the Law, but the Goſpell foreſhewed? What other the Goſpell then the Law fulfilled?* In like ſort the other, [d] *What the old Teſtament, hath the very ſame the new containeth, but that which lieth there as vnder a ſhadow, is here brought forth into the open Sunne. Things there prefigured, are heere performed.* Againe, *In the old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the new, in the new an open diſcouerie of the old.* To bee ſhort, the method of their publique readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſtwiſe doth fitly ſerue, [e] *That from ſmaller things the minde of the hearers may goe forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees clime vp from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now beſides the Scripture, the bookes which they called *Eccleſiaſticall*, were thought not vnworthy ſometime to be brought into publique audience, and with that name they entituled the Bookes which wee terme *Apocryphall*. Vnder the ſelfe-ſame name they alſo compriſed certaine, no otherwiſe annexed vnto the new, then the former to the old Teſtament, as a booke of *Hermes*, Epiſtles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the Phraſe of Antiquitie, theſe we may terme *the new*, and the other the *old Eccleſiaſticall* bookes or writings. For wee being directed by a ſentence (I ſuppoſe) of Saint *Ierome*, who ſaith, that [f] *All writings not Canonicall are Apocryphall*, vſe not the title *Apocryphall*, as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily haue done, whoſe cuſtome is ſo to name for the moſt part onely, ſuch as might not publiquely be read or divulged. *Ruffinus* therefore hauing rehearſed the ſelfe-ſame bookes of Canonicall Scripture, which with vs are held to be alone Canonicall, addeth immediately by way of caution, [g] *Wee muſt know that other bookes there are alſo, which our forefathers haue vſed to name not Canonicall, But Eccleſiaſticall bookes, as the booke of* Wiſedome, Eccleſiaſticus, Tobie, Iudith, *the* Maccabes *in the old Teſtament; in the new, the booke of* Hermes, *and ſuch others. All which bookes and Writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleaged, as if their authoritie did binde vs to build vpon them our faith. Other writings they named Apocryphall, which they would not haue read in Churches. Theſe things deliuered vnto vs from the Fathers, we haue in this place thought good to ſet downe.* So farre *Ruffinus*. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged writings, dangerous vnto Chriſtian beliefe, and yet bearing [h] glorious inſcriptions, began ſoone vpon the Apoſtles times to be admitted [i] into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had beene indeed Apoſtolike, ſhall eaſily perceiue what cauſe the Prouinciall Synod of [i] *Laodicea* might haue *as then to* preuent, eſpecially the danger of bookes made newly Eccleſiaſticall, and for feare of the fraud of Heretikes, to prouide, that ſuch publique readings might bee altogether taken out of Canonicall Scripture. Which ordi-

[a] Παντων καλ' σόλεις ἢ ἀγρὸς μενόντων ἐπι τὸ αὐτὸ σωίλευσις, γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢτα συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. Iuſtin. Apol. 2. pag. 162. Factum eſt vt iſta die Dominica Prophetica lectione iã leſta, ante altare adſtante, qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret, beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius, &c. Sulpit. Seuer. lib. 3. de vita S. Mart. [b] Vide Concil. Vaſe 2. habitũ an. Dom 444. to. Concil. 2. p. 19. Item Synod. Laod. cap. 16. Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 5. & lib. 4 epiſt. 5. Ambr. lib. 1. Offic. cap. 8. & Epiſt. 75. & lib. de Helia atque ieiunio, cap. 20. [c] Iuſt. queſt. 101. [d] Auguſt. queſt. 33. in Numer.

[e] Walfr. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.

[f] Hieron in Prolog. Galeat.

[g] Ruffinus in Symbol. Apoſt. apud Cypr.

[h] Vide Gelaſ. in decret to. Concil. 2. p. 464.

[i] Circa An. Dom. 366.

nance reſpecting, but that abuſe that grew through the intermingling of leſſons humane with ſacred, at ſuch time as the one both affected the credit, and vſurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of [a] a latter Councell prouiding remedie for the ſelfe ſame euill, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſticall Bookes to be read, it doth more plainely and cleerely appeare) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be vrged vtterly to preiudice our vſe of thoſe olde Eccleſiaſticall writings; much leſſe of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings vſuall in former times, a moſt commendable inſtitution as well then [b] to ſupply the caſuall, as now the neceſſarie defect of Sermons. In the heate of generall perſecution whereunto Chriſtian Beleefe was ſubiect, vpon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancie of weaker mindes, when publique relation was made vnto them, after what manner GOD had beene glorified through the ſufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for holineſſe during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miraculous euidence of grace diuine aſſiſting them from aboue. For which cauſe the vertues of ſome being thought expedient to bee annually had in remembrance aboue the reſt, this brought in [c] a fourth kind of publique reading, whereby the liues of ſuch Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yeerely memorials ſolemne recognition in the Church of GOD. The fond imitation of which laudable cuſtome being in latter ages reſumed, when there was neither the like cauſe to doe as the Fathers before had done; nor any care, conſcience, or wit in ſuch as vndertooke to performe that worke, ſome braineleſſe men haue by great labour and trauaile brought to paſſe, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more then of Saints. If therefore Pope [d] *Gelaſius* did ſo long ſithence ſee thoſe defects of iudgement euen then, for which the reading of the Acts of Martyrs ſhould bee and was at that time forborne in the Church of *Rome*; wee are not to maruaile, that afterwards Legends being growne in a manner to be nothing elſe but heapes of friuolous and ſcandalous vanities, they haue beene euen with diſdaine throwne out, the [e] very neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſute, as if they, who aboliſh Legends, could not without incongruitie retaine in the Church either Homilies, or thoſe olde *Eccleſiaſticall Bookes*: Which bookes in caſe my ſelfe did thinke, as ſome others doe, ſafer and better to be left publikely vnread; neuertheleſſe as in other things of like nature, euen ſo in this, [f] my priuate iudgement I ſhould be loth to oppoſe againſt the force of their reuerend authority, who rather conſidering the diuine excellencie of ſome things in all, and of all things in certaine of thoſe *Apocrypha* which we publikely read, haue thought it better to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginall border vnto the old Teſtament, and, though with diuine, yet as humane compoſitions to grant at the leaſt vnto certaine of them publike audience in the houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heauenly truth dependeth wholly vpon the knowne and approued authority of thoſe famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoueth the Church to haue alwayes moſt eſpeciall care, leſt through confuſed mixture at any time humane vſurpe the roome and title of diuine writings. Wherefore albeit for the peoples

[a] *Concil. Carthag. 3. cap. 47. Præter ſcripturas Canonicas nihilin Eccleſiis legatur ſub nomine diuinarum ſcripturarum. Circa an. D. 401*

[b] *Concil. Vaſen. 2. habitum, an. Dom. 444. to. Concil. 2. p. 19. Si presbiter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per. ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare ſanctorum patrum homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur.*

[c] *Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 13. & Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. & Hadria epiſt. ad Carol. Magn.*

[d] *Gelaſi circa an. Dom. 492. to Concil. 2. p. 461.*

[e] *Concil. Colonien. celebrat. an. Dom. 536. part. 2. cap. 6. Meleh. Can. lo. cor. theol lib. 11 Viu. de trad. diſc. lib. 5.*

[f] *in errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt. c. vnde relig. do. in Extra,*

peoples [a] more plaine inſtruction (as the ancient vſe hath beene) we reade in our Churches certaine Bookes beſides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture wee reade them not. All men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſeuer them from the Scripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome one or other will haply miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in euery mans eye, there is no let, but that as often as thoſe Bookes are read, and need ſo requireth, the ſtile of their difference may expreſſely be mentioned, to barre euen all poſſibilie of error. It being then knowne, that wee hold not the *Apocrypha* for ſacred (as we doe the holy Scripture) but for humane compoſitions, the ſubiect whereof are ſundry diuine matters; let there be reaſon ſhewed, why to reade any part of them publikely, it ſhould be vnlawfull or hurtfull vnto the Church of God. I heare it ſaid, that [b] *many things* in them are very *friuolous*, and vnworthy of publike audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently proued by him who ſaith it, and if the prooſes thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation it ſelfe is weake. Let vs therefore ſuppoſe (for I will not demand to what purpoſe it is) that againſt our cuſtome of reading Bookes not Canonicall, they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe Bookes which we neuer vſe to read) ſuppoſe (I ſay) that what faults ſoeuer they haue obſerued throughout the paſſages of all thoſe Bookes, the ſame in euery reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe, then euen as themſelues pretend: Yet as men, through too much haſte, oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they ſhould goe, ſo here it appeareth, that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoeuer might preiudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphall Bookes, hath cauſed the Collectors Pen ſo to run as it were on wheeles, that the minde which ſhould guide it, had no leiſure to thinke, whether that which might haply ſerue to withhold from giuing them the authoritie which belongeth vnto ſacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually ſerue to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from granting vnto them that publique vſe, wherein they are onely held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged, that thoſe Bookes are [c] *Holy*, that they are *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Sacred*, that to terme them *Diuine*, as being for their excellencie next vnto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honor them aboue deſert; yea, euen that the whole Church of Chriſt, as well *at the firſt as ſithence*, hath moſt worthily approued their fitneſſe for the publike informations of life and manners: Is not thus much I ſay acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithſtanding receiue not the ſame for *any part of Canonicall Scripture*, by them who deny not but that they are *faultie*, by them who are readie enough to giue inſtances, wherin they ſeeme to containe matter *ſcarce agreeable with holy Scripture*? So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed faultineſſe in moderate mens iudgement inforce the remouall of them out of the Houſe of God, that ſtill they are iudged to retaine worthily thoſe very Titles of Commendation; then which, there cannot greater be giuen to Writings, the Authors whereof are Men. As in truth, if the Scripture it ſelfe, aſcribing to the perſons of men righteouſneſſe in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be conſtrued, as though it did thereby cleare them and make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon wee ſhould

[a] *Hier. præfat. adlibros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. li. 1. c. 14. Præfat. gloſſ. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron in Tob.*

[b] *T. C. lib. 2. pag. 400. 401.*

[c] *Harm. Confeſ. Sect. 1. Belg. con. art. Lubert. de princip. Chriſt. dogm. lib. 1. c. 5.*

iudge it abſurde to commend their Writings as reuerend, holy, and ſound, wherein there are ſo many ſingular perfections[a], onely for that the exquiſite wits of ſome few peraduenture are able diſperſedly here and there to find now a word and then a ſentence, which may be more probably ſuſpected then eaſily cleared of error by vs which haue but coniecturall knowledge of their meaning. Againſt immodeſt Inuectiues therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with [a] *outragious lies*, wee doubt not but their more allowable cenſure will preuaile, who without ſo paſſionate termes of diſgrace, doe note a difference great enough betweene Apocryphall and other writings, a difference ſuch as [b] *Ioſephus* and *Epiphanius* obſerue: the one declaring, that amongſt the Iewes, Bookes written after the dayes of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equall credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Iewes ſithence that time had not the like exact ſucceſſion of Prophets; the [c] other acknowledging that they are *profitable*, although denying them to be *diuine*, in ſuch conſtruction and ſenſe as the Scripture it ſelfe is ſo termed. With what intent they were firſt publiſhed, thoſe words of the [d] Nephew of *Ieſus* doe plainly enough ſignifie, *After that my grandfather* Ieſus *had giuen himſelfe to the reading of the* Law *and the* Prophets, *and* other Bookes of our Fathers, *and had* gotten therein *ſufficient iudgement*, *hee* purpoſed *alſo to write ſomething* pertaining to Learning and Wiſdome, *to the intent*, that they which were deſirous to learne, *and would giue themſelues to theſe things*, might profit *much more in liuing according to the Law*. Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the ſame. The Bookes of *Iudith*, *Toby*, *Baruch*, *Wiſdome*, and *Eccleſiaſticus*, wee reade, as ſeruing moſt vnto that end. The reſt wee leaue vnto men in priuate. Neither can it be reaſonably thought, becauſe vpon certaine ſolemne occaſions, ſome Leſſons are choſen out of thoſe Bookes, and of Scripture it ſelfe ſome Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby doe offer diſgrace to the Word of God, or lift vp the Writings of men aboue it. For in ſuch choice we doe not thinke, but that *fitneſſe* of ſpeech may be more reſpected then *worthineſſe*. If in that which wee vſe to read, there happen by the way any Clauſe, Sentence, or Speech, that ſoundeth towards error, ſhould the mixture of a little droſſe conſtraine the Church to depriue her ſelfe of ſo much Gold, rather then learne how by art and iudgement to make ſeparation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counſell that Saint *Ierome* giueth *Læta*, of taking heed how ſhe read the *Apocrypha*, as alſo by the helpe of other learned mens iudgements deliuered in like caſe, we may take direction. But ſurely, the arguments that ſhould bind vs not to read them, or any part of them publiquely at all, muſt be ſtronger then as yet we haue heard any.

a The Libell of *Metaphyſ. Schoolp. art.* 34.

b *Ioſeph. cont. App. lib.* 1.

c *Epiph. in Anc yrot.* χρήσιμοι μέν ἐισι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι ἀλλ' ἐις ἀριθμὸν βιβλίων ἐκ ἀναφέρονται.

d *Præf. ad lib. Eccleſ.*

Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the onely ordinarie way of Teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods Truth.

21 We maruaile the leſſe that our reading of Bookes not Canonicall is ſo much impugned, when ſo little is attributed vnto the reading of Canonicall Scripture it ſelfe; that now it hath growne to be a queſtion, whether the *Word of God* be any *ordinary meane* to ſaue the Soules of men, in that it is either priuately ſtudied, or publikely read, and ſo made knowne, or elſe onely as the ſame is *preached*, that is to ſay, *explained by liuely voice*, and *applied* to the peoples vſe, *as the ſpeaker in his wiſdome* thinketh meet. For this alone is it which they vſe to call *Preaching*. The publike reading of the *Apocrypha* they condemne alſo.

altogether as a thing effectuall vnto euill, the *bare* reading *in like ſort* of whatſoeuer, yea euen of Scriptures themſelues, they miſlike, as a thing *vneffectuall* to doe *that good*, which we are perſwaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent controuerſie, as in the reſt, not to be carried vp and downe with the waues of vncertaine arguments, but rather poſitiuely to leade on the mindes of the ſimpler ſort by plaine and eaſie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it ſelfe doe make manifeſt what is truth. Firſt therefore, becauſe whatſoeuer is ſpoken concerning the efficacie or neceſſitie of *Gods Word*, the ſame they tie and reſtraine onely vnto *Sermons*, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for ſuch they alſo abhorre in the Church) but Sermons without booke, Sermons which ſpend their life in their birth, and may haue publique audience but once: for this cauſe, to auoid ambiguities, wherewith they often intangle themſelues, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God in it ſelfe, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his heauenly Truth, touching matters of eternall life reuealed & vttered vnto Men, vnto Prophets and Apoſtles by immediate diuine inſpiration, from them to vs by their Books and Writings. We therefore haue no *Word of God* but the Scripture. Apoſtoliqne Sermons were vnto ſuch as heard them, his Word, euen as properly as to vs their Writings are. Howbeit not ſo our owne Sermons, the expoſitions which our diſcourſe of Wit doth gather and miniſter out of the Word of God. For which cauſe, in this preſent queſtion we are, when we name the *Word of God*, alwayes to meane the *Scripture only*. The end of the Word of God is *to ſaue*, and therefore we terme it *the Word of Life*. The way for all men to be ſaued, is by the knowledge of that truth which the Word hath taught. And ſith eternall Life is a thing of it ſelfe communicable vnto all, it behoueth that the Word of God, the neceſſary meane thereunto, be ſo likewiſe. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been alwayes a treaſure, though precious, yet eaſie, as well to attaine, as to find, leſt any man deſirous of life ſhould periſh through the difficultie of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwiſe ſerueth, then only in the nature of a doctrinall inſtrument. It ſaueth, becauſe it maketh *wiſe to ſaluation*. Wherefore the ignorant it ſaueth not, they which liue by the Word, muſt know it. And being it ſelfe the inſtrument which God hath purpoſely framed, thereby to worke the knowledge of ſaluation in the hearts of men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of it ſelfe be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely meane, to leaue an *apprehenſion* of things diuine in our vnderſtanding, and in the mind an *aſſent* therunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his owne wiſdome, hath by deliuering his Word, made choiſe of the Scriptures, as the moſt effectuall meanes, whereby thoſe Treaſures might be imparted vnto the World, it followeth, that to mans vnderſtanding the Scripture muſt needs be euen of it ſelfe intended as a full and perfect diſcouerie, ſufficient to imprint in vs the liuely character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainment of eternall Life. And concerning our aſſent to the myſteries of heauenly Truth, ſeeing that the Word of God, for the Authors ſake, hath credit with all that confeſſe it (as we all doe) to be his Word, euery Propoſition of holy Scripture, euery Sentence being to vs a Principle; if the Principles of all kinds of knowledge elſe haue

2. Tim. 3. 15.

that vertue in themſelues, whereby they are able to procure our aſſent vnto ſuch concluſions, as the induſtrie of right diſcourſe doth gather from them, we haue no reaſon to thinke the Principles of that Truth, which tendeth vnto mans euerlaſting happineſſe, leſſe forcible then any other, when wee know that of all other they aae for their certaintie the moſt infallible. But as euery thing of price, ſo this doth require trauaile. We bring not the knowledge of God with vs into the World. And the leſſe our owne opportunitie or abilitie that way, the more wee need the helpe of others mens Iudgements, to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man euer beleeue, into whom the doctrine of beliefe is not inſtilled by inſtruction, ſome way receiued at the firſt from others. Wherein whatſoeuer fit meanes there are to notifie the myſteries of the Word of God, whether publiquely (which wee call *Preaching*) or in priuate howſoeuer, the Word by *euery ſuch meane* euen *ordinarily* doth ſaue, and not onely by being deliuered vnto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the onely preaching* which doth ſaue Soules. For concerning the vſe and ſenſe of this Word *Preaching*, which they ſhut vp in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more then enough haue alreadie beene ſpoken, to redeeme the libertie thereof, yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much, and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their eares with hearing, how others whom they more regard, are in this caſe accuſtomed to vſe the ſelfe-ſame language with vs, whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride. [a] *Iuſtin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the Græcians, that euen in certaine of their *Writings* the very Iudgement to come is preached; nor the [b] Councell of *Vaus* to inſinuate, that Presbyters, abſent through infirmitie from their Churches, might be ſaid to preach by thoſe Deputies, who in their ſtead did but reade *Homilies*; nor the [c] Councell of *Toledo*, to call the vſuall publique reading of the *Goſpels* in the Church, preaching; not [d] others, long before theſe our dayes to write, that by him who but readeth a *Leſſon* in the ſolemne Aſſembly as part of Diuine Seruice, the very Office of Preaching is ſo far-forth executed. Such kind of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would haue maruelled to heare the [e] outcryes which we doe, becauſe we thinke, that the Apoſtles *in writing*, & others *in reading* to the Church thoſe Bookes which the Apoſtles wrote, are neither vntruly nor vnfitly ſaid to *preach*. For although mens *Tongues* and their *Pens* differ, yet to one and the ſelfe *ſame* generall, if not particular *effect*, they may both ſerue. It is no good argument, Saint *Paul* could not *write with his Tongue*, therefore neither could he *preach with his Pen*. For preaching is a generall end whereunto writing and ſpeaking doe both ſerue. Men ſpeake not with the inſtruments of writing, neither write with the inſtruments of ſpeech, and yet things *recorded* with the one, and *vttered* with the other, may be [f] *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles preached as well when they wrote as when they ſpake the Goſpell of Chriſt, and our vſuall *publike reading* of the Word of God for the peoples inſtruction, *is preaching*. Nor about words would we euer contend, were not their purpoſe in ſo reſtraining the ſame, iniurious to Gods moſt ſacred Word and Spirit. It is on both ſides confeſt, that the Word of God outwardly adminiſtred (his [g] Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) conuerteth, edifieth, and ſaueth Soules. Now whereas the externall admi-

a *Parænet. ad Gent. pag.* 17.
b *Concil. Vaſen. 2. cap.* 2.
c *Concil. Tol.* 4. *cap.* 11.
d *Rupert. de Diuin. Offic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12, 13. *Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. lib.* 1. *c.* 10
e The libell of *School. part.* 11. T. C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 388. Saint *Pauls* writing is no more preaching, then his pen or his hand is his Tongue: ſeeing they cannot be the ſame, which cannot be made by the ſame Inſtruments.
f *Euangelizo manu & ſcriptione. Rainol. de Rom. Eccleſ. Idololat. præf. ad Co. Eſſex.*
g *Iohn* 6. 46. *Matth.* 16, 17. 2 *Cor.* 4. 6. 1 *Cor.* 12 3. *Acts* 16, 14.

adminiſtration of his Word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaning the ſame when Sermons thereon be made, in the one they deny, that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certaine *principall operations*, which we moſt ſtedfaſtly hold and beleeue that it hath in both.

22 So worthy a part of Diuine Seruice we ſhould greatly wrong, if we did not eſteeme Preaching as the bleſſed Ordinance of God, Sermons as Keyes to the Kingdome of Heauen, as Wings to the Soule, as Spurres to the good Affections of Man, vnto the ſound and healthy as Food, as Phyſicke vnto diſeaſed mindes. Wherefore how highly ſoeuer it may pleaſe them with words of truth to extoll Sermons, they ſhall not herein offend vs. Wee ſeeke not to derogate from any thing which they can iuſtly eſteeme, but our deſire is to vphold the iuſt eſtimation of that, from which it ſeemeth vnto vs they derogate more then becommeth them. That which offendeth vs, is, firſt the great diſgrace which they offer vnto *our Cuſtome* of bare reading the Word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *principall* vertue whereof thereby manifeſting it ſelfe, for the endleſſe good of mens Soules, euen the vertue which it hath to *conuert*, to *edifie*, to *ſaue* Soules; this they mightily ſtriue to obſcure: and ſecondly, the ſhifts wherewith they maintaine their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *ſauing* power of the Holy Ghoſt, they ſeparate from all *apparent* hope of life and ſaluation, thouſands whom the goodneſſe of Almightie God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the vſe of Scripture, euen in that it is openly read, and the ineſtimable good which the Church of God by that very meane hath reaped; there was, we may very well thinke, ſome cauſe, which moued the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* to [a] require, that thoſe things which any one Churches affaires gaue particular occaſion to write, might for the inſtruction of all be publiſhed, and that by *reading*. 1. When the very hauing of the Bookes of God was a matter of no ſmall charge and difficultie, in as much as they could not be had otherwiſe then only in written Copies, it was the neceſſitie not of preaching things agreeable with the Word, but of reading the Word it ſelfe at large to the people, which cauſed Churches throughout the World to haue publique care, that the ſacred Oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great ſedulitie be kept both intire and ſincere. If then wee admire the prouidence of God in the ſame continuance of Scripture, notwithſtanding the violent endeuours of Infidels to aboliſh, and the fraudulent of Heretiques alwayes to deprane the ſame, ſhall we ſet light by that cuſtome of reading, from whence ſo precious a benefit hath growne? 2. The The voice and teſtimonie of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be Law of the liuing God, is for the truth and certaintie thereof no meane euidence. For if with reaſon we may preſume vpon things which a few mens depoſitions doe teſtifie, ſuppoſe we that the minds of men are not both at their firſt acceſſe to the Schoole of Chriſt exceedingly moued, yea and for euer afterwards alſo confirmed much, when they conſider the maine conſent of all the Churches in the whole World witneſſing the ſacred authoritie of Scriptures, euer ſithence the firſt publication thereof, euen till this preſent day and houre? And that they all haue alwayes ſo teſtified, I ſee not how wee ſhould poſſibly wiſh a proofe more palpable, then this manifeſt receiued and euery-where con-

What they attribute to Sermons onely, and what wee to Reading alſo.

a 1. *Theſſ.* 5. 27. *Coloſſ.* 4. 16.

continued cuſtome of reading them publiquely as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the Word of God, as the vſe hath euer beene, in open audience, is the plaineſt euidence we haue of the Churches *aſſent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his Word. 3. A further commoditie this Cuſtome hath, which is, to furniſh the very *ſimpleſt* and *rudeſt* ſort with ſuch infalible *Axiomes* and *Precepts* of ſacred Truth, deliuered euen in the *very Letter* of the Law of God, as may ſerue them for [a] *Rules* whereby to iudge the better *all other doctrines* and inſtructions which they heare. For which end and purpoſe, I ſee not how the Scripture could be poſſibly made familiar vnto all, vnleſſe farre more ſhould be read in the peoples hearing, then by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole Book of God is by reading euery yeere publiſhed, a ſmall part thereof, in compariſon of the whole, may hold very well the readieſt interpreter of Scripture occupied many yeeres. 4. Beſides, wherefore ſhould any man thinke, but that reading it ſelfe is one of the *ordinary* meanes, whereby it pleaſeth God of his gracious goodneſſe to inſtill that celeſtiall Veritie, which being *but ſo* receiued is neuertheleſſe effectuall to *ſaue* Soules? Thus much therefore we aſcribe to the reading of the Word of God, as the maner is in our Churches. And becauſe it were odious, if they on their part ſhould altogether deſpiſe the ſame, they yeeld that reading may *ſet forward*, but not begin the work of ſaluation; that [b] Faith may be *nouriſhed* therewith, but not bred; that [c] herein mens attention to the Scriptures, and their ſpeculation of the creatures of God haue like efficacie, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect beliefe without Sermons; that if [d] any *beleeue* by reading alone, we are to account it a miracle, an *extraordinary* worke of God. Wherein that which they grant, wee gladly except at their hands, and wiſh that patiently they would examine how little cauſe they haue to denie that which as yet they grant not. The [e] Scripture witneſſeth, that when the Booke of the Law of God had beene ſometime miſſing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but onely read, tare his clothes, and with teares confeſſed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord vpon vs, becauſe our Fathers haue not kept his Word, to doe after all things which are written in this Booke.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of ſuch as feare God, and yet incurre his diſpeaſure, the deſerued effect whereof is eternall death. So that their repentance (although it be not their firſt entrance) is notwithſtanding the firſt ſtep of their reentrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the Word only read vnto them. Beſides, it ſeemeth that God would haue no man ſtand in doubt, but that the reading of Scripture is effectuall, as well *to lay euen the firſt foundation*, as to adde degrees of farther perfection in the feare of God. And therefore the [f] Law ſaith, Thou ſhalt *reade* this Law before all Iſrael, that men, women, and *children* may heare, yea, euen that their children, which as yet *haue not knowne* it, may heare it, and by hearing it ſo read, may *learne to feare* the Lord. Our [g] Lord and Sauiour was himſelfe of opinion, that they which would not be drawne to amendment of life by the teſtimonie which *Moſes* and the Prophets haue giuen, concerning the miſeries that follow ſinners after death, were not likely be perſwaded by other meanes, although God from the very dead ſhould haue rayſed them vp Preachers. Many

a *John* 5.39. *Iſa.* 8.20.

b T.C. lib. 2. pag. 376, 377, 395.

c *Pag.* 378.

d *Pag.* 383.

e, 2 *Chro.* 34.18

2. *Chro.* 34.3.

f *Deut.* 31.13.

g *Luke* 16.29.

heare

heare the Booke of God, and beleeue them not. Howbeit, their vnbeliefe in that caſe we may not impute vnto any weakneſſe or vnſufficiencie in the meane which is vſed towards them, but to the wilfull bent of their obſtinate hearts againſt it. With minds obdurate nothing preuaileth. As well they that preach, as they that reade vnto ſuch, ſhall ſtill haue cauſe to complaine with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will giue credit vnto our Teaching?* But with whom ordinary meanes will preuaile, ſurely the power of the Word of God, euen without the helpe of Interpreters in *Gods Church*, worketh mightily, not vnto their confirmation alone which are conuerted, but alſo to their conuerſion which are not. It ſhall not boot them who derogate from reading, to excuſe it, when they ſee no other remedy, as if their intent were onely to deny, that *Aliens* and ſtrangers from the Family of God are wonne, or that beliefe doth vſe to be wrought at the firſt in *them*, without Sermons. For they know it is our cuſtome of ſimple reading, *not for conuerſion of Infidels* eſtranged from the Houſe of God, but for *inſtruction of men baptized*, bred and brought vp *in the* Boſome of the Church, which they deſpiſe as a thing vneffectuall to ſaue *ſuch* Soules. In *ſuch* they imagine that God hath no ordinary meane to worke Faith without Sermons. The reaſon, why no man can attaine beleefe by the bare contemplation of Heauen and Earth, is, for that they neither are ſufficient to giue vs as much as the leaſt ſparke of Light concerning the very principall Myſteries of our Faith; and whatſoeuer we may learne by them, the ſame we can onely attaine to know, according to the manner of naturall Sciences, which meere diſcourſe of Wit and Reaſon findeth out, whereas the things which wee properly beleeue, be onely ſuch, as are receiued vpon the credit of Diuine Teſtimonie. Seeing therefore, that he which conſidereth the creatures of God, findeth therein both theſe defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, becauſe he that readeth vnto vs the Scriptures, deliuereth all the Myſteries of Faith, and not any thing amongſt them all more then the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in thoſe two reſpects, that our conſideration of Creatures and attention vnto Scriptures are not in themſelues, and without Sermons, things of like diſabilitie to *breed* or *beget* Faith. Small cauſe alſo there is, why any man ſhould greatly wonder as at an extraordinary worke, if without Sermons, Reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by ſome ſpeciall inſtance, what one Article of Chriſtian Faith, or what dutie required neceſſarily vnto all mens ſaluation there is, which the very reading of the Word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and ſtrange, when they grow by vnlikely meanes. But did we euer heare it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth reade, ſhoud beleeue and liue according to the will of Almighty God? [a] Reading doth conuey to the mind that Truth, without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath deriued from the holy Ghoſt. And the end of all Scripture is the ſame which [b] *Saint Iohn* propoſeth in the writing of that moſt Diuine Goſpell, namely, *Faith*, and through Faith *Saluation*. Yea, all Scripture is to this effect [c] *in it ſelfe* auaileable, as they which wrote it were perſwaded; vnleſſe wee ſuppoſe, that the Euangeliſt, or others, in ſpeaking of their owne intent to inſtruct and to ſaue by writing, had a ſecret conceite which they neuer opened to any, a conceit that no man

[a] *Exod.* 24 7.
[b] *Iohn.* 20. 31.
[c] *Prou.* 1. 2, 3, 4 *Rom.* 1. 16, *2. Tim.* 3. 15.

in

in the World ſhould euer be that way the better for any Sentence by them written, till ſuch time as the ſame might chance to be preached vpon, or alleaged at the leaſt in a Sermon. Otherwiſe, if he which writeth, doe that which is forceable in it ſelfe, how ſhould he which readeth, be thought to doe that which in it ſelfe is of no force to worke beliefe, and to ſaue beleeuers? Now, although we haue very iuſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome iealouſie and feare, leſt by thus ouervaluing their Sermons, they make the price and eſtimation of Scripture, otherwiſe d notified, to fall: neuertheleſſe, ſo impatient they are, that being but requeſted to let vs know what cauſes they leaue for mens incouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to ſaue euery one which beleeueth; that which wee moue for our better learning and inſtructions ſake, turneth vnto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether
a T. C. l. 2. p. 375. out of quietneſſe with it, they anſwer fumingly, that they are [a] *aſhamed to defile their Pens with making anſwere to ſuch idle queſtions*: yet in this their moode they caſt forth ſomewhat, wherewith vnder paine of greater diſpleaſure wee muſt reſt contented. They tell vs, the profit of reading is ſingular, in that it ſerueth for a preparatiue vnto Sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nouriſhment of Faith, which Sermons haue once ingendred; it is ſome ſtay to his minde which readeth the Scripture, when hee findeth the ſame things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiueth how God doth concurre in opinion with the Preacher; beſides, it keepeth Sermons in memorie, and doth in that reſpect, although not feed the Soule of man, yet helpe the retentiue force of that ſtomacke of the minde, which receiueth ghoſtly food at the Preachers hand. But the principall cauſe of *writing* the Goſpell was, *that it might be preached* vpon or interpreted by publique Miniſters, apt & authoriſed thereunto. Is it credible, that a ſuperſtitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, ſhould in ſuch ſort both darken their eyes, and yet ſharpen their wits with all, that the onely true and weightie cauſe why Scripture was written, the cauſe which in Scripture is ſo often mentioned, the cauſe which all men haue euer till this preſent day acknowledged, this they ſhould cleane exclude, as being no cauſe at all, and load vs with ſo great ſtore of ſtrange concealed cauſes, which did neuer ſee light till now? In which number the reſt muſt needs be of moment, when the very chiefeſt cauſe of committing the ſacred Word of God vnto Bookes, is ſurmized to haue beene, leſt the Preacher ſhould want a Text whereupon to ſchoolie. Men of Learning hold it for a ſlip in iudgement, when offer is made to demonſtrate that as proper to one thing, which reaſon findeth common vnto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kinds of teaching that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yeeld directly ſome ſtrong reaſon, why betweene *Sermons alone* and *Faith* there ſhould be *ordinarily* that coherence which cauſes haue with their vſuall effects, why a Chriſtian mans beliefe ſhould ſo naturally grow from Sermons, and not poſſibly from any other kinde of teaching. In beliefe there being but theſe two operations, *Apprehenſion* and *Aſſent*, doe only Sermons cauſe beleife, in that no other way is able to explaine the myſteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceiue them as behoueth? Wee all know, that many things are beleeued, although they be intricate, obſcure, and darke, although they exceede

ceed the reach and capacitie of our wits, yea although in this World they be no way poſſible to bee vnderſtood. Many things beleeued are likewiſe ſo plaine, that euery common perſon may therein be vnto himſelfe a ſufficient Expounder. Finally, to explaine euen thoſe things which need and admit explication, many other vſuall wayes there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary meanes whereby we *firſt* come to *apprehend* the myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpell of Chriſt wee yeeld thereunto our vnfained aſſent as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly conſider after what ſort the heart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſitie acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the words of eternall life, doth it in regard of his *authoritie* whoſe words they are. This is in mans conuerſion vnto God τὸ ὄφελον ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards Heauen beginneth. Vnleſſe therefore, cleane contrary to our owne experience, wee ſhall thinke it a miracle if any man acknowledge the diuine authoritie of the Scripture, till ſome Sermon haue perſwaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neither conuerſation in the boſome of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned mens Bookes, nor information receiued by conference, nor whatſoeuer paine and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the Law, is ſo farre bleſt of God as to worke this effect in any man, how would they haue vs to grant, that faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons?* [a] Faine they would haue vs to beleeue the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* himſelfe to be the Authour of this their paradox, only becauſe he ſaid, that it pleaſeth God by the [b] *fooliſhnes of preaching*, to ſaue them which beleeue; and againe, [c] *How ſhall they call on him in whom they haue not beleeued? How ſhall they beleeue in him of whom they haue not heard? How ſhall they heare without a Preacher? How ſhall men preach except they be ſent?* To anſwere therefore both allegations at once, the very ſubſtance of that they containe is in few but this. Life and ſaluation God will haue *offered vnto all*; his will is that *Gentiles* ſhould bee ſaued as well as *Iewes*. Saluation belongeth vnto none but ſuch *as call vpon the Name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*. Which *Nations as yet vnconuerted* neither doe *nor poſſibly can doe till they beleeue*. What they are to beleeue, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they *heare it*. Their hearing requireth *our preaching* vnto them. [d] *Tertullian*, to draw euen *Paynimes* themſelues vnto Chriſtian beliefe, willeth *the Bookes* of the old Teſtament to be *ſearched*, which were at that time in *Ptolomeis* Library. And if men did not liſt to trauell ſo farre, though it were for their endleſſe good, hee addeth, that in *Rome* and other places the *Iewes* had Synagogues, whereunto euery one which would might reſort, that this kinde of libertie they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding tribute, that there they did openly [e] *reade* the Scriptures; and whoſoeuer *will heare* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *hee ſhall find God, whoſoeuer will ſtudie to know, ſhall be alſo faine to beleeue*. But ſith there is no likelihood that euer voluntarily they will ſeeke inſtruction at our hands, it remayneth that vnleſſe wee will ſuffer them to periſh, ſaluation it ſelfe muſt ſeeke them, it behoueth God to *ſend* them Preachers as he did *his elect Apoſtles* throughout the World. There is [f] *a knowledge* which God hath alwayes reuealed vnto them in the *workes of nature*. This they honour and eſteeme highly as profound *wiſedome*; howbeit this wiſdome ſa-

[a] *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 375.*
[b] *1. Cor. 1. 21.*
[c] *Rom. 10. 14.*
[d] *Apologet. cap. 18. in fine.*
[e] This they did in a toung which to all learned men amongſt the Heathens, and to a great part of the ſimpleſt was familiarly knowne: as appeareth by a ſupplication offered vnto the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, wherein the Iewes make requeſt that it might be lawfull for them to reade the Greeke Tranſlation of the 70 Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their cuſtome before had beene.
[f] *Authent. 146. Coll. 10. incipit Æquum ſane.*

neth

ueth them not. That which muſt ſaue beleeuers, is *the knowledge of the croſſe of Chriſt*, the *only ſubiect* of *all ou. preaching*. And in their eyes what doth this ſeeme as yet but *folly?* It pleaſeth God by the *fooliſhneſſe of preaching* to ſaue. Theſe words declare how admirable force thoſe Myſteries haue, which the World doth deride as follies, they ſhew that the *fooliſhnes of the Croſſe of Chriſt* is the *wiſdome of true beleeuers*; they concerne the *obiect* of our faith, *the* [a] *matter preached of* and beleeued in by Chriſtian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account fooliſhneſſe; but that they euer did thinke it a *fond* or vnlikely *way* to ſeeke mens conuerſion by *Sermons*, wee haue not heard. Manifeſt therefore it is, that the Apoſtles applying the name of *fooliſhneſſe* in ſuch ſort as they did, muſt needs, by the *fooliſhneſſe of preaching*, meane the Doctrine of Chriſt, which wee learne that we may be ſaued, but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching, whereby it pleaſeth our Lord to ſaue, hee could not meane. In like ſort, where the ſame Apoſtle proueth, that as well the *ſending of the Apoſtles*, as their preaching *to the Gentiles*, was neceſſary, dare we affirme it was euer his meaning, that vnto their Saluation, who euen from their tender Infancie neuer knew any other Faith or Religion then only Chriſtian, *no kind of teaching* can be auaileable, *ſauing that* which was ſo needfull for the firſt vniuerſall conuerſion of Gentiles hating Chriſtianitie; neither the *ſending* of any ſort allowable in the one caſe, except onely of ſuch as had beene in the other alſo moſt fit and worthy Inſtruments? *Beliefe in all ſorts* doth come by harkning and *attending to the Word of Life*. Which Word ſometime propoſeth and preacheth it ſelfe to the hearer; ſometime they deliuer it, whom priuately Zeale and Pietie moueth to be Inſtructors of others by conference; ſometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the publike, either reading thereof, or interpreting. All theſe tend vnto one effect, neither doth that which Saint *Paul* or other Apoſtles teach, concerning the neceſſitie of *ſuch teaching* as theirs was, or of *ſending ſuch* as they were, for *that purpoſe vnto the Gentiles*, preiudice the efficacie of *any other way* of publike inſtruction, or inforce the vtter diſabilitie of any other mens Vocation thought requiſite in this Church for the ſauing of ſoules, where meanes more effectuall are wanting. Their only proper and direct proofe of the thing in queſtion had beene to ſhew, in what ſort, and how farre mans Saluation doth neceſſarily depend vpon the knowledge of the Word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby Sermons are diſtinguiſhed from other kinds of adminiſtring the Word vnto that purpoſe; and what ſpeciall propertie or qualitie that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectuall to ſaue ſoules, and leaueth all other Doctrinall meanes beſides deſtitute of vitall efficacie. Theſe pertinent Inſtructions, whereby they might ſatisfie vs, and obtaine the cauſe it ſelfe for which they contend, theſe things which onely would ſerue they leaue, (and which needeth not) ſometime they trouble themſelues with fretting at the ignorance of ſuch as withſtand them in their Opinion; ſometime they [b] fall vpon their poore Brethren which can but reade, and againſt *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If wee alleage what the Scriptures themſelues doe vſually ſpeake for the ſauing force of the Word of God, not with reſtraint to any one certaine kind of deliuerie, but howſoeuer the ſame ſhall chance to bee made knowne,

a The Apoſtle vſeth the word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

b *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 373.* This tayle of Readers. The Biſhops more then beggerly Preſents. Thoſe Raſcall Miniſters.

yet

yet by one tricke or other they alwayes [a] reſtraine it vnto Sermons. Our Lord and Sauiour hath ſaid, [b] *Search the Scriptures, in them ye think to haue eternall life.* But they tell vs, he ſpake to the Iewes, which Iewes before *had heard his Sermons*; and that peraduenture it was his minde they ſhould ſearch, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending, whenſoeuer the Scriptures ſhould happen to be alleadged in Sermons. Furthermore, hauing receiued Apoſtolique doctrine, [c] the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught vs to eſteeme the ſame as the ſupreame Rule, whereby all other doctrines muſt for euer be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth there ſpeake of *that hee had preached*, hee *flatly maketh* (as they ſtrangely affirme) *his preachings* or Sermons *the Rule*, whereby to examine all. And then, I beſeech you, what Rule haue we thereby to iudge or examine any? For, if Sermons muſt be our rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were, hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we heare ſhould be our rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurditie) no rule at all be remayning for triall, what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heauenly truth. Againe, let [d] the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſnes. Still notwithſtanding we erre, if hereby we preſume to gather, that Scripture read, will auaile vnto any one of all theſe vſes; they teach vs the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can doe, if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they neuer heare ſentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forth-with their Gloſſes vpon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or deliuered vnto vs in Sermons. Sermons they euermore vnderſtand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vitall operation, the dangerous ſequell of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentiuely waigh. For ſith, ſpeech is the very Image, whereby the minde and ſoule of the ſpeaker conueyeth it ſelfe into the boſome of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himſelfe very truth and life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the [e] *Hebrewes* noteth) liuely and mightie in operation, ſharper then any two-edged ſword. Now, if in this and the like places we did conceiue, that our owne Sermons are that ſtrong and forcible Word, ſhould we not hereby impart euen the moſt peculiar glorie of the Word of God, vnto that which is not his word? For, touching our Sermons, that which giueth them their very being, is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taſte too much of that ouer-corrupt fountaine from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt fraile affections many times are bewraied. Wherefore, when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliuer to the people properly the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they neuer ſound and perfect, his Word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguouſly termed his Word, becauſe his Word is commonly the ſubiect whereof they treate, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding, by theſe and the like ſhifts they deriue vnto Sermons alone, whatſoeuer is generally ſpoken concerning the Word. Againe, what ſeemeth to haue beene vttered concerning Sermons, and their efficacie or neceſſitie, *in regard of*

a *T.C.l.2.p.37.*
b *Iob.5.39.*
c *Gal.1.9.*
d *1.Tim.3.16.*
e *Heb.4.12.*

diuine matter, and muſt conſequently be verified in ſundry other kinds of teaching, if *the matter* be in the ſame in all, their vſe is to faſten euery ſuch ſpeech vnto that one only manner of teaching, which is by Sermons, that ſtill Sermons may be all in all. [a] Thus, becauſe *Salomon* declareth that the people decay or *periſh* for want of knowledge, where [b] no *prophecying* at all is, they gather that the hope of life and ſaluation is cut off, where Preachers are not which *prophecie by Sermons*, how many ſoeuer they be in number that reade daily the Word of God, and deliuer, though in other ſort, the ſelfe ſame matter which Sermons doe. The people which haue no way to come to the knowledge of God, no *prophecying*, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſitie periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more then the words of *Salomon* import. [c] Another vſuall point of their arte in this preſent queſtion, is to make very large and plentifull diſcourſes, how Chriſt is by Sermons [c] lifted vp *higher*, and made more [e] apparent to the eye of Faith; how the [f] ſauour of the Word is more ſweet being brayed, and more able to nouriſh being diuided by preaching, then by only reading propoſed; how Sermons are the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, and doe open the Scriptures, which being but read, remaine *in compariſon* ſtill clapſed; how God [g] giueth richer increaſe of grace to the ground, that is planted and watered by preaching, then by bare and ſimple reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attainment vnto life is eaſier where Sermons are, they conclude an [h] *impoſſibilitie* thereof where Sermons are not. *Alcidimas* the Sophiſter hath many arguments, to proue that voluntary and extemporall farre excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto and in part the ſame are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as hauing (which all men, I thinke, will acknowledge) ſundry [i] peculiar and proper vertues, ſuch as no other way of teaching beſides hath. Aptneſſe to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and geſture, to preuaile mightily in the ſuddaine affections of men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein notwithſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof Leſſons are happily deſtitute, yet leſſons being free from ſome inconueniences, whereunto Sermons are more ſubiect, they may in this reſpect no leſſe take, then in other they muſt giue the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſome way exceld, euen by that which is doth excell. Sermons therefore and Leſſons may each excell other in ſome repects, without any preiudice vnto either, as touching that vitall force which they both haue in the worke of our ſaluation. To which effect when wee haue endeuoured as much as in vs doth lie, to find out the ſtrongeſt cauſes, wherefore they ſhould imagine that reading is it ſelfe ſo vnauaileable, the moſt we can learne at their hands, is, that Sermons are [k] *the ordinance of God*; the Scriptures *darke*; and the labour of reading *eaſie*. Firſt, therefore as we know that God doth aide with his grace, and by his ſpeciall prouidence euermore bleſſe with happie ſucceſſe thoſe things which himſelfe appointeth, ſo his Church, wee perſwade our ſelues, he hath not in ſuch ſort giuen ouer to a reprobate ſence, that whatſoeuer it deuiſeth for the good of the ſoules of men, the ſame he doth ſtill accurſe and make fruſtrate. Or if hee alwayes did defeat the Ordinances of his Church, [l] is not reading the Ordinance of God? Wherefore then ſhould wee thinke

a *T.C. lib.2. pag.381.*
b *Prou.29,18.*
c *T.C.lib.2. pag.379.*
d *2.Cor.3.16.*
e *2.Tim.2.15.*
f *Math.16.19.*
g *1.Cor 3.6.*
h *T.C.lib.2. pag.380.* No ſaluation to be looked for, where no Preaching is.
i *T.C.lib.2. pag.395.*
k *T.C.lib.2. pag.396.*
l *Deut.31,13.*

thinke that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſſe the labour of diuiding his Word, according vnto each mans priuate diſcretion in publike Sermons, and to withdraw it ſelfe from concurring with the publike deliuerie thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath ſolemnely appointed to be read for the peoples good, either by ordinary courſe, or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpeciall occaſions? Reading (ſaith [a] *Iſidore*) is to the hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe [b] delight and meditation is in the Law, ſeeing that happineſſe and bliſſe belongeth, it is not in vs to deny them the benefit of heauenly grace. And I hope wee may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, euen for that very Word which is read to be both preſently their [c] ioy, and afterwards their ſtudie that heare it. [d] Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of deuout men, noteth, how they daily frequented the Church, how attentiue eare they gaue vnto the Leſſons and Chapters read, how careſull they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelues. [e] Saint *Cyprian* obſerueth, that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their ioy and alacritie was to him an argument, that there is in this Ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompany the adminiſtration of the Word of Life. It were much if there ſhould be ſuch a difference betweene the hearing of Sermons preached and of Leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelfe at the one, and maketh his Prayer with the Prophet [f] *Dauid, Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes; direct me in the path of thy Commandements*, might haue the ground of vſuall experience whereupon to build his hope of preuailing with God, and obtayning the grace he ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who craue the like aſſiſtance of his Spirit, when they giue eare to the reading of the other. In this therefore, preaching and reading are equall, that both are approued as his Ordinances both aſſiſted with his grace. And if his grace doe aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of Faith already bred, we canot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yeelded, imagine that in breeding or begetting Faith, his grace doth cleaue to the one, and vtterly forſake the other. Touching [g] *hardnes*, which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt Homilies, being plaine and popular inſtructions, it is no bar, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacie, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how ſmall ſoeuer they would haue it, muſt of neceſſitie be granted ſufficient to notifie that which is plaine or eaſie to bee vnderſtood. And of things neceſſary to all mens ſaluation, wee haue beene hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt hauing now a Key vnto knowledge, which the [h] *Eunuch* in the *Acts* did want, our children may of themſelues by reading vnderſtand that, which hee without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plaine and eaſie to be vnderſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and daily, when memorie hath laid them vp for a time, iudgement afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not *ſo hard*, but that the *only reading* thereof may giue life vnto willing hearers. The eaſie performance of which holy labour, is in like ſort a very cold obiection, to preiudice the vertue thereof. For what though an *Infidell*, yea, though *a child* may be able to reade; there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the people vnder the

a *De Eccleſ. offic. lib. 1. c. 10.*
b *Pſal. 1. 2.*
c *Pſal. 119. 16.*
d *Aug. in Pſ. 66.*
e *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 5. Lector, perſonat, verba ſublimia, Euangelium Chriſti legit à fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.*
f *Pſ. 119. 33, 35.*
g *T. C. l. 2. p. 383, 384. 392.*
h *Act. 8. 31.*

Law, had been as able as the Priests themselues were to offer Sacrifice. Did this make Sacrifice of no effect vnto that purpose for which it was instituted? In Religion some duties are not commended so much by the hardnes of their execution, as by the worthinesse and dignitie of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodnesse of God in nature, when we consider how he hath prouided that things most needfull to preserue this life, should be most prompt and easie for all liuing creatures to come by. Is it not as euident a signe of his wonderfull prouidence ouer vs, when that food of eternall life, vpon the *vtter want* whereof our endlesse death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and alwayes set in such a readinesse, that those very meanes then which nothing is more easie may suffice to procure the same? Surely, if we perish, it is not the lacke of Scribes and learned Expounders that can be our iust excuse. The Word which saueth our soules is neere vs, we need for knowledge but [a] to reade and liue. The man which readeth the Word of God, the Word it selfe doth pronounce blessed, if hee also obserue the same. Now all these things being well considered, it shall be no intricate matter for any man to iudge with indifferencie on which part the good of the Church is most conueniently sought; whether on ours, whose opinion is such as hath beene shewed, or else on [b] theirs, who leauing no ordinary way of saluation for them vnto whom the Word of God is but only read, doe seldome name them but with great disdaine and contempt who execute that seruice in the Church of Christ. By meanes whereof it hath come to passe, that Churches, which cannot enioy the benefit of vsuall Preaching, are iudged, as it were euen forsaken of God, forlorne, and without either hope or comfort: Contrariwise, those places which euery day for the most part are at Sermons as the flowing Sea, doe both by their emptinesse at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens shew to the voice of the liuing God, this way sounding in the eares of men a great deale lesse reuerence then were meete. But if no other euill were knowne to grow thereby, who can choose but thinke them cruell which doe heare them so boldly teach, that [c] if God (as to him there is nothing impossible) doe happily saue any such as continue where they haue all other meanes of instruction, but are not taught by continuall preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more then the fitnesse of so poore instruments can giue any man cause to hope for; that [d] Sacraments are not effectuall to saluation, except men be instructed by *preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both [e] Sacraments and Prayers also, where Sermons are not, *Do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation?* What mans heart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true that the weaknesse of our wits and the dulnesse of our affections doe make vs for the most part, euen as our Lords owne Disciples were for a certaine time, hard and slow to beleeue what is written. For helpe whereof expositions and exhortations are needfull, and that in the most effectuall manner. The principall Churches throughout the Land, and no small part of the rest being in this respect by the goodnesse of God so abundantly prouided for, they which want the like furtherance vnto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in so extreme destitution, that iustly any man should thinke the ordinary meanes

of

a *Apoc.* 1. 3.

b *T. Cl.* 2. *p.* 363 *pag.* 373.

c *Pag.* 364. 375. 380. 383. 384.

d *Pag.* 392.

e *Pag.* 364.

of eternall life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in publique for the moſt part but by reading. For which cauſe amongſt whom there are not thoſe helps that others haue to ſet them forward in the way of life, ſuch to diſ-hearten with fearfull ſentences, as though their ſaluation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our vnderſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian Charitie. Wee hold it ſafer a great deale and better to giue them [a] incouragement; to put them in minde that it is not the deepneſſe of their knowledge, but the [b] ſingleneſſe of their beliefe which God accepteth; that they which [c] hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe, ſhall be ſatisfied; that no [d] imbecillitie of meanes can preiudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; that the weaker their helpes are, the more their need is to ſharpen the edge of their owne [e] induſtrie; and that [f] painfulneſſe by feeble meanes ſhall be able to gaine that, which in the plentie of more forcible inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the men, with whom wee haue thus farre taken paines to conferre, about the force of the Word of God, either read by it ſelfe, or opened in Sermons; their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might giue vs very iuſt cauſe to thinke, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoeuer they haue beene driuen to deuiſe ſome odde kindes of blind vſes, whereunto they may anſwere that reading doth ſerue, yet the reading of the Word of God in publique more then their Preachers bare text, who will not iudge that they deeme needleſſe, when if we chance at any time to terme it neceſſarie, as being a thing which God himſelfe did inſtitute amongſt the Iewes for purpoſes that touch as well vs as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend vnder the old, and ordaine vnder the New Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath euer ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſingular commoditie; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit? they onely are the men that euer were heard of, by whom this hath beene croſt and gainſaid, they onely the men which haue giuen their peremptorie ſentence to the contrary, [g] *It is vntrue that ſimple reading is neceſſary in the Church.* And why vntrue? *Becauſe although it be very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one yeere runne thorough: yet a number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commandement, which they might be if ſimple reading were neceſſary.* A poore, a cold and an hungry cauill. Shall wee therefore to pleaſe them change the Word *Neceſſary*, and ſay that it hath beene a commendable order, a cuſtome very expedient, or an ordinance moſt profitable (whereby they know right well that wee meane exceedingly behoefull) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they preferre before vs? It is not this that will content or ſatiſfie their minds. They haue againſt it a marſellous deepe and profound axiome, [h] that *Two things to one and the ſame end cannot but very improperly be ſaid moſt profitable.* And therefore if preaching be moſt *profitable* to mans ſaluation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not. Are they reſolued then at the leaſt wiſe, if preaching be the onely ordinary meane whereby it pleaſeth

a *Eccleſ.* 51. 26, 27. *Matth.* 11. 20.
b 1. *Tim.* 1, 5. *Rom.* 14. 1. 1. *Theſ.* 3. 10.
c *Matth.* 5. 6.
d *Phil.* 1. 6. 1. *Pet.* 5. 10. *Matth.* 3. 9.
e 1. *Theſ.* 4. 18. *Heb.* 10. 24. *Iude verſe* 20. 1. *Pet.* 4. 16.
f *Luke* 11. 31.
g *T. C. lib.* 2. *pag.* 381.
h *T. C. lib.* 2. *pag.* 371.

God to saue our soules, what kind of preaching it is which doth saue? Vnderstand they how or in what respect there is that force and vertue in preaching? We haue reason wherefore to make these demaunds, for that although their pennes run all vpon *Preaching* and *Sermons*, yet when themselues doe practise that whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and those words they shunne, as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phrase to say they *preach*, or to giue to their owne instructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the paine they take themselues in this kinde is either *opening* or Lecturing, or Reading, or Exercising, but in no case *preaching*. [a] And in this present question they also warily protest that what they ascribe to the vertue of preaching, they still meane it of good preaching: Now one of them saith that a good Sermon [b] must expound and apply a large portion of the Text of Scripture at one time. Another giueth vs to vnderstand, that sound preaching [c] *is not to doe as one did at London. who spent most of his time in inuectiues against good men, and told his audience how the Magistrate should haue an eye to such as troubled the peace of the Church.* The [d] best of them hold it for no good preaching, *when a man endeuoureth to make a glorius shew of eloquence and learning, rather then to applie himselfe to the capacitie of the simple.* But them shape vs out a good Preacher by what patterne soeuer it pleaseth them best, let them exclude and inclose whom they will with their definitions, we are not desirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they haue of their owne wayes, so that when once we are agreed what Sermons shall currantly passe for good, wee may at the length vnderstand from them what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of life vnto such as heare. If substance of matter, euidence of things, strength and validitie of arguments and proofes, or if any other vertue else which words and sentences may containe, of all this what is there in the best Sermons being vttered, which they lose by being read? But they vtterly denie that the reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can euer by the ordinarie grace of God saue any soule. So that although wee had all the Sermons word for word which *Iames*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which Sermons was of power to conuert thousands of the hearers vnto Christian faith; yea although wee had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe, and should read them ten thousand times ouer, to faith and saluation. No man could hereby hope to attaine. Whereupon it must of necessitie follow, that the vigor and vitall efficacie of Sermons doth grow from certaine accidents which are not in them but in their Maker; his vertue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeale, the motion of his bodie, and the inflection of his voyce who first vttereth them as his owne, is that which giueth them the forme, the nature, the very essence of instruments auaileable to eternall life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but their finall conclusion bee, *Sermons wee know are the onely ordinary meanes to saluation, but why or how wee cannot tell*? Wherefore to end this tedious controuersie, wherein the too great importunitie of our ouer eager Aduersaries hath constrained vs much longer to dwell, then the barrennesse of so poore a cause could haue seemed

a *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 385.*

b Complaint of the Comminaltie.

c Doct. *Somes.* Painter, *pag. 21*

d *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 385.*

ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to giue their ſentence, ſhall here ſit downe to receiue our Audit, and to caſt vp the whole reckoning on both ſides, the ſumme which truth amounteth vnto will appeare to be but this, that as medicines prouided of nature, and applied by arte for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometime vnder and ſometime aboue the naturall proportion of their vertue, according as the minde and fancie of the patient doth more or leſſe concurre with them: So whether wee barely reade vnto men the Scriptures of God; or by Homilies concerning matter of beliefe and conuerſation ſeeke to lay before them the duties which they owe vnto God and man; whether wee deliuer them Bookes to reade and conſider of in priuate at their owne beſt leaſure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publiquely in the houſe of God; albeit euery of theſe and the like vnto theſe meanes doe truely and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they haue in common being moſt ſenſible and moſt generally noted in one kinde aboue the reſt, that one hath in ſome mens opinions drowned altogether the reſt, and iniuriouſly brought to paſſe that they haue beene thought not leſſe effectuall then the other, but without the other vneffectuall to ſaue ſoules. Whereas the cauſe why Sermons only are obſerued to preuaile ſo much while all meanes elſe ſeeme to ſleepe and doe nothing, is in truth nothing but that ſingular affection & attention which the people ſheweth euery where towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other, the reaſon hereof being partly the arte which our Aduerſaries vſe for the credit of their Sermons to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching beſides; partly a cuſtome which men haue to let thoſe things careleſſy paſſe by their eares which they haue oftentimes heard before, or know they may heare againe whenſoeuer it pleaſeth themſelues; partly, the ſpeciall aduantages which Sermons naturally haue to procure attention, both in that they come alwayes new, and becauſe by the hearer it is ſtill preſumed that if they be let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoeuer they containe is loſt, and that without all hope of recouery. This is the true cauſe of oddes betweene Sermons and other kinds of wholſome inſtruction. As for the difference which hath beene hitherto ſo much defended on the contrarie ſide, making Sermons the onely ordinary meanes vnto faith and eternall life, ſith this hath neither euidence of Truth, nor proofe ſufficient to giue it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch qualitie may with farre better grace and conueniencie aske that pardon which common humanitie doth eaſily grant, then claime in challenging manner that aſſent which is as vnwilling when reaſon guideth it to be yeilded where it is not, as with-held where it is apparantly due. All which notwithſtanding, as wee could greatly wiſh that the rigour of this their opinion were alayed and mitigated, ſo becauſe wee hold it the part of religious ingenuitie to honour vertue in whomſoeuer; therefore it is our moſt heartie deſire, and ſhall be alwayes our prayer vnto Almightie God, that in the ſelfe-ſame feruent zeale wherewith they ſeeme to effect the good of the Soules of men, and to thirſt after nothing more then that all men might by all meanes be directed in the way

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of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the Worlds end. For in this wee are not their Aduersaries, though they in the other hitherto haue beene ours.

Of Prayer. 23 Betweene the Throne of God in Heauen, and his Church vpon earth here militant, if it be so that Angels haue their continuall intercourse, where should we find the same more verified then in those two ghostly exercises, the one *Doctrine* the other *Prayer*? For what is the Assembling of the Church to learne, but the receiuing of Angels descended from aboue? What to pray, but the sending of Angels vpward? His heauenly inspirations and our holy desires are as so many Angels of entercourse and commerce betweene God and vs. As teaching bringeth vs to know that God is our supreme truth; so prayer testifieth that wee acknowledge him our soueraigne good. Besides, sith one God as the most high all inferiour causes in the world are dependant and the higher any cause is, the more it coueteth to impart vertue vnto things beneath it, how should any kind of seruice wee doe or can doe, finde greater acceptance then Prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him, in desiring that wherewith his verie nature doth most delight? Is not the name of Prayer vsuall to signifie euen all the seruice that euer wee doe vnto God? And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in religion no acceptable dutie which deuout inuocation of the name of God doth not either presuppose or inferre. Prayers are those [a] calues of mens lips; those most gracious and sweet[b] odours; those rich presents and gifts, which being[c] carried vp into heauen, doe best testifie our dutifull affection, and are, for the purchasing of all fauour at the hands of God, the most vndoubted meanes we can vse. On others what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully bestowed then our Prayers? If we giue counsell, they are the simpler onely that need it; if almes the poore onely are relieued; but by prayer wee doe good to all. And whereas euery other duty besides is but to shew it selfe as time and opportunitie require, for this[d] all times are conuenient: when we are not able to doe any other thing for mens behoofe, when through maliciousnesse or vnkindnesse they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which wee alwayes haue in our power to bestow, and they neuer in theirs to refuse. Wherefore God forbid, saith[e] *Samuel*, speaking vnto a most vnthankfull people, a people weary of the benefite of his most vertuous gouernment ouer them, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you. It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is small which we haue on earth concerning things that are done in heauen. Notwithstanding thus much wee know euen of Saints in heauen that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a worke common to the Church as well Triumphant as Militant, a worke common vnto men with Angels, what should wee thinke, but that so much of our liues is celestiall and diuine as wee spend in the exercise of Prayer? For which cause wee see that the most comfortable[f] visitations, which God hath sent men from aboue, haue taken especially the times of Prayer as their most naturall opportunities.

a *Ose* 14.3.
b *Reuel.* 5.8.
c *Acts* 10.4.
d *Rom.* 1.9. 1. *Thes.* 5.17. *Luke* 18.1.
e 1. *Sam.* 12.23
f *Dan.* 9.20. *Acts* 10.30.

Of publique Prayer. 24 This holy and religious dutie of seruice towards God concerneth vs

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one way in that wee are men, and another way in that we are ioyned as parts to that viſible myſticall bodie which is his Church. As men, we are at our owne [a] choice, both for time, and place, and forme, according to the exigence of our owne occaſions in priuate: But the ſeruice, which we doe as members of a publique bodie, is publique, and for that cauſe muſt needs be accompted by ſo much worthier then the other as a whole ſocietie of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies, there are [b] moſt ſpeciall promiſes made. [c] Saint *Paul*, though likely to preuaile with God as much as one, did notwithſtanding thinke it much more, both for Gods glorie and his owne good, if prayers might be made and thankes yeelded in his behalfe by a number of men. The [d] Prince and People of Niniuch aſſembling themſelues as a maine armie of Supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtand them. I ſpeake no otherwiſe concerning the force of publique Prayer in the Church of God, then before mee [e] *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by troupes to the place of Aſſembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be ſupplicants enough to beſiege God with our Prayers. Theſe forces are vnto him acceptable.* When wee publikely make our Prayers it cannot be but that we doe it with much more comfort then in priuate, for that the things wee aske publikely are approued as needfull and good in the iudgement of all, wee heare them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Againe, thus much helpe and furtherance is more yeelded in that if ſo be our zeale and deuotion to God-ward be ſlacke, [f] the alacritie and feruour of others ſerueth as a preſent ſpurre. [g] *For euen Prayer it ſelfe* (ſaith Saint *Baſil*) *when it hath not the conſort of many voyces to ſtrengthen it, is not it ſelfe.* Finally, the good which we doe by publique Prayer is more then in priuate can be done, for that beſides the benefit which here is no leſſe procured to our ſelues, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example, and conſequently whereas ſecret neglect of our dutie in this kind is but only our owne hurt, one mans contempt of the Common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is moſt hurtfull vnto many. In which conſiderations the [h] Prophet *Dauid* ſo often voweth vnto God the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiuing in the Congregation; ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing prayſes vnto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuarie, before the memoriall of his Holineſſe, and ſo much complaineth of his owne vncomfortable exile, wherein although hee ſuſtained many moſt grieuous indignities, and indured the want of ſundrie both pleaſures and honours before inioyed, yet as if [i] this one were his onely griefe and the reſt not felt, his ſpeeches are all of the heauenly benefit of publique aſſemblies, and the happineſſe, of ſuch as had free acceſſe thereunto.

a *Pſal.* 55.18. *Dan.* 9.3. *Acts* 10.9.

b *Mat.* 18.20.

c 2. *Cor.* 1.11.

d *Ionah* 4.11.

e *Apolog.* 1.39. Ambroſ. lib. de Pœn. *Multi minimi dum congregantur vnanimes ſunt magni, & multorum preces impoſſibile eſt contemni.*

f *Pſal.* 122.1.

g Καὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐχὴ ἡ προσωχιμὴ ἠχους τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀναδρώσα πολλῶν ἐστιν.

h *Pſal.* 26.12. 34.18. *Pſal.* 30.4. 96.9.

i *Pſal.* 27.4. 42.4. 84.1.

25 A great part of the cauſe, wherefore religious minds are ſo inflamed with the loue of publique deuotion, is that vertue, force and efficacie, which by experience they find that the very forme and reuerend ſolemnitie of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to helpe that imbecilitie and weakeneſſe in vs, by meanes whereof we are otherwiſe of our ſelues the leſſe apt to performe vnto God ſo heauenly a ſeruice, with ſuch affection of heart, and diſpoſition in the powers of our ſoules as is requiſite. To this end therefore all things herevnto appertayning, haue beene euer thought conuenient to be done with the moſt

Of the forme of Common Prayer.

most solemnitie and maiestie that the wisest could deuise. It is not with publique as with priuate Prayer. In this [a] rather secresie is commanded then outward shew, whereas that being the publique act of a whole societie, requireth accordingly more care to be had of externall appearance. The very assembling of men therefore vnto this seruice hath beene euer solemne. And concerning the place of assembly, although it serue for other vses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himselfe hath to this as to the chiefest of all other plainly sanctified his owne Temple, by intituling it [b] *the house of Prayer*, what preeminence of dignitie soeuer hath beene either by the Ordinance, or through the speciall fauour and prouidence of God annexed vnto his Sanctuarie, the principall cause thereof must needs be in regard of *Common Prayer*. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the graueſt of the [c] ancient Fathers seriously were perswaded, and doe oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the house of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the presence of celestiall powers, that there we stand, we pray, we sound forth Hymnes vnto God, hauing his Angels intermingled as our Associates; and that with reference hereunto [d] the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decencie for the Angels sake; how can we come to the House of Prayer, and not be moued with the [e] very glory of the place it selfe, so to frame our affections praying, as doth best beseeme them, whose sutes the Almightie doth there sit to heare, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of men, there needed no penall Statutes to draw them vnto publique Prayer. The warning sound was no sooner heard, but the [f] Churches were presently filled, the pauements couered with bodies prostrate, and washt with their teares of deuout ioy. And as the place of publique Prayer is a circumstance in the outward forme thereof, which hath moment to helpe deuotion; so the person much more with whom the people of God doe ioyne themselues in this action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authoritie of his place, the feruour of his zeale, the pietie and grauitie of his whole behauiour, must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the seruice he doth. The authoritie of his calling is a furtherance, because if God haue so farre receiued him into fauour, as to impose vpon him by the hands of men that office of blessing the people in his Name, and making intercession to him in theirs, which office he hath sanctified with his owne most gracious [g] promise, and ratified that promise by manifest actuall performance thereof, when [h] others before in like place haue done the same, is not his very ordination a seale, as it were to vs, that the selfe same diuine loue which hath chosen the instrument to worke with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in blessing his people, and accepting the Prayers which his seruant offereth vp vnto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable title which the ancients vsed to giue vnto Gods Ministers, terming them vsually [i] *Gods most beloued*, which were ordained to procure by their Prayers his loue and fauour towards all. Againe, if there be not zeale and feruencie in him which proposeth for the rest those sutes and supplications, which they by their ioyfull acclamations must ratifie; if hee prayse not God with all his might; if he powre not out his soule in Prayer; if he take not their causes to heart, or speake not as

Moses

a *Mat.6.5,6.*

b *Mat.21.13.*

c *Chryſ. Hom. 15. ad Hebræ. & 24. in Act.*

d *1.Cor. 11.10.*

e *Pſal. 96.6.* Power and beautie are in his Sanctuarie.

f *Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi ſternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudijs ſupplicamus,* Saluia de Proui. 7.

g *Num 6 23.*
h *2.Chro.30.27*

i *Cod. lib.1.tit. 3. de Epiſc. & Cler. 43. & 44. ſæpe.*

Moſes, *Daniel*, and *Ezra*, did for their people; how ſhould there bee but in them frozen coldneſſe, when his affections ſeeme benummed from whom theirs ſhould take fire? Vertue and godlineſſe of life are required at the hands of their Miniſter of God, not only in that hee is to teach and inſtruct the people, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, then directed aright by the wholeſome inſtructiou of them, whoſe life ſwarueth from the rule of their owne doctrine; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether wee reſpect the weakneſſe of the people, apt to lothe and abhorre the *Sanctuary*, when they which performe the ſeruice thereof are ſuch as the ſonnes of *Heli* were; or elſe conſider the [a] inclination of God himſelfe, who requireth the lifting vp of pure hands in prayer s and hath giuen the World plainly to vnderſtand, that the wicked, although thy crie, ſhall not be heard. They are no fit Supplicants to ſeeke his mercie in the behalfe of others, whoſe owne vn-repented ſinnes prouoke his iuſt indignati on. [b] Let thy Prieſts therefore, O Lord, be euermore clothed with righteouſneſſe, that thy Saints may thereby with more deuotion reioyce and ſing. But of all helps for due performance of this ſeruice, the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order it ſelfe, which framed, with common aduiſe, hath both for matter and forme preſcribed whatſoeuer is herein publikely done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by vs it muſt be acknowledged a worke of his ſingular care and prouidence, that the Church hath euermore held a preſcript forme of Common Prayer, although not in all things euery where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retayning ſtill the ſame analogie. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the World be compared amongſt themſelues, it may be eaſily perceiued they had all one originall mold, and that the publike Prayers of the people of God in Churches throughly ſetled, did neuer vſe to be voluntarie Dictates, proceeding from any mans extemporall wit. To him which conſidereth the grieuous & ſcandalous inconueniences, whereunto they make themſelues daily ſubiect, with whom any blind and ſecret corner is iudged a fit houſe of Common Prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into, where euery mans priuate ſpirit and gift (as they terme it) is the only Biſhop that ordaineth him to this Miniſterie; the irkeſome deformities whereby through endleſſe and ſenſeleſſe effuſions of indigeſted Prayers, they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt vnſufferable manner, the worthieſt part of Chriſtian dutie towards God, who herein are ſubiect to no certaine order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him, I ſay, which wayeth duly all theſe things the reaſons cannot be obſcure, why God doth in publique Prayer ſo much reſpect the [c] ſolemnitie of places, [d] where the authoritie and calling of perſons by whom, and the [e] preciſe appointment euen with what words or ſentences his name ſhould be called on amongſt his people.

a 1. *Tim.* 2 8. *Iohn* 9.31. *Ier.* 11.11. *Ezech.* 8.18.

b *Pſal.* 132.

c 2. *Chro.* 6. 20.
d *Ioel* 2.17.
e 2. *Chro.* 29.30

Of them which like not to haue any ſet forme of Common Prayer.

26 No man hath hitherto beene ſo impious, as plainely and directly to condemne Prayer. The beſt ſtratageme that Sathan hath, who knoweth his Kingdome to be no one way more ſhaken, then by the publique deuout Prayers of Gods Church, is by traducing the forme and manner of them, to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all mens deuotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a ſtrange conceit, that

that to ſerue God with any ſet forme of Common Prayer, is ſuperſtitious. As though [a] God himſelfe did not frame to his Prieſts the very ſpeech, wherewith they were charged to bleſſe the people; or as if our Lord, euen of purpoſe to preuent this fancie of extemporall and voluntarie Prayers, had not left vs of his owne framing one, which might both remaine as a part of the Church Liturgie, and ſerue as a patterne whereby to frame all other Prayers with efficacie, yet without ſuperfluitie of words. If Prayers were no otherwiſe accepted of God, then being conceiued alwayes new, according to the exigence of preſent occaſions; if it be right to iudge him by our owne bellies, and to imagine that he doth lothe to haue the ſelfe-ſame ſupplications often iterated, euen as we doe to be euery day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers be actions which ought to waſte away themſelues in the making; if being made to remaine that they may be reſumed and vſed againe as prayers, they be but inſtruments of Superſtition; ſurely, wee cannot excuſe *Moſes*, who gaue ſuch occaſion of ſcandall to the World, by not being contented to praiſe the name of Almightie God, according to the vſuall naked ſimplicitie of Gods Spirit, for that admirable victorie giuen them againſt *Pharao*, vnleſſe ſo dangerous a preſident were left for the caſting of prayers into certaine Poeticall moulds, and for the framing of Prayers which might be repeated often, although they neuer had againe the ſame occaſions which brought them forth at the firſt. For that very hymne of *Moſes* grew afterwards to bee a part of the ordinarie Iewiſh Liturgie; nor onely that, but ſundrie other ſithence inuented. Their books of common Prayer contained partly Hymnes taken out of the holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thankſgiuings, Supplications, penned by ſuch as haue beene, from time to time, The Gouernors of that Synagogue. Theſe they ſorted into their ſeuerall times and places, ſome to begin the ſeruice of God with, and ſome to end, ſome to goe before, and ſome to follow, and ſome to be interlaced betweene the diuine Readings of the Law and Prophets. Vnto their cuſtome of finiſhing the Paſſeouer with certaine Pſalmes, there is not any thing more probable, then that the holy Euangeliſt doth euidently allude, ſaying That after the cup deliuered by our Sauiour vnto his Apoſtles, [b] *they ſung*, and went forth to the Mount of Oliues. As the Iewes had their ſongs of *Moſes*, and *Dauid*, and the reſt, ſo the Church of Chriſt from the very beginning hath both vſed the ſame, and beſides them other alſo of like nature, the ſong of the Virgin *Mary*, the ſong of *Zachary*, the ſong of *Simeon*, ſuch Hymnes as the Apoſtle doth often ſpeake of, ſaying, [d] *I will pray and ſing with the Spirit.* Againe, [c] *In Pſalmes, Hymnes, and Songs, making melodie vnto the Lord, and that heartily.* Hymnes and Pſalmes are ſuch kindes of Prayer as are not wont to be conceiued vpon a ſudden; but are framed by Meditation before hand, or elſe by propheticall illumination are inſpired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinarie gifts of the Spirit, inabled men to all parts of ſeruice neceſſary for the edifying of his Church.

a *Num.*6.23.

b *Mat.*26 30. ὑμνήσαντες, hauing ſung the Pſalmes which were vſuall at that Feaſt, thoſe Pſalmes which the Iewes call the great *Hallelvia*, beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118. See *Paul. Burgenſin Pſal.* 112. *Edit.* 1. and *Scalig. de emendat. tempo.*

c 1. *Cor.* 14.15.

d *Epheſ.* 5.19.

Of them who allowing a ſet forme of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

27 Now, albeit the admonitioners did ſeeme at the firſt to allow no preſcript forme of prayer at all, but thought it the beſt that their Miniſter ſhould alwayes be left at libertie to pray, as his owne diſcretion did ſerue, yet becauſe this opinion vpon better aduice they afterwards retracted, their defendor and

his

his Aſſociates haue ſithence propoſed to the World a forme, ſuch as themſelues like, and to ſhew their diſlike of ours, haue taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which, whoſoeuer doth meaſure by number, muſt needs be greatly out of loue with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoeuer by waight, cannot chooſe but eſteeme very highly of that, wherein the wit of ſo ſcrupulous Aduerſaries hath not hitherto obſerued any defect which themſelues can ſeriouſly thinke to be of moment. Groſſe Errours and manifeſt Impietie they grant wee haue taken away. Yet *many things in it they ſay are amiſſe, many inſtances they giue of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the Word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinitie with the forme of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſe where reformed allow and obſerue; our Attire diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beſeemeth; it requireth nothing to be done which a Childe may not lawfully doe; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, which may be better called wiſhes then Prayers; it intermingleth Prayings and Readings in ſuch manner, as if Supplicants ſhould vſe in propoſing their Sutes vnto mortall Princes, all the Word would iudge them mad; it is too long, and by that meane abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to ſay after the Miniſter; it ſpendeth time in ſinging and in reading the *Pſalmes* by courſe, from ſide to ſide; it vſeth the Lords Prayer too oft, the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis* it might very well ſpare; it hath the *Letanie*, the Creed of *Athanaſius*, and *Gloria Patri*; which are ſuperfluous; it craueth earthly things too much; for deliuerance from thoſe euils againſt which we pray, it giueth no thankes; ſome things it asketh vnſeaſonably when they need not to be prayed for, as deliuerance from Thunder and Tempeſt when no danger is nigh; ſome in too abiect and diffident manner, as that God would giue vs that which wee for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske; ſome which ought not to be deſired, as the deliuerance from ſuddaine death, riddance from all aduerſitie, and the extent of ſauing mercie towards all men. Theſe and ſuch like are the imperfections, whereby our forme of Common Prayer is thought to ſwerue from the Word of God. A great fauourer of that part, but yet (his errour that way excepted) a learned, a painfull, a right vertuous and a good man did not feare ſometime to vndertake, againſt Popiſh Detractors, the generall maintenance and defence of our whole Church Seruice, as hauing in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And euen they which would file away moſt from the largeneſſe of that offer, doe notwithanding in more ſparing termes acknowledge little leſſe. For when thoſe oppoſite iudgements which neuer are wont to conſter things doubtfull to the better, thoſe very tongues which are alwayes prone to aggrauate whatſoeuer hath but the leaſt ſhew whereby it may be ſuſpected to ſauour of, or to ſound towards any euill, doe by their owne voluntary ſentence cleerely free vs from *groſſe Errours*, and from *manifeſt Impietie* herein; who would not iudge vs to be diſcharged of all blame, which are confeſt to haue no great fault, euen by their very word and teſtimony, in whoſe eyes no fault of ours hath euer hitherto beene accuſtomed to ſeeme ſmall. Neuertheleſſe, what they ſeeme to offer vs with the one hand, the ſame with the

* *T.C.l.1.p.131* Afterwards *p.* 135. Whereas M. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing ſhewed in the whole Booke which is not agreeable vnto the Word of God I am very loth, &c. Notwithſtanding, my duty of defending the truth and loue which I haue firſt towards God, & then towards my Countrey, conſtrayneth me being thus prouoked, to ſpeake a few words more particularly of the forme of Prayer, that when the blemiſhes thereof doe appeare, it may pleaſe the Queenes Maieſtie, and her Honourable Councell, with thoſe of the Parlament, &c.

other they pull backe againe. They grant we erre not in palpable manner, wee are not openly and notoriously impious, yet Errors we haue, which the sharpe insight of their wisest men doe espie, there is hidden impietie, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilfull eares perceiue certaine harsh and vnpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the Rules of Diuine Harmony, such as the Lawes of God cannot beare.

The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.

28 Touching our Conformitie with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference betweene some Reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath beene already answered, may serue for answere to that exception, which in these two respects they take particularly against the forme of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed, which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they doe, in that they are men, in that they are wisemen, and Christian men somethings, somethings in that they are men misse-led & blinded with Error. As far as they follow Reason and Truth, we feare not to tread the selfe-same steps wherein they haue gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better; others whom we much more affect leauing it for newer, and changing it for worse, we had rather follow the perfections of them whom wee like not, then in defects resemble them whom wee loue. For although they professe they agree with vs touching [a] *a prescript forme of Prayer to be vsed in the Church*, yet in that very forme which they say, is [b] *agreeable to Gods Word, and the vse of Reformed Churches*, they haue by speciall protestation declared, that their meaning is not it shall be prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Minister. *It shall not* (they say) *be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with* some like *confession, to proceed to the Sermon, which ended, hee* either *vseth the Prayer for all States before mentioned*, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall moue his heart. Herein therefore we hold it much better with the Church of Rome to appoint a Prescript forme which euery man shall be bound to obserue, then with them to set downe a kind of direction, a forme for men to vse if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselues. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that publike Prayer is a dutie intire in it selfe, a dutie requisite to be performed, much oftner then Sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so wee haue likewise a publike forme how to serue God both Morning and Euening, whether Sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their forme of Reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall be done [c] *vpon the dayes appointed for the preaching of the Word*; with what words the Minister shall begin, [d] *when the houre appointed for the Sermon is come*; what shall be said or sung before Sermon, and what after. So that according to this forme of theirs, it must stand for a Rule, *No Sermon, no Seruice.* Which ouersight, occasioned the French spitefully to terme Religion in that sort exercised, a meere Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbeare to rehearse, in consideration whereof, we cannot be induced to preferre their Reformed forme of Prayer before our owne, what Church soeuer we resemble therein.

a *T.C.l* 1.*p.*135
b A Booke of the forme of Common Prayer rendered to the Parlament, *pag.*46

c *Page* 22.
d 24.

29 The

29 The Attyre which the Miniſter of God is by order to vſe at times of Diuine Seruice, being but a matter of meere formality, yet ſuch as for comelineſſe ſake hath hitherto been iudged by the wiſer ſort of men not vnneceſſary to concurre with other ſenſible notes, betokening the different kind or quality of perſons and actions whereto it is tyed, as we thinke not our ſelues the holier, becauſe we vſe it, ſo neither ſhould they with whom no ſuch thing is in vſe, thinke vs therefore vnholy, becauſe we ſubmit our ſelues vnto that, which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſdome of authoritie and Law haue thought comely. To ſolemne actions of Royaltie and Iuſtice, their ſutable Ornaments are a beautie. Are they only in Religion a ſtayne [a] *Diuine Religion*, ſaith Saint *Ierome* (he ſpeaketh of the Prieſtly attyre of the Law) *hath one kind of habit wherin to miniſter before the Lord, another for ordinarie vſes belonging vnto common life.* PELAGIVS hauing carped at the curious neatnes of mens apparell in thoſe dayes, & through the ſowreneſſe of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly thereof, affirming that [b] *the glory of Clothes and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God & godlineſſe*; S. *Ierome*, whoſe cuſtome is not to pardon ouer-eaſily his Aduerſaries, if any where they chance to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making al ſorts of men in the world *Gods enemies. Is it enmity with God* (ſaith he *if I weare my Coat ſomewhat handſome?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, a Deacon, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticall Order *come to adminiſter the vſuall Sacrifice in a* [c] *white Garment*, are they hereby Gods Aduerſaries? *Clarkes, Monks, Widowes, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwiſe ſeen then in foule & ragged clothes. Not to ſpeak any thing of Secular men, which are proclaimed to haue war with God as oft as euer they put on precious & ſhining Clothes.* By which words of *Ierome* we may take it at the leaſt for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by ſo generall a ſpeech euen the neatneſſe of that very Garment it ſelfe, wherein the Clergie did then vſe to adminiſter publiquely the holy Sacrament of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Bodie and Bloud. For that they did then vſe ſome ſuch Ornament, the words of [d] *Chryſoſtome* giue plaine teſtimonie, who ſpeaking to the Clergie of *Antioch*, telleth them that if they did ſuffer notorious Malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heauily reuenged vpon them, as if themſelues had ſhed his bloud, that for this purpoſe God had called them to the roomes which they held in the Church of Chriſt, that this they ſhould reckon was *their dignitie, this their ſafety, this their whole Crowne & glory*; and therefore this they ſhould carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, imagine themſelues called only *to walke vp and downe in a white & ſhining Garment*. Now, whereas theſe ſpeeches of IEROME *and* CHRYSOSTOME doe ſeeme plainely to allude vnto ſuch Miniſteriall Garments as were then in vſe, to this they anſwere, that by *Ierome* nothing can bee gathered, but only that the Miniſters came to Church in handſome holiday apparel, and that himſelfe did not thinke them bound by the Law of God to goe like Slouens; but the Weed which wee meane hee defendeth not; that [e] *Chryſoſtome* meaneth indeed the ſame which wee defend, but ſeemeth rather to reprehend then to allow it as we doe. Which anſwere wringeth out of *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome* that which their words will not gladly yeeld. They both ſpeak of the ſame perſons, namely, the Clergie; and of their Weed at the ſame time when they adminiſter the bleſſed

Attire belonging to the Seruice of God. *T. C. l. 1 p. 71.* We thinke the Surplice eſpecially vnmeete for a Miniſter of the Goſpell to weare *pa. 75* It is eaſily ſeen by *Salomon Eccleſ. 8. 9* that to weare a white Garment was greatly eſteemed in the Eaſt parts, and was ordinary to thoſe that were in any eſtimation, as blacke with vs, and therefore was no ſeuerall Apparell for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſtery in a *Hierom. 44. Ezech.*

b *Hiero. Aduer. Pelag. lib. 1 ca. 9*

c *T. C. lib. 1. p. 77.* By a white garment, is meant a comely Apparell, and not ſlouenly.

d *Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch. To. 5. Serm. 60.*

e *T. C. li. 1. p. 75.* It is true, *Chryſoſtome* maketh mention of a white garment but not in cõmendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he ſheweth that the dignity of their Miniſterie was in taking heed that none vnmeete were admitted to the Lords Supper, not in going about the Church with a white Garment.

bleſſed Sacrament; and of the ſelfe-ſame kind of Weed, a white Garment, ſo farre as wee haue wit to conceiue; and for any thing wee are able to ſee, their manner of ſpeech is not ſuch as doth argue either the thing it ſelfe to be different whereof they ſpeak, or their iudgements concerning it different; although the one do only maintaine it againſt *Pelagius*, as a thing not therefore vnlawful, becauſe it was faire or handſome, and the other make it a matter of ſmall commendation in it ſelfe, if they which weare it, do nothing elſe but aire the Robes which their place requireth. The honeſty, dignity, and eſtimation of white apparell in the Eaſterne part of the World, is a token of greater fitneſſe for this Sacred vſe, wherein it were not conuenient that any thing baſely thought of ſhould be ſuffered. Notwithſtanding, I am not bent to ſtand ſtiffely vpon theſe probabilities, that in *Ieromes* and *Chryſoſtomes* time any ſuch attyre was made ſeuerall to this purpoſe. Yet ſurely the words of *Salomon* are very impertinent to proue it an Ornament, therefore not ſeuerall for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſterie in, becauſe men of credit and eſtimation wore their ordinarie apparell white. For we know that when *Salomon* wrote thoſe words, the ſeuerall Apparell for the Miniſters of the Law, to execute their Miniſterie in was ſuch. The [a] Wiſeman which feared God from his heart, and honoured the Seruice that was done vnto him, could not mention ſo much as the Garments of holineſſe, but with effectuall ſignification of moſt ſingular reuerence and loue. Were it not better that the loue which men beare to God, ſhould make the leaſt things that are imployed in his Seruice amiable, then that their ouerſcrupulous diſlike of ſo meane a thing as a Veſtment, ſhould from the very ſeruice of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I terme it rather a meane thing, a thing not much to be reſpected, becauſe euen they ſo account now of it, whoſe firſt Diſputations againſt it were ſuch, as if Religion had ſcarcely any thing of greater waight. Their [b] allegations were then, that *if a man were aſſured to gaine a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one Brother, or bee vnto him a cauſe of falling, he ought not to doe it; that this Popiſh apparell the Surplice eſpecially hath bin by Papiſts abominably abuſed*; that it hath bin *a mark and a very Sacrament of abomination; that remayning it ſerueth as a Monument of Idolatry*, and not only edifieth not, but as a dangerous and ſcandalous Ceremony, doth exceeding much harme *to them of whoſe good wee are commanded to haue regard; that it cauſeth men to periſh, & make ſhipwrack of conſcience*, for ſo themſelues profeſſe they meane, when they ſay the weak are offended herewith, that it *hardneth Papiſts, hindereth the weake from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpell, grieueth godly mindes, and giueth them occaſion to thinke hardly of their Miniſters*; that if the *Magiſtrate may command, or the Church appoynt* Rites and Ceremonies, *yet ſeeing our abſtinence from things in their owne nature indifferent, if the weake Brother ſhould bee offended, is a flat Commandement of the Holy Ghoſt, which no Authoritie either of Church or Commonwealth can make voyd*, therefore neither may the one nor the other lawfully *ordayne this* Ceremonie, *which hath great incommoditie and no profit, great offence and no edifying*; that by the Law it ſhould haue beene burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with Leproſie; that the Example of *Ezechias*, beating to powder the brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating thoſe abuſed feaſts of Charity, *inforceth vpon vs the duty of aboliſhing altogether* a thing which

a *Eccleſ.* 45. 7.

b *T.C. l.* 1. *p.* 79. 71. 75. 72. *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 403. *lib.* 1 *p.* 73. *Page* 73. *Page* 76. *lib.* 2. *p.* 403. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 76. *Page.* 81.

which hath beene and is ſo offenſiue; Finally, that God by his Prophet hath giuen *an expreſſe Commandement*, which in this caſe toucheth vs, no leſſe then of old it did the Iewes, [a] *Ye ſhall pollute the couering of the Images of Siluer, and the rich Ornament of your Images of Gold, and caſt them away as a ſtained ragge, thou ſhalt ſay vnto it, Get thee hence.* Theſe and ſuch like were their firſt Diſcourſes, touching that Church Attire, which with vs for the moſt part is vſuall in publike Prayer; our Eccleſiaſticall Lawes ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath bin of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpeciall choiſe was taken out of the number of thoſe holy Garments, which (ouer and beſides their myſticall reference) ſerued for [b] comelineſſe [c] vnder the Law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice and diſcretion be vſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuteth ſo fitly with that lightſome affection of [d] ioy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praiſe him; and ſo liuely reſembleth the glorie of the Saints in Heauen, together with the beautie wherein Angels haue appeared vnto men, that they which are to appeare for men in the preſence of God, as Angels, if they were left to their owne choice, and would chooſe any, could not eaſily deuiſe a Garment of more decencie for ſuch a Seruice. As for thoſe fore-rehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall wee giue them credit, when the very Authors from whom they come, confeſſe they beleeue not their owne ſayings? For when once they beganne to perceiue how many, both of them in the two Vniuerſities, and of others, who abroad hauing Eccleſiaſticall charge, doe fauour mightily their cauſe, and by all meanes ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremitie of that opinion hazard greatly their owne eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their places doe now giue them much opportunitie to ſtrengthen, they asked counſell as it ſeemeth from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered, that the bodie is of farre more worth then the rayment. Whereupon for feare of dangerous inconueniences, it hath beene thought good to adde, [e] that ſometimes authoritie *muſt and may with good conſcience be obeyed, euen where Commandement is not giuen vpon good grounds*; that *the dutie of preaching is one of the abſolute Commandements of God, and therefore ought not to be forſaken, for the bare inconuenience of a thing which in the owne nature is indifferent*; that *one of the foulеſt ſpots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giueth in occaſioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be* confirmed in their wickednеſſe, yet hereby there is no vnlawfulneſſe proued, but *onely an inconuenience*, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch inconueniencie neither, as may not bee borne with; that when God doth flatly command vs to abſtaine from things in their owne Nature indifferent, if they offend our weake brethren, his meaning is not wee ſhould obey his Commandement herein, vnleſſe we may doe it, *and not leaue vndone that which the Lord hath abſolutely commanded.* Alwayes prouided, that whoſoeuer will inioy the benefit of this Diſpenſation, to weare a ſcandalous Badge of Idolatrie, rather then forſake his Paſtorall charge, doe *as occaſion ſerueth) teach* neuertheleſſe ſtill *the incommoditie of the thing it ſelfe, admoniſh the weake Brethren, that they be not, and pray vnto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not be offended thereat.* So that whereas before, they which had authoritie to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies, were denied to haue power to inſtitute this, it is

a *Eſay* 30.22.

b *Exod* 28.2.

c *Exod.* 39.27.

d *Pſal.* 149.2. *Apoc.* 15.6. *Marke* 16 5.

e *T.C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 74. & *Lib.* 2. *p.* 250. *Index l.* 3 *c.* 8. *li.* 3 *pa* 262. *p.* 263

Lib. 3. *p.* 263.

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now confeſt that this they may alſo *lawfully*, but not ſo conueniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in vtter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abominable, they now doe well, which thinke it may be both borne and vſed with a very good conſcience; before, hee which by wearing it were ſure to winne thouſands vnto Chriſt, ought not to doe it if there were but one which might bee offended; now, though it bee with the offence of thouſands, yet it may bee done rather then that ſhould be giuen ouer, whereby notwithſtanding wee are not certaine wee ſhall gaine one; the Examples of *Ezechias* and of *Paul*, the charge which was giuen to the Iewes by *Eſay*, the ſtrict Apoſtolicall prohibition of things indifferent, whenſoeuer they may be ſcandalous, were before ſo forcible Lawes againſt our Eccleſiaſticall Attire, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could poſſibly make void, which now one of farre leſſe authoritie, then either hath found how to fruſtrate by diſpenſing with the breach of inferiour Commandements, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not, thus to ſoder vp a broken Cauſe, whereof their firſt and laſt Diſcourſes will fall aſunder doe what they can. Let them ingeniouſly confeſſe that their Inuectiues were too bitter, their Arguments too weake, the matter not ſo dangerous as they did imagine. If thoſe alledged teſtimonies of Scripture did indeed concerne the matter to ſuch effect as was pretended, that which they ſhould inferre were vnlawfulneſſe, becauſe they were cited as Prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concerne. If they prooue not our Attire vnlawfull, becauſe in truth they concerne it not, it followeth that they proue not any thing againſt it, and conſequently, not ſo much as vncomelineſſe or inconueniencie. Vnleſſe therefore they bee able throughly to reſolue themſelues, that there is no one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God, which doth controule the wearing of it in ſuch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe as the Church of *England* alloweth; vnleſſe they can fully reſt and ſettle their minds in this moſt ſound perſwaſion, that they are not to make themſelues the onely competent Iudges of decencie in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemne iudgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their owne conceit, grounded onely vpon vncertaine ſuſpitions and feares, whereof if they were at the firſt ſome probable cauſe, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it ſelfe worne that out alſo; vnleſſe, I ſay, thus reſolued in mind they hold their Paſtorall charge with the comfort of a good Conſcience, no way grudging at that which they doe, or doing that which they thinke themſelues bound of dutie to reproue, how ſhould it poſſibly helpe or further them in their courſe, to take ſuch occaſions as they ſay are requiſite to bee taken, and in penſiue manner to tell their Audience, "*Brethren, our hearts deſire is, that we might inioy the ful liberty of the Goſpel, as in* "*other Reformed Churches they doe elſe-where, vpon whom the heauie hand of Au-* "*thoritie hath impoſed no grieuous burthen. But ſuch is the miſerie of theſe our* "*dayes, that ſo great happines we cannot looke to attaine vnto. Were it ſo, that the e-* "*quity of the Law of* Moſes *could prevaile; or the zeale of* Ezechias *be found in* "*the hearts of thoſe Guides and Gouernours vnder whom we liue; or the voice of Gods* "*owne Prophets be duely heard; or the Example of the Apoſtles of Chriſt be* "*followed, yea or their Precepts be anſwered with full and perfect obedience, theſe*

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" *abhominable ragges polluted garments, markes and Sacraments of Idolatry, which*
" *Power as you ſee conſtraineth vs to weare, and conſcience to abhorre, had long ere*
" *this day beene remoued both out of ſight, and out of memorie. But as now things*
" *ſtand, behold, to what narrow ſtraights we are driuen; On the one ſide wee feare*
" *the words of our Sauiour Chriſt,* Wo be to them by whom ſcandall and offence
" commeth: *on the other ſide, at the Apoſtles ſpeech, we cannot but quake and trem-*
" *ble,* If I preach not the Goſpell, woe be vnto me. *Being thus hardly beſet, we*
" *ſee not any other remedy but to hazzard your ſoules the one way, that we may the*
" *other way endeuour to ſaue them. Touching the offence of the weake therefore, wee*
" *muſt aduenture it. If they periſh, they periſh. Our Paſtorall charge is Gods abſolute*
" *commandement. Rather then that ſhall be taken from vs, we are reſolued to take*
" *this filth, and to put it on, although wee iudge it to be ſo vnfit and inconuenient,*
" *that as oft as euer wee pray or preach ſo arrayed before you, wee doe as much as*
" *in vs lieth, to caſt away your ſoules that are weake-minded, and to bring you*
" *vnto endleſſe perdition. But wee beſeech you Brethren haue care of your owne*
" *ſafetie, take heede to your ſteppes, that yee be not taken in thoſe ſnares which*
" *wee lay before you. And our Prayer in your behalfe to Almightie God is, that*
" *the poyſon which we offer you, may neuer haue the power to doe you harme.* Ad-
uice and counſell is beſt ſought for at their hands, which either haue no part at all in the cauſe whereof they inſtruct, or elſe are ſo farre ingaged, that themſelues are to beare the greateſt aduenture in the ſucceſſe of their owne counſels. The one of which two conſiderations maketh men the leſſe reſpectiue, and the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned men which gaue the firſt direction to this courſe, had reaſon to wiſh that their owne proceedings at home, might be fauoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towards them might be kept aliue. But if themſelues had gone vnder thoſe ſailes which they require to be hoiſed vp, if they had beene themſelues to execute their owne Theorie in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would haue ſeene being neerer at hand, that the way was not good which they tooke of aduiſing men, firſt, to weare the apparell, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then, of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that Lawes which permit them not to doe as they would, will endure them to ſpeake as they liſt, euen againſt that which themſelues doe by conſtraint of Lawes; they would haue eaſily ſeene that our people being accuſtomed to thinke euermore that thing euill which is publikely vnder any pretence reproued, and the men themſelues worſe which reproue it and vſe it too, it ſhould be to little purpoſe for them to ſalue the wound, by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their owne actions, with plaine acknowledgement that they are ſcandalous, or by vſing faire intreatie with the weake Brethren; they would eaſily haue ſeene how with vs it cannot be indured, to heare a man openly profeſſe that he putteth fire to his Neighbours houſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſame with Prayer that he hopeth it ſhall not burne. It had beene therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to haue obſerued [a] Saint *Baſils* aduice, both in this and in all things of like nature. *Let him which approueth not his Gouernours Ordinances either plainely (but priuatly alwayes) ſhew his diſlike if he haue* λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, *ſtrong and inuincible reaſon*

[a] Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad interr. 47.

reaſon againſt them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture, or elſe let him quietly with ſilence doe that which is enioyned. Obedience with profeſt vnwillingneſſe to obey, is no better then manifeſt diſobedience.

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe. *T.C.l.1.p.134.*

30 Hauing thus diſputed, whether the Surplice be a fit garment to be vſed in the ſeruice of God, the next queſtion whereinto we are drawne, is, whether it be a thing allowable or no, that the Miniſter ſhould ſay ſeruice in the Chancell, or turne his face at any time from the people, or before ſeruice ended remooue from the place where it was begunne? By them which trouble vs with theſe doubts, we would more willingly be reſolued of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kind of taking Gods Name in vain, to debaſe Religion with ſuch friuolous diſputes, a ſinne to beſtow time and labour about them? Things of ſo meane regard and qualitie, although neceſſarie to be ordered, are notwithſtanding very vnſauourie when they come to be diſputed of; becauſe diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficultie in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple or very froward, who need to be taught by diſputation what is meet. When we make profeſſion of our Faith, we ſtand; when wee acknowledge our ſinnes, or ſeeke vnto God for fauour, we fall downe, becauſe the geſture of conſtancie becommeth vs beſt in the one, in the other the behauiour of humilitie. Some parts of our Liturgie conſiſt in the reading of the Word of God, and the proclayming of his Law, that the people may thereby learne what their duties are towardes him; ſome conſiſt in wordes of prayſe and thankſgiuing, whereby we acknowledge vnto God what his bleſſings are towards vs; ſome are ſuch as albeit they ſerue to ſingular good purpoſe, euen when there is no Communion adminiſtred; neuertheleſſe, being deuiſed at the firſt for that purpoſe, are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonly read; ſome are vttered as from the people, ſome as with them vnto God, ſome as from God vnto them, all as before his ſight, whom we feare, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt vnſeemelineſſe, we would be ſurely as loth as
a *T.C.l.1.p.103* they, who moſt reprehend or deride that we doe. [a] Now, becauſe the Goſpels which are weekly read, doe all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe either ſpake, did, or ſuffered in his owne perſon, it hath beene the cuſtome of Chriſtian men then eſpecially in token of the greater reuerence to ſtand, to vtter certaine words of acclamation, and at the name of Ieſus to bow. Which harmeleſſe Ceremonies, as there is *no man conſtrained to vſe*, ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any man ſhould yet imagine it an vnſufferable
b *Marke 12.6.* euill. It ſheweth a [b] reuerend regard to the Sonne of God aboue other Meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Iewes, Arrians, who derogate from the honour of Ieſus Chriſt, ſuch Ceremonies are moſt profi-
c *T.C.l.3.p.215* table. [c] As for any erroneous *eſtimation*, aduancing the Sonne *aboue the Father and the Holy Ghoſt*, ſeeing that the truth of his equalitie with them, is a myſtery ſo hard for the wits of mortall men to riſe vnto, of all Hereſies, that which may giue him ſuperioritie aboue them, is leaſt to be feared. But to let goe this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, wheras if fault be in theſe things any where iuſtly found, Law hath referred the whole diſpoſition & redreſſe thereof to the Ordinary of the place; [d] they which elſewhere complaine, that diſgrace and *in-*
d *T.C.l.1.p.74.* *iurie* is offred euen to the meaneſt Pariſh Miniſter, when the Magiſtrate appoin-

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pointeth him what to weare, and leaueth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his owne diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreete and truſted with the care of the peoples ſoules, doe [a] thinke the graueſt Prelates in the Land no competent Iudges, to diſcerne and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way conuenient to looke praying. From their Ordinary therefore they appeale to themſelues, finding great fault that wee neither reforme the thing againſt the which they haue ſo long ſithence giuen ſentence, nor yet make anſwere vnto that they bring, which is, that [b] Saint *Luke* declaring, how *Peter ſtood vp in the midſt of the Diſciples*, did thereby deliuer an [c] *vnchangeable* rule, that *whatſoeuer* is done in the Church, *ought to be done* in the midſt of the Church, and therefore not Baptiſme to be adminiſtred in one place, Marriage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord receiued in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fift Prayers to be made; that the cuſtome which we vſe is Leuiticall, abſurd, and ſuch as hindreth the vnderſtanding of the people; that if it be meet for the Miniſter, at ſome time to looke towards the people; if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of Diuine Seruice, it muſt needs follow that whenſoeuer his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other-where, it hath abſurditie. *All theſe reaſons*, they ſay, haue beene brought, and were hitherto neuer anſwered; beſides a number of merriments and ieſts vnanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they haue pleaſantly moued much laughter at our manner of ſeruing God. Such is their euill hap to play vpon dull-ſpirited men. Wee are ſtill perſwaded that a bare deniall, is anſwere ſufficient to things which meere fancie obiecteth; and that the beſt Apologie to words of ſcorne and petulancie, is *Iſaacks* Apologie to his brother *Iſmael*, the Apologie which patience and ſilence maketh. Our anſwere therefore to their reaſons, is no; to their ſcoffes, nothing.

a *T.C.l.*1.*p.*134 *lib.*3.*pag.*187.

b *Acts* 1.15. c *T.C.l.*1.*p.*134 *lib.*3.*pag.*187.

31 When they obiect that our Booke requireth [d] nothing to bee done, which a childe may not doe as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe*, is it their meaning that the Seruice of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deepe skill, or elſe that the Booke containing it, ſhould teach what men are fit to attend vpon it, and forbid either men vnlearned or children to be admitted thereunto? In ſetting downe the forme of Common Prayer, there was no need that the Booke ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the vnfitneſſe of an ignorant Miniſter, more then that he which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field, ſhould ſpeake of moderation and ſobrietie in diet. And concerning the dutie it ſelfe, although the hardneſſe thereof be not ſuch as needeth much Art, yet ſurely they ſeeme to be very farre carried beſides themſelues, to whom the dignitie of publique Prayer doth not diſcouer ſomewhat more fitneſſe in men of grauitie and ripe diſcretion, then in children of *ten yeeres of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that office. It cannot bee that they who ſpeake thus, ſhould thus iudge. At the boord and in priuate it very well becommeth childrens innocencie to pray, and their Elders to ſay, *Amen*. Which being a part of their vertuous education, ſerueth greatly both to nouriſh in them the feare of God, and to put vs in continuall remembrance of that powerfull grace, which openeth the mouthes of Infants to ſound his prayſe. But

Eaſineſſe of praying after our forme.

d *T.C.l.*1.*p.*133 *& lib.*3.*p.*184.

Another fault in the whole Seruice or Liturgie of *England*, is, for that it maintaineth an vnpreaching Miniſterie, in requiring nothing to be done by the Miniſter which a child often yeeres old cannot doe as wel, and as lawfully as that man, wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe.

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publike Prayer, the ſeruice of God in the ſolemne aſſembly of Saints, is a worke though eaſie, yet withall ſo waightie and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facilitie thereof is but a ſlender argument to prooue it may bee as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of yeeres, howſoeuer their abilitie of learning be but only to doe that in decent order wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe. The Booke requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what ſhould any preſcript forme of Prayer framed to the Miniſters hand, require, but onely ſo to be read as behoueth? Wee know that there are in the World certaine voluntarie Ouerſeers of all Bookes, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharpe on vs as it hath done on many others, if deliuering but a forme of Prayer, we ſhould either expreſſe or include any thing, more then doth properly concerne Prayer. The Miniſters greatneſſe or meaneneſſe of knowledge to doe other things, his aptneſſe or inſufficiencie otherwiſe then by reading to inſtruct the Flocke, ſtandeth in this place as a ſtranger, with whom our forme of Common Prayer hath nothing to doe. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſſe, as if that did nouriſh ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needleſſe iealouſie. I haue often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to paſſe, that the Church ſhould euery-where haue able Preachers to inſtruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the ſpeedieſt way to remoue them. In which conſultations the multitude of Pariſhes, the paucitie of Schooles, the manifold diſcouragements which are offered vnto mens inclinations that way, the penurie of the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, the irreconerable loſſe of ſo many Liuings of principall value, cleane taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the daily bruzes that Spirituall promotions vſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomwhat in certaine ſtatutes which concerne the ſtate of the Church, the too great facilitie of many Biſhops, the ſtonie hardneſſe of too many Patrons hearts not touched with any feeling in this caſe: ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought vpon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning defect of knowledge in the Clergie. But whoſoeuer bee found guiltie, the Communion Booke hath ſurely deſerued leaſt to be called in queſtion for this fault. If all the Clergie were as learned as themſelues are that moſt complaine of ignorance in others, yet our Booke of Prayer might remaine the ſame; and remayning the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can be a let vnto any mans skill in preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be Gods good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſarie element, that euery act of Religion ſhould be thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able Preacher.

The length of our ſeruice. *T.C.l.1.p.133. & l.3.p.184.*

32 Two faults there are, which our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe eſpecially reproued in Prayer; the one, when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open; the other, when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faultie, not whenſoeuer they be openly made, but when Hypocriſie is the cauſe of open praying: ſo the length of Prayer is likewiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimply, but where errour and ſuperſtition cauſeth more then conuenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be vſed. It is not as ſome doe imagine (ſaith [a] Saint *Auguſtine*) that long praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in prayer

[a] *Aug. Ep.121.*

which

which our Sauiour did reprooue; for then would not hee himſelfe in prayer haue continued [a] whole nights. Vſe in prayer no vaine ſuperfluitie of words as the Heathens doe, for they imagine that their much ſpeaking will cauſe them to bee heard: whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how vertuous their mindes are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they thinke, and not how long they talke who come to preſent their ſupplications before him. Notwithſtanding for as much as in publike prayer wee are not onely to conſider what is needfull in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in men that which wee muſt regard; wee ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leſt ouer-quicke diſpatch of a dutie ſo important, ſhould giue the World occaſion to deeme, that the thing it ſelfe is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is beſtowed. Length therefore is a thing which the grauitie and waight of ſuch actions doth require. Beſides, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whom earneſt lets and impediments doe often hinder from being partakers of the whole, haue yet through the length of Diuine Seruice, opportunitie left them, at the leaſt for acceſſe vnto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Againe, it ſhould be conſidered, how it doth come to paſſe that wee are ſo long. For if that very ſeruice of God in the Iewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approue and ſanctifie with the preſence of his owne perſon, had ſo large portions of the Law and the Prophets, together with ſo many Prayers and Pſalmes read day by day, as equall in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was neuer thought to deſerue blame, is it now an offence that the like meaſure of time is beſtowed in the like manner? Peraduenture the Church hath not now the leiſure which it had then, or elſe thoſe things whereupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, haue ſithence that loſt their dignitie and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Pſalmes be a part of the Seruice of God, as needfull vnder Chriſt as before, and the adding of the New Teſtament, as profitable as the Ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith inſtead of Iewiſh Prayers it be alſo for the good of the Church to annexe that varietie which [b] the Apoſtle doth commend; ſeeing that the time which wee ſpend is no more then the orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily requireth, why are wee thought to exceed in length? Words, be they neuer ſo few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But hee which ſpeaketh no more then edifieth, is vndeſeruedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as [c] *the Deuill vnder colour of long Prayer draue preaching out of the Church* heretofore, *ſo we in appointing ſo long Prayers and reading, whereby the leſſe can be ſpent in preaching, maintaine an vnpreaching Miniſterie,* is neither aduiſedly nor truely ſpoken. They reproue long Prayer, and yet acknowledge it to bee in it ſelfe a thing commendable. For ſo it muſt needes bee, if the Deuill haue vſed it as a colour to hide his malicious practices. When malice would worke that which is euill, and in working auoid the ſuſpicion of any euill intent, the colour wherewith it ouercaſteth it ſelfe, is alwayes a faire and plauſible pretence of ſeeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retaine that good which Sathan hath pretended to ſeeke, and auoid the euill which his purpoſe was to effect, haue wee not better preuented his malice, then if as hee hath vnder colour of long Prayer, driuen preaching out of the Church, ſo we ſhould take the quarrell

of

a *Luke* 6 12.

b 1. *Tim.* 2. 1.

c *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 184.

of Sermons in hand, and reuenge their cauſe by requitall, thruſting Prayer in a manner out of doores vnder colour of long preaching? In caſe our Prayers being made at their full length, did neceſſarily inforce Sermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to vphold and maintaine an *vnpreaching* Miniſterie, vnleſſe we will ſay that thoſe ancient Fathers, *Chryſoſtome*, *Auguſtine*, *Leo*, and the reſt, whoſe Homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part then our Sermons are, did then not preach when their ſpeeches were not long. The neceſſitie of ſhortneſſe cauſeth men to cut off impertinent Diſcourſes, and to comprize much matter in few words. But neither doth it maintaine inabilitie, nor at all preuent opportunitie of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpoſe. *An houre and a halfe* is, they ſay, in reformed Churches *ordinarily* thought reaſonable, for *their whole Liturgie or Seruice*. Doe we then continue as [a] *Ezra* did in reading the Law from morning till midday? [b] or as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* did in Prayer and preaching, till men through wearineſſe be taken vp dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint, is but this, that if our whole forme of Prayer be read, and beſides an houre allowed for a Sermon, wee ſpend ordinarily in both more time then they doe by halfe an houre. Which halfe houre being ſuch a matter, as the *age of ſome, and infirmitie of other ſome are not able to beare*; if we haue any ſenſe of the *common imbecillitie*, if any care to preſerue mens wits from being broken with the very *beat of ſo long attention*, if any loue or deſire to prouide that things moſt holy be not with hazzard of mens ſoules abhord and lothed, this halfe houres tediouſneſſe muſt be remedied, and that onely by cutting off the greateſt part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedie will ſerue to helpe ſo dangerous an inconuenience.

a *Nehem.* 8. 3.
b *Acts* 20, 9.

In ſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitiue Churches haue vſed, and thoſe that bee reformed now vſe, we haue (they ſay) diuers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes then Prayers. *T.C. l. 1. p.* 138. *& lib.* 3. *pag.* 210, 211.

33 The Brethren in Egypt (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Epiſt.* 121) are reported to haue many Prayers, but euery of them very ſhort, as if they were Darts throwne out with a kind of ſuddaine quickneſſe, leſt that vigilant and erect attention of mind, which in Prayer is very neceſſarie, ſhould be waſted or dulled through continuance, if their Prayers were few and long. But that which Saint *Auguſtine* doth allow, they condemne. Thoſe Prayers whereunto deuout mindes haue added a piercing kinde of brenitie, as well in that reſpect which we haue alreadie mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſſe that quicke and ſpeedie expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to preſent our ſutes in Heauen, euen ſooner then our tongues can deuiſe to vtter them; they in their mood of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe termes as doe very ill beſeeme men of their grauitie. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they ſauour not of God in him that vſeth them, and vnto vertuouſly diſpoſed mindes they are grieuous corroſiues. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith wee moſt indeuour to pleaſe God, were in his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable, as mens diſdainfull ſpeech would make it.

Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.

34 Againe, for as much as effectuall Prayer is ioyned with a vehement intention of the inferiour powers of the ſoule, which cannot therein long continue without paine, it hath beene therefore thought good ſo by turnes to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the minde, the vnderſtanding to worke

worke vpon that both being kept in continuall exerciſe with varietie, neither might feele any great wearineſſe, and yet each be a ſpurre to other. For Prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the minde delighted with that contemplatiue ſight of God, taketh euery-where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Myſteries of heauenly Wiſedome continually ſtirring vp in vs correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort, is thereby made the more attentiue to heare, and he which heareth, the more earneſt to pray, for the time which wee beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoeuer wee doe it, this intermingling of Leſſons with Prayers is * in their taſte a thing as vnſauorie, and as vnſeemly in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in Sutes and Supplications before ſome mighty Prince of the World. Our ſpeech to worldly Superiors we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerueth beſt to informe and perſwade the mindes of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Whereas, becauſe wee know that God is indeed a King, but *a great* King; who vnderſtandeth all things before-hand which no other King beſides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what wee lacke, a King readier to grant then we to make our requeſts; therefore in Prayer we doe not ſo much reſpect what Precepts Arte deliuereth touching the method of perſwaſiue vtterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt avayle to our own edification in pietie and godly zeale. If they on the contrary ſide doe thinke that the ſame rules of decencie which ſerue for things done vnto terrene Powers, ſhould vniuerſally decide what is fit in the ſeruice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxime, that the Church muſt deliuer her publike Supplications vnto God in no other forme of ſpeech then ſuch as were decent, if ſute ſhould be made to the great Turke, or ſome other Monarch, let them apply their own rule vnto their own forme of Common Prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole Towne with ſome choſen man before them did continually twice or thrice in a week reſort to their King, and euery time they come, firſt acknowledge themſelues guilty of rebellions and treaſons, then ſing a Song, after that explaine ſome Statute of the Land to the Standers by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an houre, this done turne themſelues againe to the Kng and for euery ſort of his Subiects craue ſomewhat of him, at the length ſing him another Song, and ſo take their leaue: Might not the King well thinke, that either they knew not what they would haue, or elſe that they were diſtracted in mind, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their ſupplication? This form of ſuing vnto Kings were abſurd. This forme of Praying vnto God they allow. When God was ſerued with Legall Sacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome mens minds, that the beſt of euery thing they had being culled out for themſelues, if there were in their Flockes any poore ſtarued or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wiſe Hypocrites doe when they rob God to inrich themſelues) that the fatneſſe of

* We haue no ſuch formes in the Scripture as that we ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after hauing read a while ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 20. or 30 time, with pauſes betweene. If a man ſhould come to a Prince, and hauing verie many things to demand, after he had demanded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demand another, and ſo the third, the Prince might well thinke that either hee came to aske before he knew what hee had need of, or that he had forgotten ſome piece of his Sute, or that he were diſtracted in his vnderſtanding, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of his Supplication. *T. C. li. 1. p. 138.* This kind of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth vſe *T. C. l. 3. p. 210.*

Calues doth benefit him nothing, to vs the best things are most profitable to him all as one if the mind of the Offerer bee good, which is the only thing hee respecteth. In reproofe of which their deuout fraud, the Prophet *Malachy* alleageth, that gifts are offered vnto God not as[a] supplies of his want indeed, but yet as testimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge & honour his greatnesse. For which cause, sith the greater they are whom we honour the more regard wee haue to the qualitie and choice of those presents which we bring them for honours sake, it must needs follow, that if wee dare not disgrace our worldly Superiors with offring vnto them such refuse as we bring vnto God himselfe, we shew plainely that our acknowledgement of his Greatnesse is but fained, in heart wee feare him not so much as we dread them.[b] *If yee offer the blinde for sacrifice, is it not euill? Offer it now vnto thy Prince. Will he be content or accept thy person, saith the Lord of Hosts? Cursed be the Deceiuer which hath in his Flocke a Male, and hauing made a Vow, sacrificeth vnto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King saith the Lord of Hostes.* Should we hereupon frame a Rule, that what forme of speech or behauiour soeuer is fit for Suters in a Princes Court, the same and no other beseemeth vs in our Prayers to Almightie God?

a Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρον ἐπὶ κλήμασος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ ἔχειν δοκοῦσι. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμα ἐστὶν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ τιμιλῶ ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Arist. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 5.

b *Mal.* 1. 8. 14.

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lords Prayer.

35 But in vaine we labour to perswade them that any thing can take away the tediousnesse of Prayer, except it be brought to the very same both measure and forme which themselues assigne. Whatsoeuer therefore our Liturgie hath more then theirs vnder one deuised pretence or other they cut it off. We haue of Prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; so oft to rehearse the Lords Prayer in so small a time, is as they thinke a losse of time both the peoples praying after the Minister, they say, wasteth time, and also maketh an vnpleasant sound; the *Psalmes* they would not haue to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, not to be sung or said by turns, nor such Musick to be vsed with them; those Euangelicall *Hymnes* they allow not to stand in our Liturgie; the *Letanie*, the *Creed* of *Athanasius*, the Sentence of Glorie, wherewith wee vse to conclude *Psalmes*, these things they cancell, as hauing beene instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of olde, and as being therfore now superfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, we ought not to thinke that the Church hath set downe so many of them without cause. They peraduenture, which find this fault, are of the same affection with *Salomon*, so that if God should offer to grant them whatsoeuer they aske, they would neither craue riches, nor length of dayes, nor yet victorie ouer their Enemies, but only an vnderstanding heart, for which cause themselues hauing Eagles wings, are offended to see others flie so neere the ground. But the tender kindnesse of the Church of God it very well beseemeth, to helpe the weaker for-

I can make no Geometricall and exact measure, but verily I beleeue there shall bee found more then a third part of the Prayers, which are not *Psalmes* and Texts of Scripture, spent in praying for, and praying against the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to All the Arguments or Contents of the Prayers of the Church set downe in the Scripture, and especially of our Sauiour Christs Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed *T.C.li.p.* 136. What a reason is this, we must repeat the Lords Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in halfe an houre, and one in the neck of another? Our Sauiour Christ doth not there giue a prescript forme of Prayer whereunto hee bindeth vs: but giueth vs a Rule and Squire to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is necessary to pray, and pray often. I know also that in a few words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a Prayer, and I confesse that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lords Prayer: But I stand vpon this, that there is no necessity layd vpon vs to vse these very words and no more, *TC. l. 1. p.* 219.

ſort which are by ſo great oddes moe in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may bee therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant we are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Sauiour Chriſt being preſent on earth, there came not any vnto him with better ſucceſſe for the benefit of their ſoules euerlaſting happineſſe, then they whoſe bodily neceſſities gaue them the firſt occaſion to ſeeke relieſe, where they ſaw willingnes and abilitie of doing euery way good vnto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious then worldly benefits; our ghoſtly euils of greater importance then any harme which the bodie feeleth. Therefore our deſires to Heauen ward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſſe exceed, then their glorious Obiect doth euery way excell in value. Theſe things are true and plaine in the eye of a perfect Iudgement. But yet it muſt be withall conſidered, that the greateſt part of the World are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by ſenſe to diſcerne the wants of this preſent life, then by ſpirituall capacitie to apprehend things aboue ſenſe, which tend to their happines in the World to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to apply their mindes euen with hearty affection and zeale at the leaſt vnto thoſe branches of publike prayer, wherein their owne particular is moued. And by this meane there ſtealeth vpon them a double benefit; firſt, becauſe that good affection, which things of ſmaller account haue once ſet on worke, is by ſo much the more eaſily raiſed higher; and ſecondly, in that the very cuſtome of ſeeking ſo particular ayde & reliefe at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from indeuouring to help themſelues by thoſe wicked ſhifts, which they know can neuer haue his allowance, whoſe aſſiſtance their Prayer ſeeketh. Theſe multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer haue therefore, beſides their direct vſe, a Seruice whereby the Church vnder-hand, through a kind of Heauenly fraud, taketh therewith the ſoules of men as with certaine bayts. If then their calculation be true (for ſo they reckon) that a full third of our prayers be allotted vnto earthly benefits, for which our Sauiour in his platforme hath appoynted but one petition amongſt ſeuen, the difference is without any great diſagreement; wee reſpecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection, our Lord contrariwiſe propoſing the moſt abſolute proportion that can be in mens deſires, the very higheſt marke whereat we are able to ayme. For which cauſe alſo our cuſtome is both to place it * in the front of our prayers as a Guide, and to adde it in the end of ſome principall limmes or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatſoeuer may be defectiue in the reſt. Twice we rehearſe it ordinarily, & oftner as occaſion requireth more ſolemnitie or length in the forme of Diuine Seruice, not miſtruſting, till theſe new curioſities ſprang vp, that euer any man would thinke our labour herein miſ-ſpent, the time waſtfully conſumed & the office it ſelfe made worſe, by ſo repeating that which otherwiſe would more hardly be made familiar to the ſimpler ſort, for the good of whoſe ſoules there is not in Chriſtian Religion any thing of like continuall vſe and force throughout euery houre and moment of their whole liues. I meane not only becauſe Prayer, but becauſe this very prayer is of ſuch efficacie and neceſſitie: for that our Sauiour did but ſet men a bare Example how to contriue or deuiſe Prayers of their owne, and no way binde them

* *Præmiſſa legitima & ordinaria oratione quaſi fundamento, accidentium ius eſt deſideriorum, ius eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus petitiones.* Tertul. de Orat.

them to vſe this, is no doubt an Error,[a] *Iohn* the *Baptiſts* Diſciples, which had beene alwayes brought vp in the boſome of Gods Church from the time of their firſt infancie, till they came to the ſchoole of *Iohn*, were not ſo brutiſh, that they could be ignorant how to call vpon the name of God, but of their Maſter they had receiued a forme of Prayer amongſt themſelues, which forme none did vſe ſauing his Diſciples, ſo that by it as by a marke of ſpeciall difference they were knowne from others. And of this the Apoſtles hauing taken notice, they requeſt that as *Iohn* had taught his, ſo Chriſt would likewiſe teach them to pray. *Tertullian* and Saint *Auguſtine* doe for that cauſe terme it, *Orationem legitimam*, the prayer which Chriſts own Law hath tied his Church to vſe in the ſame preſcript forme of words wherewith he himſelfe did deliuer it, and therefore what part of the World ſoeuer we fall into, if Chriſtian Religion haue beene there receiued, the ordinary vſe of this very Prayer hath with equall continuance accompanyed the ſame, as one of the principall and moſt materiall duties of honor done to Ieſus Chriſt. *Seeing*[b] *that we haue* (ſaith Saint CYPRIAN) *an Aduocate with the Father for our ſinnes, when we that haue ſinned come to ſeeke for pardon, let vs alleage vnto God the words which our Aduocate hath taught. For ſith his promiſe is our plaine warrant, that in his name what we aske wee ſhall receiue, muſt we not needs much the rather obtaine that for which we ſue, if not onely his Name doe countenance, but alſo his ſpeech preſent our requeſts?* Though men ſhould ſpeake with the tongues of Angels, yet words ſo pleaſing to the eares of God, as thoſe which the Sonne of God himſelfe hath compoſed, were not poſſible for men to frame. He therefore which made vs to liue, hath alſo taught vs to pray, to the end that ſpeaking vnto the Father in the Sonnes owne preſcript forme without ſcholy or gloſſe of ours, wee may bee ſure that we vtter nothing which God will eyther diſallow or deny. Other Prayers we vſe many beſides this, and this oftner then any other; although not tyed ſo to doe by any Commandement of Scripture, yet moued with ſuch conſiderations as haue beene before ſet downe: the cauſeleſſe diſlike whereof which others haue conceiued, is no ſufficient reaſon for vs, as much as once to forbeare in any place: a thing which vttered with true deuotion and zeale of heart, affordeth to God himſelfe that glory, that ayde to the weakeſt ſort of men, to the moſt perfect, that ſolid comfort which is vnſpeakeable.

a *Luk.* 11. 1

b *Cypr. in Orat. Dom.*

The peoples ſaying after the Miniſter. Another fault is that al the people are appoynted in diuers places to ſay after the Miniſter, whereby not onely the time is vnprofitably waſted, and a confuſed noyſe of the people one ſpeaking after another cauſed, but an Opinion bred in their heads that thoſe onely bee their Prayers which they pronounce with their owne mouthes after the Miniſter, otherwiſe then the order which is left to the Church doth beare, 1. *Cor.* 14. 16. and otherwiſe then *Iuſtin Martyr* ſheweth the cuſtome of the Churches to haue beene in his time. *T.C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 139. and *lib* 3. *page* 211. 212. 213.

36 With our Lords Prayer they would find no fault, ſo that they might perſwade vs to vſe it before or after Sermons onely (becauſe ſo their manner is) and not (as all Chriſtian people haue beene of old accuſtomed) inſert it ſo often into the Liturgie. But the peoples cuſtome to repeate any thing after the miniſter, they vtterly miſlike. Twice weee appoynt that the words which the Miniſter firſt pronounceth, the whole congregation ſhall repeat after him. As firſt in the publique Confeſſion of ſinnes, and againe in rehearſall of our Lords Prayer, preſently after the bleſſed Sacrament of his Bodie and Bloud receiued. A thing no way offenſiue, no way vnfit or vnſeemely to be done although

though it had beene ſo appointed oftner then with vs it is. But ſurely with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there be any thing deuiſed better, then that we all at our firſt acceſſe vnto God by Prayer, ſhould acknowledge meekly our ſinnes, and that not only in heart but with tongue, all which are preſent being made eare-witneſſes, euen of euery mans diſtinct and deliberate aſſent vnto each particular branch of a common Indictment drawne againſt our ſelues? How were it poſſible, that the Church ſhould any way elſe with ſuch eaſe and certaintie prouide, that none of her Children may as *Adam* diſſemble that wretchednes, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſary a Preamble, eſpecially to Common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did euer deuiſe a thing fit and conuenient, what more then this, that when together we haue all receiued thoſe heauenly Myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelfe vnto vs, and giueth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed Communion with him, we ſhould in hatred of all Hereſies, Factions and Schiſmes, the Paſtor as a Leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep, declare openly our ſelues vnited as Brethren in one, [n] by offering vp withall our hearts and tongues that moſt effectuall Supplication, wherein he vnto whom we offer it, hath himſelfe not only comprehended all our neceſſities, but in ſuch ſort alſo framed euery Petition, as might moſt naturally ſerue for many, and doth though not alwayes require, yet alwayes import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe Communicants haue euer vſed it, and we at that time by the forme of our very vtterance doe ſhew wee vſe it, yea, euery word and ſyllable of it as Communicants. In the reſt wee obſerue that cuſtome whereunto [o] Saint *Paul* alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings make often mention, to ſhew indefinitely what was done, but not vniuerſally to binde for euer all Prayers vnto one onely faſhion of vtterance. The reaſons which we haue alleaged, induce vs to thinke it ſtill *a good worke*, which they in their penſiue care for the well beſtowing of time account *waſte*. As for vnpleaſantneſſe of ſound if it happen, the good of mens Soules doth either deceiue our eares that wee note it not, or arme them with patience to indure it. Wee are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharpe Knife, becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate. And ſuch ſubtle opinions as few but Vtopians are likely to fall into, wee in this Climate doe not greatly feare.

[n] Τίς γὰρ ἐυ-ἐχθρον ἡσυχάσθαι δύναται μεθ' οὗ μίαν ἀφῆκε πρὸς θεὸν τὴν φωνὴν; Baſil. Præf. in Pſal.

[o] 1. Cor. 14. 16.

37 The complaint which they make about Pſalmes and Hymnes, might as well be ouer-paſt without any Anſwere, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them if it may be, and to yeeld them a iuſt reaſon euen of the leaſt things wherein vndeſeruedly they haue but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that wee doe amiſſe. They ſeeme ſometimes ſo to ſpeake, as if it greatly offended them, that ſuch Hymnes and Pſalmes as are Scripture, ſhould in Common Prayer be otherwiſe vſed then the reſt of the Scripture is woont; ſometime diſpleaſed they are at the artificiall Muſique which we adde vnto Pſalmes of this kind or of any other nature elſe; ſomtime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible rehearſall of them yet they ſauour not, becauſe it is done by Interlocution, and with a mutuall returne of Sentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is betweene

Our manner of reading the Pſalmes otherwiſe then the Scripture. They haue alwaies the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read and preached vpon which other Scriptures haue, and this aboue the reſt, that they are to be ſung.

other parts of Scripture and Pſalmes. The choice and flower of * all things profitable in other Bookes, the Pſalmes doe both more briefly containe, and more mouingly alſo expreſſe, by reaſon of that Poeticall forme wherewith they are written. The ancient, when they ſpeake of the Booke of Pſalmes, vſe to fall into large Diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part aboue the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God, it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of diuine men, it is of things heauenly an vniuerſall declaration, working in them, whoſe hearts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of minde whereby they are made fit Veſſels both for receit and for deliuery of whatſoeuer ſpirituall perfection. What is there neceſſary for man to know which the Pſalmes are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſie and familiar Introduction, a mightie augmentation of all Vertue and Knowledge in ſuch as are entred before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroicall Magnanimitie, exquiſite Iuſtice, graue Moderation, exact Wiſdome, Repentance vnfained, vnwearied Patience, the Myſteries of God, the Sufferings of Chriſt, the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Works of Prouidence ouer this World, and the promiſed Ioyes of that World which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either knowne or done or had, this one Celeſtiall Fountaine yeeldeth. Let there be any griefe or diſeaſe incident into the ſoule of man, any wound or ſickneſſe named, for which there is not in this Treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedie at all times readie to be found. Hereof it is that wee couet to make the Pſalmes eſpecially familiar vnto all. This is the very cauſe why wee iterate the Pſalmes oftner then any other part of Scripture beſides, the cauſe wherefore we inure the people together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone to reade them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

But to make daily Prayers of them hand-ouer-head, or otherwiſe then the preſent eſtate wherein wee be, doth agree with the matter contained in them is an abuſing of them.

T.C.l.3.p.206.

* ὑπερεκτικὴ τῶν παντέρων ὑμνολογία. Dionyſ Hierar. Eccleſ.c.3.

Of Muſique with Pſalmes,

38 Touching Muſicall Harmony, whether by Inſtrument or Voyce, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt diuine, that ſome haue beene thereby induced to thinke that the Soule it ſelfe by nature is, or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all Ages and beſeemeth all States; a thing as ſeaſonable in griefe as in ioy; as decent being added vnto actions of greateſt waight and ſolemnitie, as being vſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelues from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facilitie which Muſicke hath to expreſſe and repreſent to the mind, more inwardly than any other ſenſible meane, the very ſtanding, riſing and falling, the very ſteps and inflections euery way, the turnes and varieties of all paſſions whereunto the minde is ſubiect: yea, ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble vnto vs the ſame ſtate wherein our mindes alreadie are, or a cleane contrary, wee are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, then changed and led away by the other. In Harmonie the very Image and Character euen of Vertue and Vice is perceiued, the mind delighted with their Reſemblances, and brought, by hauing them often iterated, into a loue of the things themſelues. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent then ſome kindes of Harmonie; then ſome nothing more ſtrong

and

and potent vnto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kind from another, wee need no proofe but our owne experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of ſome more inclined vnto ſorrow and heauineſſe: of ſome, more mollified and ſoftned in mind; one kind apter to ſtay and ſettle vs, another to mooue and ſtirre our affections; there is that draweth to a maruelous graue and ſober mediocritie, there is alſo that carryeth as it were into extaſies filling the mind with an heauenly ioy, and for the time in a manner, ſeuering it from the bodie. So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of Ditty or Matter, the very harmonie of ſounds being framed in due ſort, and carryed from the eare to the ſpirituall faculties of our ſoules is by a natiue puiſſance and efficacie greatly availeable to bring to a perfect temper whatſoeuer is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits, as to allay that which is too eager, ſoueraigne againſt melancholy and deſpaire, forcible to draw forth teares of deuotion, if the mind be ſuch as can yeeld them, able both to mooue and to moderate all affections. The Prophet *Dauid* hauing therefore ſingular knowledge not in Poetrie alone but in Muſique alſo, iudged them both to be things moſt neceſſarie for the houſe of God, left behind him to that purpoſe a number of diuinely indited Poems, and was farther the Author of adding vnto Poetrie melodie in publique prayer, melodie both vocall and inſtrumentall for the raiſing vp of mens hearts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations the Church of Chriſt doth likewiſe at this preſent day retayne it as an ornament to Gods ſeruice, and an helpe to our owne deuotion. They which vnder pretence of the Law Ceremoniall abrogated require the abrogation of inſtrumentall Muſique, approouing neuertheleſſe the vſe of vocall melodie to remaine, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould be thought a Legall Ceremonie and not the other. In Church-Muſique curioſity and oſtentation of Art, wanton, or light; or vnſuteable harmony, ſuch as only pleaſeth the eare, and doth not naturally ſerue to the very kind and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaueth, or is apt to leaue in mens minds, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that wee doe, then adde either beautie or furtherance vnto it. On the other ſide theſe faults preuented, the force and efficacie of the thing it ſelfe, when it drowneth not vtterly, but fitly ſuteth with matter altogether ſounding to the praiſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edifie if not the vnderſtanding, becauſe it teacheth not, yet ſurely the Affection, becauſe therein it worketh much. They muſt haue hearts verie dric and tough, from whom the melodie of pſalmes doth not ſometime draw that wherein a mind religiouſly affected delighteth Beit as *Rabanus Maurus* obſerueth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plaine then we are, that their ſinging was little more then onely a melodious kind of pronunciation, that the cuſtome which we now vſe was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are ſpirituall, as to the end that into groſſer and heauier mindes whom bare words doe not eaſily mooue, the ſweetneſſe of melodie might make ſome entrance for good things. S. *Baſil* himſelfe acknowledging as much, did not thinke that from ſuch inuentions the leaſt iot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould be derogated:

a Επειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσαγώγον πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥεωτέρᾳ τῇ ὀρθῇ βίᾳ καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τέρπον τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ προσλανθάνοντι τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα ὀνηπαίδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ ἔτι νέαροι τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν ᾄσματι μελῳδῶσι τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύονται. ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου· ὁμοῦ τε ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου, Basil. in Psal.

a *For* (saith he) *whereas the holy Spirit saw that mankind is vntoward true hardly drawne, and that righteousnesse is the lesse accounted of, by reason of the pronenes of our affections to that which delighteth, it pleased the wisedome of the same Spirit to borrow from melodie that pleasure, which mingled with heauenly mysteries, causeth the smoothnesse & softnesse of that which toucheth the eare, to conuey as it were by stealth the treasure of good things into mans mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalmes deuised for vs, that they which are either in yeeres but young, or touching perfection of vertue as yet not growne to ripenesse, might, when they thinke they sing, learne. O the wise conceit of that heauenly teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight, wee may also learne that whereby we profit!*

Of singing or saying psalmes and other parts of common Prayer, wherein the People and Minister answer one another by course.

39 And if the Prophet *Danid* did thinke that the very meeting of men together, & their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their loue insoluble, and tye them in a league of inuiolable amitie, *Psa.* 54.14. how much more may we iudge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards euerie of them, betweene whom there daily and interchangeably passe in the hearing of God himselfe, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heauenly Acclamations, Exultations, Prouocations, Petitions, Songs of comfort, psalmes of praise and thanksgiuing, in al which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their sutes, and they with one voyce testifie a generall assent thereunto; or when hee ioyfully beginneth, and they with like alacritie follow, diuiding between them the sentences wherwith they striue which shall much shew his owne, and stir vp others zeale to the glorie of that God whose name they magnifie; or when he proposeth vnto God their necessities, & they their owne requests for reliefe in euery of them; or when he lifteth vp his voyce like a trumper, to proclaime vnto them the Lawes of God, they adioyning, though not as *Israel* did, by way of generality a cheerefull promise, b *All that the Lord hath commanded we will doe*, yet that which God doth no lesse approue, that which sauoreth more of meekenes, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillitie, vnto the seuerall branches thereof, seuerall, lowly, & humble requests for grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each others ghostly happines; or when he by exhortation raiseth them vp, & they by protestation of their readines declare, he speaketh not in vaine vnto them; these interlocutory formes of speech what are they else but most effectuall, partly testifications, & partly inflammations of al pietie? when & how this custom of singing by course came vp in the Church, it is not certainly known. c *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius* the

For the singing of Psalmes by course, and side after side, although it be verie ancient, yet it is not commendable, and so much the more to be suspected, for that the Deuill hath gone about to get it so great authoritie, partly by deriuing it from *Ignatius* time, and partly in making the world beleeue that this came from heauen, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort. Which as it is a meere fable, so is it confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to *Damasus*, some other vnto *Flauianus* and *Diodorus*. *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 203*

b *Exod.* 19.8. 24.3. *Deut.* 5.27.28. 17. *Iosh.* 24.16.

c *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 8.*

Bishop

Biſhop of Antioch in Syria the firſt beginner thereof, euen vnder the Apoſtles themſelues. But againſt *Socrates* they ſet the authority of [a] *Theodoret*, who draweth the originall of it from Antioch as *Socrates* doth; howbeit aſcribing the inuention to others, *Flauian*, and *Diodore*, men which conſtantly ſtood in defence of the Apoſtolike Faith, againſt the Biſhop of that Church, *Leontius*, a fauourer of the Arrians. Againſt both *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, [b] *Platina* is brought as a witneſſe, to teſtifie that *Damaſus* Biſhop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latine Church it may be true which *Platina* ſaith. And therefore the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is [c] Saint *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of Millan at the ſame time when *Damaſus* was of Rome. Amongſt the Grecians [d] Saint *Baſil* hauing brought it into his Church before they of Neocęſarea vſed it, *Sabellius* the Heretike and *Marcellus* tooke occaſion thereat to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an author of new deuices in the ſeruice of God. Whereupon, to auoid the opinion of noueltie and ſingularitie, he alledgeth for that which himſelfe did, the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Paleſtina, Tharabians, Phenicians, Syrians, Meſopotamians, and in a manner all that reuerenced the cuſtome of ſinging of Pſalmes together. If the Syrians had it then before *Baſil*, Antioch the Mother-Church of thoſe parts muſt needs haue vſed it before *Baſil*, and conſequently before *Damaſus*. The queſtion is then how long before, and whether ſo long that *Ignatius*, or as ancient as *Ignatius*, may bee probably thought the firſt Inuentors. *Ignatius* in *Traianes* dayes ſuffered Martyrdome. And [e] of the Churches in *Pontus* and Bithynia to *Traiane* the Emperor his owne Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the onely crime he knew of them, was, they vſed to meete together at a certaine day, and to praiſe Chriſt with Hymmes as a God, *ſecum inuicem*, one to another amongſt themſelues. Which for any thing we know to the contrarie, might be the ſelfe-ſame forme which *Philo Iudæus* expreſſeth, declaring how the Eſſens were accuſtomed with Hymnes and pſalmes to honour God, ſometime all exhalting their voyces together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering another, wherein as hee thought, they ſwarued not much from the patterne of *Moſes* and [f] *Miriam*. Whether *Ignatius* did at any time heare the Angels prayſing God after that ſort, or no, what matter is it? If *Ignatius* did not, yet one which muſt be with vs of greater authoritie did [g] *I ſaw the Lord* (ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*) *on an high Throne, The Seraphims ſtood vpon it*, one cryed to another, *ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory.* But who ſoeuer were the Author, Whatſoeuer the Time, whenſoeuer the Example of beginning this cuſtome in the Church of Chriſt, ſith we are wont to ſuſpect things onely before tryall, and afterwards either to approue them as good, or if we find them euill, accordingly to iudge of them, their counſell muſt needs ſeeme very vnſeaſonable, who aduiſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the world hath had by their owne account twelue hundreth yeeres acquaintance and vpwards, enough to take away ſuſpicion and icalouſie. Men know by this time if euer they wil know, whether it be good or euill which hath been ſo long retayned. As for the Deuill, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to haue this manner of ſinging pſalmes accounted an inuention of *Ignatius*, or an imitation

a *Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

b *Platin in vitâ Damaſi.*

c *Bene mariplt. runque comparatur Eccleſia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis vndas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquã vndis reſluentibus ſtridet, tum reſponſorijs Pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parnulorum conſonus vndarum fragor reſultat.* Hexam. l. 2. c. 5

d *Baſil. Epiſt. 63.*

e *Plin. ſecund. Epiſt.*

f *Exod. 15. 1. 21*

g *Eſay 6. 3.*

imitation of the Angels of heauen wee doe not well vnderſtand. But we very well ſee in them who thus plead, a wonderfull celeritie of diſcourſe. For perceiuing at the firſt but onely ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion, and feare leſt it ſhould be euill, they are preſently in one and the ſelfe-ſame breath reſolued, that[a] *what beginning ſoeuer it had, there is no poſſibility it ſhould bee good.* The potent arguments which did thus ſuddainely breake in vpon them and ouercome them are firſt, that it is not vnlawfull for the people all ioyntly to praiſe God in ſinging of Pſalmes: ſecondly, that they are not any-where forbidden by the Law of God to ſing euery Verſe of the whole Pſalme, both with heart and voice quite and cleane throughout: thirdly, that it cannot be vnderſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three, for as much as lawfulneſſe to ſing one way, proueth not another way inconuenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack ſtrength to accompliſh their deſire; the third ſo ſtrong that it might perſwade, if the truth thereof were not doubtfull. And ſhall this inforce vs to baniſh a thing which all Chriſtian Churches in the world haue receiued; a thing which ſo many ages haue held; a thing which the moſt approued Councels and Lawes haue ſo oftentimes ratified; a thing which was neuer found to haue any inconuenience in it; a thing which alwayes heretofore the beſt men and wiſeſt Gouernors of Gods people did thinke they could neuer commend enough; a thing which as *Baſil* was perſwaded, did both ſtrengthen the Meditation of thoſe holy words which were vttered in that ſort, and ſerue alſo to make attentiue, and to raiſe vp the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old did reſort with hope and thirſt, that thereby eſpecially their ſoules might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heauenly delight, ſtirreth vp flagrant deſires and affections correſpondent vnto that which the words containe, allayeth all kind of baſe and earthly cogitations, baniſheth and driueth away thoſe euill ſecret ſuggeſtions which our inuiſible Enemie is alwayes apt to miniſter, watreth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous in trouble full of magnanimitie and courage, ſerueth as a moſt approued remedie againſt all dolefull and heauie accidents which befall men in this preſent life; to conclude, ſo fitly accordeth with the Apoſtles own exhortation, **Speake to your ſelues in Pſalmes and Hymnes, and ſpirituall Songs, making melodie, and ſinging to the Lord in your hearts,* that ſurely there is more cauſe to feare leſt the want thereof be a mayme, then the vſe a blemiſh to the ſeruice of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute vnto the Pſalmes ſhould be thought to depend altogether on that only forme of ſinging or reading them by courſe, as with vs the manner is, but the end of our ſpeech is to ſhew, that becauſe the Fathers of the Church, with whom the ſelfe-ſame cuſtome was ſo many ages agoe in vſe, haue vttered all theſe things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reape, obſeruing that and no other forme, it may be iuſtly auouched that we our ſelues retayning it, & beſides it alſo the other more newly and not vnfruitfully deuiſed,

* *Epheſ.* 5.19.

a From whence ſoeuer it came, it cannot be good, conſidering that when it is granted that all the People may prayſe God (as it is in ſinging of Pſalmes) then this ought not to be reſtrayned vnto a few; and where it is lawfull both with heart and voice to ſing the whole Pſalme, there it is not meet that they ſhould ſing but the one halfe with their heart and voyce and the other with their heart onely. For where they may both with heart and voyce ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommoditie which commeth this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, men cannot vnderſtand what is ſung, thoſe other two inconueniences come of this forme of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all reformed Churches, *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 103.

deuised, doe neither want that good which the latter intention can affoord, nor lose any thing of that for which the Ancient so oft and so highly commend the former. Let noueltie therefore in this giue ouer endlesse contradictions, and let ancient custome preuaile.

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*.

40 Wee haue alreadie giuen cause sufficient for the great conueniencie and vse of reading the Psalmes oftner then other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner then the rest of the Psalmes, the causes are no whit lesse reasonable, so that if the one may very well monethly, the other may as well euen daily be iterated. They are Songs which concerne vs so much more then the Songs of *Dauid*, as the Gospell toucheth vs more then the Law, the New Testament then the Old. And if the Psalmes for the excellencie of their vse, deserue to be oftner repeated then they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what disorder is it if these few Euangelicall Hymnes which are in no respect lesse worthy, and may be by reason of their paucitie imprinted with much more ease in all mens memories, be for that cause euery day rehearsed? In our owne behalfe it is conuenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day prayers and supplications the very same; why not as fit and conuenient to magnifie the Name of God day by day with certaine the very selfe-same Psalmes of praise and thanksgiuing? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reproue the other. For the ancient receiued vse of intermingling Hymnes and Psalmes with diuine readings, enough hath beene written. And if any may fitly serue vnto that purpose, how should it better haue beene deuised, then that a competent number of the Old being first read, these of the New should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place notwithstanding there is ioyned with *Benedictus* the hundreth Psalme; with *Magnificat*, the ninetie eight; the sixtie seuenth with *Nunc dimittis*, and in euery of them the choice left free for the Minister to vse indifferently the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrell at other Psalmes, which are in like manner appointed also to bee daily read, why doe these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Sauiour was ioyfully receiued at his entrance into the World, by such as in their hearts, armes, and very bowels imbraced him; being prophetical discoueries of Christ alreadie present, whose future comming the other Psalmes did but fore-signifie; thy are against the obstinate incredulitie of the Iewes, the most luculent testimonies that Christian Religion hath; yea the onely sacred Hymnes they are that Christianitie hath peculiar vnto it selfe, the other being Songs too of praise and thanksgiuing, but Songs wherewith as we serue God, so the Iew likewise. And whereas they tell vs these Songs were fit for that purpose, when *Simeon* and *Zacharie*, and the blessed *Virgin* vttered them, but cannot so bee to vs which haue not receiued like benefit; should they not remember how expressely *Ezechias* amongst many other good things is commended for this also, * that the praises of God were through his appointment daily set forth, by vsing in publique diuine Seruice the Songs of *Dauid* and *Asaph* vnto that verie end? Either there wanted wise men to giue *Ezechias* aduice, and to informe him of that which in his case was as true as it is

These thanksgiuings were made by occasion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be vsed for ordinary Prayers, then the *Aue Maria*. So that both for this cause and the other before alleaged of the Psalmes, it is not conuenient to make ordinary prayers of them. *T.C.l.3.p.108.*

* 1.Chro.29.30.

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in ours, namely that without some inconuenience and disorder hee could not appoint those Psalmes to be vsed as ordinary Prayers, seeing that although they were Songs of thanksgiuing, such as *Dauid* and *Asaph* had speciall occasion to vse, yet not so the whole Church and People afterwards whom like occasions did not befall: or else *Ezekias* was perswaded as wee are, that the prayses of God in the mouthes of his Saints, are not so restrayned to their owne particular, but that others may both conueniently and fruitfully vse them; first, because the mysticall communion of all faithfull men is such as maketh euerie one to be interessed in those precious blessings, which any one of them receiueth at Gods hands: secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extoll the goodnesse of God whose mercie indureth for euer, albeit the verie particular occasion whereupon it riseth doe come no more, yet the Fountaine continuing the same, and yeelding other new effects which are but onely in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance betweene the benefits which we and others haue receiued, may serue to make the same words of praise and thanksgiuing fit, though not equally in all circumstances fit for both, a cleere demonstration whereof wee haue in all the ancient Fathers Commentaries and Meditations vpon the Psalmes: last of all, because euen when there is not as much as the shew of any resemblance, neuertheless by often vsing their words in such manner, our mindes are daily more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Letany. 41 The publike estate of the Church of God amongst the Iewes hath had many rare and extraordinary occurrents, which also were occasions of sundrie [a] open solemnities & offices, whereby the people did with general consent make shew of correspondent affection towards God. The like duties appeare vsuall in the ancient Church of Christ, by that which [b] *Tertullian* speaketh of Christian women matching themselues with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his discipline, that hath at her side a vassal whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to crosse whatsoeuer the faithfull should doe. If her presence be required at the time of Station or standing prayer, hee chargeth her at no time but that to bee with him in his bathes; if a fasting day come, hee hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cause for the Church to goe forth in solemne Procession, his whole family haue such businesse come vpon them that no one can be spared.* These *Processions*, as it seemeth, were first begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the visiting of those places where they were intombed. Which thing the name it selfe applyed by [c] Heathens vnto the office of exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the ancient

Wee pray for the auoyding of those dangers which are nothing neere vs, as from Lightning and Thundring in the midst of Winter, from Storme and Tempest when the weather is most faire and the Seas most calme. It is true that vpon some vrgent calamitie a prayer may and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commoditie for want whereof the Church is in distresse, or the turning away of that mischiefe which either approcheth or is already vpon it: but to make those prayers which are for the present time and danger, ordinarie and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto see any, either Scripture or example of the Primitiue Church And here for the simples sake I will set downe after what sort this abuse crept into the Church. There was one *Mamercus* Bishop of Vienna, which in the time of great earth-quakes, which were in France instituted certaine supplications, which the Grecians, and we of them, call the Letanie, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt, but as other discommodities rose in other Countries, they likewise had prayers accordingly. Now Pope *Gregorie* either made himselfe, or gathered the Supplications that were made against the calamities of euery Country, and made of them a great Letanie or Supplication, as *Platina* calleth it, and gaue it to be vsed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might doe for the time, in respect of the ease of the calamitie which the Churches suffered, yet there is no cause why it should be perpetuall that was ordained but for a time, and why all Lands should pray to be deliuered from the incommodities that some Land hath been troubled with. *T C. lib. 1. pag. 137.*

a *Exod. 15. 20. Wisd. 10. 20. 2. Sam. 6. 2. 1. Chron. 13. 5. 2. Chron. 20. 3. Ioel 2. 15.*

b *Tertull. l. 2. ad Vxor.*

c *Terent. And.*

ancient deliuered concerning [a] Chriſtian Proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſſe which ſuperſtition thereunto added, I meane, the cuſtome of inuocating Saints in proceſſions heretofore vſuall, doe ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things inuented to one purpoſe are by vſe eaſily conuerted to [b] more, it grew that ſupplications with this ſolemnitie for the appeaſing of Gods wrath, and the auerting of publique euils, were of the Greeke Church termed [c] *Litanies*, *Rogations*, of the Latine. To the people of *Vienna*, (*Mamercus* being their Biſhop aboue 450. yeeres after Chriſt) there befell many things, the ſodainneſſe and ſtrangeneſſe whereof ſo amazed the hearts of all men, that the Citie they began to forſake as a place which Heauen did threaten with imminent ruine. It beſeemed not the perſon of ſo graue a Prelate to bee either vtterly without counſell as the reſt were or in a common perplexitie to ſhew himſelfe alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remayned, he earneſtly exhorteth to preuent portended calamities, vſing thoſe vertuous and holy meanes wherewith others in like caſe haue preuailed with God. To which purpoſe hee perfecteth the *Rogations* or *Litanies* before in vſe, and addeth vnto them that which the preſent neceſſitie required. Their good ſucceſſe mooued [d] *Sidonius* Biſhop of *Auerna* to vſe the ſame ſo corrected *Rogations* at ſuch time as hee and his people were after afflicted with Famine, and beſieged with potent Aduerſaries. For till the emptie name of the Empire came to be ſetled in *Charles* the great, the fall of the Romanes huge Dominion concurring with other vniuerſall euils, cauſed thoſe times to be dayes of much affliction and trouble throughout the World. So that *Rogations* or *Litanies* were then the very ſtrength, ſtay and comfort of Gods Church. Wherupon in the yeere fiue hundred and ſix it was by the [e] Councell of *Aurelia* decreed, that the whole Church ſhould beſtow yeerely at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt three dayes in that kind of proceſſionary ſeruice. About halfe an hundred yeeres after, to the end that the Latine Churches which all obſerued this cuſtome, might not varie in the order and forme of thoſe great *Litanies* which were ſo ſolemnely euery where exerciſed, it was thought conuenient by *Gregorie* the firſt and the beſt of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather ruſt. Which thing the [f] *Synod* of *Colen* ſaw, and in part redreſt within that Prouince, neither denying the neceſſary vſe for which ſuch *Litanies* ſerue, wherein Gods clemencie and mercie is deſired by publique ſuite, to the end that plagues, deſtructions, calamities, famines, warres, and all other the like aduerſities which for our manifold ſinnes we haue alwayes cauſe to feare, may be turned away from vs and preuented through his grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundrie other things, ſo this had growne by mens improbitie and malice, to whom that which was deuiſed for the appeaſing of Gods diſpleaſure, gaue opportunitie of committing things which iuſtly kindled his wrath. For remedie whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other ſupplications or proceſſions ſhould be no where vſed but only within the walles of the houſe of God, the place ſanctified vnto prayer. And by vs not onely ſuch inconueniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoeuer was otherwiſe amiſſe in forme or matter, it now remayneth a worke, the abſolute perfection whereof vpbraydeth with errour or ſomewhat worſe, them whom in all parts it doth not ſatisfie.

[a] *Hieron. Epiſt. 22. ad Euſt. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi ſi ſemper quando neceſſe eſt porgreſſura ſis.*

[b] *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8. Theod. lib. 16. lib. 30. Lib. 3. cap. 10. Nouel. 68. 51.*

[c] *Baſil Epiſt. 63 Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 3. C dren. in Theodoſ.*

[d] *Sidon. lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

[e] *Concil tom. 2. pag. 513.*

[f] *Concil. tom. 3. Anno 1536.*

As therefore Letanies haue beene of longer continuance then that wee ſhould make either *Gregorie* or *Mamercus* the authour of them, ſo they are of more permanent vſe then that now the Church ſhould thinke it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what euils hang ouer our heads, God doth know and not we. We find by daily experience, that thoſe calamities may be neereſt at hand, readieſt to breake in ſodainely vpon vs, which we in regard of times or circumſtances may imagine to be fartheſt off. Or if they doe not in deed approch, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent all men are apt to bewaile with teares, the wiſe by their prayers ſhould rather preuent. Finally, if wee for our ſelues had a priuiledge of immunitie, doth not true Chriſtian Charitie require that whatſoeuer any part of the World, yea any one of all our brethren elſewhere doth either ſuffer or feare, the ſame we accoũt as our own burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole *Letanie*, whereof we ſhall euer be able at any time to ſay that no man liuing needeth the grace or benefit therein craued at Gods hands? I am not able to expreſſe how much it doth grieue mee, that things of principall excellencie ſhould be thus bitten at, by men whom God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning for better purpoſes.

Of *Athanaſius* Creed, and *Gloria Patri*.

42 We haue from the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt receiued that briefe Confeſſion of faith, which hath beene alwayes a badge of the Church, a marke whereby to diſcerne Chriſtian men from Infidels and Iewes. [a] *This faith receiued from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples* (ſaith *Irenæus*) *the Church though diſperſed throughout the World, doth notwithſtanding keepe as ſafe as if it dwelt within the walls of ſome one houſe, and as vniformely hold, as if it had but one only heart and ſoule; this as conſonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and deliuereth, as if but one tongue did ſpeake for all. As one Sunne ſhineth to the whole world, ſo there is no faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſſe whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth.* [b] *This rule* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtreame and current of this rule hath gone as farre, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Goſpell.* [c] Vnder *Conſtantine* the Emperour, about three hundred yeeres and vpward after Chriſt, *Arrius* a Prieſt in the Church of *Alexandria*, a ſuttle-witted and a maruellous faire-ſpoken man, but diſcontented that one ſhould be placed before him in honour, whoſe ſuperiour hee thought himſelfe in deſert, became through enuy and ſtomack prone vnto contradiction, and bold to broch at the length that hereſie wherein the Deitie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt contained, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequalitie and coeternitie of the Son with the Father was denied. Being for this impietie depriued of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould haue reformed him, did but increaſe his obſtinacie, and giue him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtneſſe elſe-where, to intangle vnwarie minds with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. *Arrius* in ſhort time had wonne to himſelfe a number both of followers and of great Defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſſe on all ſides enſued. The Emperour, to reduce the Church of Chriſt vnto the vnitie of ſound beliefe, when other meanes, whereof triall was firſt made, tooke no effect, gathered that famous aſſembly of 318. Biſhops

a *Irene. l. 1. c. 3.*
b *Tertul. de præſer. aduerſ. hæret. & aduerſ. Prax.*
c The like may be ſaid of the *Gloria patri* and the *Athanaſius* Creed. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby ſhould make an open profeſſion in the Church of the Diuinitie of the Sonne of God againſt the deteſtable opinion of *Arrius* & his Diſciples, wherewith at that time marueilouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be vſed in the Church, at the leaſt why that *Gloria Patri* ſhould be ſo often repeated. *T. Cil. 1 p. 137.*

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in the Councell of *Nice*, where beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to need redreſſe, there was with common conſent for the ſetling of all mens mindes, that other Confeſſion of faith ſet downe which wee call the Nicene Creede, whereunto the Arrians themſelues which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo: not that they meant ſincerely, and indeed to forſake their errour, but onely to eſcape depriuation and exile which they ſaw they could not auoide, openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperours royall aſſent. Reſeruing therefore themſelues vnto future opportunities, and knowing that it would not boote them to ſtirre againe in a matter ſo compoſed, vnleſſe they could draw the Emperour firſt, and by his meanes the chiefeſt Biſhops vnto their part, till *Conſtantines* death and ſomewhat after they alwayes profeſſed loue and zeale to the Nicene Faith, yet ceaſed not in the meane while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they fauoured, and to infeſt by all meanes vnder colour of other quarrels their greateſt Aduerſaries in this cauſe: amongſt them *Athanaſius* eſpecially, whom by the ſpace of 46. yeeres, from the time of his Conſecration to ſucceed *Alexander* Archbiſhop in the Church of *Alexandria*, till the laſt houre of his life in this World, they neuer ſuffered to enioy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Conſtantine* ſtolne from him *Conſtantius Conſtantines* ſucceſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the wayes that malice armed with ſoueraigne authoritie could deuiſe and vſe. Vnder *Iulian* no reſt giuen him. And in the dayes of *Valentinian* as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the leaſt whereof being iuſt had bereaued him of eſtimation and credite with men while the World ſtandeth. His Iudges euermore the ſelfe-ſame men by whom his accuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue alwayes on their part ſhame; on his, triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould haue accompted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with watred cheekes behold a perſon of ſo great place and worth conſtrained to indure ſo foule indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring vpon themſelues thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawne to ſeeme his Aduerſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how vnſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſſe in the end, that (very few excepted) all became ſubiect to the ſway of time; other oddes there was none amongſt them, ſauing onely that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later from the ſoundneſſe of beliefe; ſome were Leaders in the Hoſt of Impietie, and the reſt as common ſouldiers, either yeelding through feare, or brought vnder with penurie, or by flatterie inſnared, or elſe beguiled through ſimplicitie, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) *Oſius* the ancienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendome then had, the moſt forward in defence of the Catholique cauſe, and of the contrarie part moſt feared, that very *Oſius* with whoſe hand the Nicene Creed it ſelfe was ſet downe and framed for the whole Chriſtian World to ſubſcribe vnto, ſo farre yeelded in the end, as euen with the ſame hand to ratifie the Arrians confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part euer feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſwaded, that although there had beene for

Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answere and choice would haue beene the same that [a] *Eleazars* was, *It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might thinke, that* [b] Osius *an hundred yeeres old and vpward, were now gone to another Religion, and so through mine hypocrisie [for a little time of transitorie life] they might be deceiued by mee, and I procure malediction and reproch to my old age. For though I were now deliuered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almightie, neither aliue nor dead.* But such was the streame of those times, that all men gaue place vnto it, which wee cannot but impute partly to their owne ouer-sight. For at the first the Emperour was theirs, the determination of the Councell of Nice was for them, they had the *Arrians* hands to that Councell. So great aduantages are neuer changed so farre to the contrarie, but by great errour. It plainely appeareth that the first thing which weakened them, was their securitie. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards *Arrianisme*, they suffered by continuall neereneſſe to possesse the mindes of the greatest about the Emperour, which themselues might haue done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In *Constantines* life time to haue setled *Constantius*, the same way had beene a dutie of good seruice towards God, a meane of peace and great quietnesse to the Church of Christ, a labour easie, and how likely wee may coniecture, when after that so much paine was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrarie course, after that so much was done by himselfe to the furtherance of Heresie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more griued him then the memorie of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which hee now foresaw in *Iulian*, the next Physician into whose hands the bodie that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this wee may somewhat excuse, in as much as euery mans particular care to his owne Charge was such, as gaue them no leasure to heed what others practised in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of *Arimine* and *Seleucia*, what should wee thinke? *Constantius* by the *Arrians* suggestion had deuised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole World about this controuersie, but in two seuerall places, the Bishops of the West at *Arimine* in *Italie*, the Easterne at *Seleucia* the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great adoe, gaue their sentence against heresie, excommunicated some chiefe maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperour word what was done. They had at *Arimine* aboue foure hundred which held the truth, scarce of the aduerse part foure score, but these obstinate, and the other wearie of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolued to send to the Emperour such as might informe him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen [c] for the Catholique side such men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldnesse, neither grauitie, nor learning, nor wisdome. The *Arrians* for the credit of their faction take the eldest, the best experienced, the most warie and the longest practised *Veterans* they had amongst them. The Emperour coniecturing of the rest on either part by the qualitie of them whom hee saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certaine Confession of

a 2. *Mac.* 6. 24.

b *Maior centenario. Sulpit. Seuer. hist. lib.* 2

c *Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parùm docti & parùm cauti. Ab* Arrianis *autem missi senes callidi, & ingenio valentes veterano perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud Regem facile superiores extiterunt.* Sulpit. lib. 2.

faith,

faith [a] ſambiguouſly and ſubtilly drawne by the *Arrians*, whereunto vnleſſe they all ſubſcribed, they ſhould in no caſe be ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceiued, that there had not beene in the Catholiques either at *Arimine*, or at *Seleucia* ſo much foreſight, as to prouide that true intelligence might paſſe betweene them what was done. Vpon the aduantage of which errour, their Aduerſaries abuſing each with perſwaſion that other had yeelded, ſurprized both. The Emperour the more deſirous and glad of ſuch euents, for that, beſides all other things wherein they hindred themſelues, the gall and bitterneſſe of certaine mens Writings, who ſpared him little for honours ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſſe inclinable to that truth, which hee himſelfe ſhould haue honoured and loued. Onely in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerued throughout the courſe of that long Tragedie, other then ſuch as very well became a wiſeman to do, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plaine condition of thoſe times, the whole World againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; halfe an hundred of yeeres ſpent in doubtfull triall which of the two in the end would preuaile, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a Defender of his innocencie, the other a finiſher of all his troubles. Now although theſe contentions were cauſe of much euill, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in faith to explaine ſuch things as Hereſie went about to deprane. And in this reſpect the Creed of *Athanaſius* firſt exhibited vnto *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperor *Iouinian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which *Arrianiſme* ſo mightily did impugne, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price, [b] by as many as had not giuen vp euen the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanaſius* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publikely vſed as now in the Church of God, becauſe while the heat of diuiſion laſteth, truth it ſelfe induring oppoſition, doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſſe throughout all mens hands, neither can be of that accompt which afterwards it hath, when the World once perceiueth the vertue thereof not only in it ſelfe, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath giuen it ouer hereſie. That which hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations goe about to peruert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolike Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexteritie and plainneſſe cleered from thoſe hereticall corruptions, partly by this Creed of *Athanaſius*, written about the yeere three hundred and forty, and partly by [c] that other ſet downe in the Synod of *Conſtantinople* forty yeeres after, comprehending together with the *Nicene* Creed an addition of other articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, becauſe the controuerſie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; theſe Catholique Declarations of our beliefe deliuered by them which were ſo much neerer then we are vnto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needfull for all men at all times to know, theſe Confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame faith to this preſent day, wee rather vſe then any other Gloſſe or Paraphraſe deuiſed by our ſelues, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not be of the like authoritie and credit. For that of [d] *Hilary* vnto Saint *Auguſtine* hath beene euer, and is like-

[a] *Eiſdemque conſcripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus inuolutam qua Catholicam diſciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur. Ibid.*

[b] Ταῦτα μοι δοκοῦσιν διδάσκειν τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὅτι τὸ τῆς ἐσωτερίας, καὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως ὅσον βιάσονται. *Greg. Naz. de Athan.*

[c] That Creed which in the Book of Common Prayer followeth immediatly after the reading of the Goſpel.

[d] *Hilar. Arelat. Epiſt. ad Auguſt.*

ly to be alwayes true, *Your moſt religious wiſdome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authoritie of mens names doth keepe in that opinion which they hold alreadie, or draw vnto that which they haue not before held.* Touching the Hymne of *Glorie*, our vſuall concluſion to Pſalmes, the [a] glory of all things is that wherein their higheſt perfection doth conſiſt: and the glorie of God that diuine excellencie whereby hee is eminent aboue all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternall being, [b] which Angels and glorified Saints doe intuitiuely behold, wee on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part alſo by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of thoſe effects, the greatneſſe whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in Heauen and Earth. God is [c] glorified when ſuch his excellencie aboue all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutifull acknowledgement of Gods excellencie by occaſion of ſpeciall effects, being the very proper ſubiect and almoſt the onely matter purpoſely treated of in all Pſalmes, if that ioyfull Hymne of Glorie haue any vſe in the Church of God, whoſe Name wee therewith extoll and magnifie, can wee place it more fitly then where now it ſerueth as a cloſe or concluſion to Pſalmes? Neyther is the forme thereof newly or vnneceſſarily inuented. *Wee muſt* (ſaith [d] Saint *Baſil*) *as wee haue receiued euen ſo baptize, and as wee baptize euen ſo beleeue, and as we beleeue euen ſo giue glorie.* Baptizing wee vſe the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoſt; Confeſſing the Chriſtian Faith we declare our beliefe in the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the Holy Ghoſt; aſcribing glory vnto God, we giue it to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the Holy Ghoſt. It is ἀπόδειξις τῆς ὀρθῆς φρονήματος, *the token of a true and ſound vnderſtanding* for matter of doctrine about the Trinitie, when in miniſtring Baptiſme, and making Confeſſion, and giuing glory, there is a coniunction of all three, and no one of the three ſeuered from the other two. Againſt the Arrians affirming the Father to bee greater then the Sonne in honour, excellencie, dignitie, maieſtie, this forme and manner of glorifying God was not at that time firſt begunne, but receiued long before, and alleaged at that time as an argument for the truth. [e] *If* (ſaith *Fœbadius*) *there bee that inequalitie which they affirme, then doe wee euery day blaſpheme God, when in Thankſgiuings and Offerings of Sacrifice wee acknowledge thoſe things common to the Father and the Sonne.* The *Arrians* therefore, for that they perceiued how this did preiudice their cauſe, altered the Hymne of Glorie, whereupon enſued in the Church of *Antioch* about the yeere 349. that iarre which [f] *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires while they prayſed God together as the manner was, at the end of the Pſalmes which they ſung, it appeared what opinion euery man held, for as much as they glorified ſome the Father*, And *the Sonne*, And *the Holy Ghoſt*, *ſome the Father* By *the Sonne* In *the Spirit*; *the one ſort thereby declaring themſelues to embrace the Sonnes equalitie with the Father, as the Councell of Nice had defined, the other ſort againſt the Councell of Nice his inequalitie.* Leontius *their* Biſhop, although an enemie to the better part, yet warie and ſubtle, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arrians* faction were, could at no time be plainely heard to vſe either forme, perhaps left his open contradiction of them whom hee fa-

a 1. *Cor.* 15.40. *Exod.* 33.18. *Heb.* 1.3.
b *Mat.* 18.10.
c *Ioſ.* 7.19. *Pſal.* 22.23.
d *Baſil. Epiſt.* 78.
e *Fœbad. lib. contr. Arrian.*
f *Theod. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24. *Sozomen. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19.

uoured not might make them the more eager, and by that meane the leſſe apt to be priuately wonne, or peraduenture for that though hee ioyned in opinion with that ſort of Arrians, who denied the Sonne to be equall with the Father, yet from them he diſſented, which thought the Father and the Sonne not onely vnequall, but vnlike, as *Arius* did vpon a friuolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſaid, [a] *one God of whom, one Lord by whom,* [b] *one Spirit in whom,* his different manner of ſpeech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he ſpeaketh: out of which blinde collection, it ſeemeth that this their new deuiſed forme did firſt ſpring. But in truth euen that very forme which the Arrians did then vſe (ſauing that they choſe it to ſerue as their ſpeciall marke of recogniſance, and gaue it ſecretly within themſelues a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towards impietie. For albeit if wee reſpect Gods glory within it ſelfe, it be the equall right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any oddes, any difference, yet touching his manifeſtation thereof vnto vs by continuall effects, and our perpetuall acknowledgement thereof vnto him likewiſe by vertuous offices, doth not euery tongue both wayes confeſſe, that the brightneſſe of his glory hath ſpred it ſelfe throughout the World *By* the Miniſterie of his onely begotten Sonne, and is *In* the manifold graces of the Spirit euery way maruellous; againe, that whatſoeuer wee doe to his glorie, it is done *In* the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and made acceptable *By* the merit and mediation of Ieſus Chriſt? So that glorie to the Father *And* the Sonne, or glorie to the Father *By* the Sonne, ſauing onely where euill mindes doe abuſe and peruert moſt holy things, are not elſe the voices of errour and ſchiſme, but of ſound and ſincere Religion. It hath beene the cuſtome of the Church of Chriſt to end ſometimes Prayers, and Sermons alwayes, with words of glorie, wherein, as long as the bleſſed Trinitie had due honour, and till Arrianiſme hade made it a matter of great ſharpneſſe and ſubtiltie of wit to be a ſound beleeuing Chriſtian, men were not curious what ſyllables or particles of ſpeech they vſed. Vpon which confidence and truſt notwithſtanding, when Saint *Baſil* began to practiſe the like indifferencie, and to conclude publique prayers, glorifying ſometime the Father with the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt, ſometime the Father by the Sonne in the Spirit, whereas long cuſtome had enured them vnto the former kinde alone, by meanes whereof the later was new and ſtrange in their eares, this needleſſe experiment brought afterwards vpon him a neceſſary labour of excuſing himſelfe to his friends, and maintayning his owne act againſt them, who becauſe the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on ſo colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an authour of ſuſpitious innouation. How hath the World forſaken that courſe which it ſometime held? How are the iudgements, hearts and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of Saint *Baſils* authority and quality an Arch-prelate in the houſe of God, ſhould haue his Name farre and wide called in queſtion, and be driuen to his painfull apologies, to write in his owne defence whole Volumes, and yet hardly to obtaine with all his endeuour a pardon, the crime laid againſt him being but onely a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their vſuall Church-liturgie? It was thought

a 1. *Cor* 8.6.
b 1 *Cor*. 12,3. 4,13.

thought in him an vnpardonable offence to alter any thing; in vs as intolerable, that wee ſuffer any thing to remayne vnaltered. The very Creede of *Athanaſius* and that ſacred Hymne of Glory, then which nothing doth ſound more heauenly in the eares of faithfull men, are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which wee muſt in any caſe pare away, leſt we cloy God with too much ſeruice. Is there in that Confeſſion of Faith any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentiue hearer? Or is our faith in the bleſſed Trinitie a matter needleſſe to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principall part of that dutie which wee owe to God, our publique Prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning, by a ſecret vniuerſall inſtinct of Gods good Spirit, alwayes tied it ſelfe to end neither Sermon nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without ſome ſpeciall words of honour and glory to that Trinitie which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalmes become now at the length an eye-ſore or a gauling to their eares that heare it? Thoſe flames of *Arrianiſme* they ſay are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deuiſed in ſuch ſort to confeſſe and praiſe the glorious Deitie of the Sonne of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retaine wee as yet the playſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordained doth once ceaſe, the thing it ſelfe ſhould ceaſe with it, that the Church being eaſed of vnprofitable labours, needfull Offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things vnneceſſarie, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſary are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon will not ſerue their turnes. For firſt the ground whereupon they build, is not certainly their owne, but with ſpeciall limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrained to any one end or purpoſe, that the ſame being extinct they ſhould forthwith vtterly become fruſtrate. Wiſedome may haue framed one and the ſame thing to ſerue commodiouſly for diuers ends, and of thoſe ends any one bee ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt haue ceaſed, euen as the tongue, which nature hath giuen vs for an inſtrument of ſpeech is not idle in dumbe perſons, becauſe it alſo ſerueth for taſte. Againe, if time haue worne out, or any other meane altogether taken away what was firſt intended, vſes not thought vpon before may afterwards ſpring vp, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it commeth ſometime to paſſe, that a thing vnneceſſary in it ſelfe as touching the whole direct purpoſe whereto it was meant or can be applied, doth notwithſtanding appeare conuenient to be ſtill held euen without vſe, leſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſary, the remouall of the one ſhould indamage the other, and therefore men which haue cleane loſt the poſſibilitie of ſight, keepe ſtill their eyes neuertheleſſe in the place where nature ſet them. As for theſe two branches whereof our queſtion groweth, *Arrianiſme* was indeed ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſſe the onely intire cauſe of both. For albeit conflict with *Arrians* brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church-liturgie, as Hymnes and ſentences of glorie were a part thereof before; yet cauſe ſufficient there is why both ſhould remaine in vſe, the one as a moſt diuine explication of the chiefeſt Articles of our

Chriſtian

Chriſtian beliefe, the other as an heauenly acclamation of ioyfull applauſe to his prayſes in whom wee beleeue, neither the one nor the other vnworthy to be heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whether Arrianiſme liue or die. Againſt which poyſon likewiſe if we thinke that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe ancient preſeruatiues, which ages before vs were ſo glad to vſe, wee deceiue our ſelues greatly. The weedes of Hereſie being growne vnto ſuch ripeneſſe as that was, doe euen in the very cutting downe ſcatter oftentimes thoſe ſeedes which for a while lie vnſeene and buried in the earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring vp againe no leſſe pernicious then at the firſt. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will eaſily confeſſe, who liue to their great, both toile and griefe, where the blaſphemies of *Arrians*, *Samoſatenians*, *Tritheits*, *Eutychians*, and *Macedonians* are renewed by them, who to hatch their Hereſie, haue choſen thoſe Churches as fitteſt neſts where *Athanaſius* Creed is not heard; by them I ſay renued, who following the courſe of extreme reformation, were wont in the pride of their owne proceedings to glorie, that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the roofe, and *Zwinglius* batter but the walls of Popiſh Superſtition, the laſt and hardeſt worke of all remained, which was, to raze vp the very ground and foundation of Poperie, that doctrine concerning the Deitie of Chriſt, which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken Miſcreants to ſpeake) hath in this memorable Creed explaned. So manifeſtly true is that which one of the [a] Ancients hath concerning Arrianiſme, *Mortuis authoribus huius veneni, ſcelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*, the authours of this venome being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth.

[a] *Fabad. contrà Arr.*

43 Amongſt the heapes of theſe exceſſes and ſuperfluities there is eſpied the want of a principall part of dutie, *There are no thankſgiuings for the benefits for which there are petitions* in our Booke of Prayer. This they haue thought a point materiall to be obiected. Neither may wee take it in euill part to be admoniſhed what ſpeciall duties of thankfulneſſe we owe to that mercifull God, for whoſe vnſpeakable graces the onely requitall which wee are able to make, is a true, heartie, and ſincere acknowledgement, how precious we eſteeme ſuch benefits receiued, and how infinite in goodneſſe the Authour from whom they come. But that to euery petition wee make for things needfull there ſhould be ſome anſwerable ſentence of thankes prouided particularly to follow ſuch requeſts obtained, either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it be, wherefore haue they not then in ſuch order framed their owne Booke of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Sauiour taught vs a forme of Prayer containing ſo many petitions of thoſe things which we want, and not deliuered in like ſort as many ſeuerall formes of thankſgiuing, to ſerue when any thing we pray for is granted? What anſwere ſoeuer they can reaſonably make vnto theſe demands, the ſame ſhall diſcouer vnto them how cauſeleſſe a cenſure it is, that there are not in our Booke thankſgiuings for all the benefits for which there are petitions. For concerning the bleſſings of God, whether they tend vnto this life or the life to come, there is great

Our want of particular thankſgiuing. As ſuch prayers are needful whereby we begge releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing, when we haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which we asked. *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 138. I doe not ſimply require a ſolemne and expreſſe thankſgiuing for ſuch benefits, but onely vpon a ſuppoſition, which is, that if it be expedient that there ſhould be expreſſe prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meet that vpon the deliuerance there ſhould be an expreſſe thankſgiuing. *T. C. lib. 3. p.* 209.

The default of the Booke, for that there are no formes of Thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we haue petitions to be deliuered. *T.C.l.1.p.208.*

great cauſe why we ſhould delight more in giuing thankes, then in making requeſts for them, in as much as the one hath penſiueneſſe and feare, the other alwayes ioy annexed: the one belongeth vnto them that ſeeke, the other vnto them that haue found happineſſe; they that pray doe but yet ſowe, they that giue thankes declare they haue reaped. Howbeit, becauſe there are ſo many graces whereof wee ſtand in continuall need, graces for which wee may not ceaſe daily and hourely to ſue, graces which are in beſtowing alwayes, but neuer come to be fully had in this preſent life, and therefore when all things here haue an end, endleſſe thankes muſt haue their beginning in a State which bringeth the full and finall ſatisfaction of all ſuch perpetuall deſires; againe, becauſe our common neceſſities, and the lacke which wee all haue, as well of ghoſtly as of earthly fauours is in each kinde ſo eaſily knowne, but the gifts of God according to thoſe degrees and times which hee in his ſecret wiſdome ſeeth meete, are ſo diuerſly beſtowed, that it ſeldome appeareth what all receiue, what all ſtand in need of it ſeldome lieth hid, wee are not to marueil though the Church doe oftner concurre in ſuits then in thankes vnto God for particular benefits. Neuertheleſſe, leſt God ſhould be any way vnglorified, the greateſt part of our daily Seruice they know conſiſteth according to [a] the bleſſed Apoſtles owne preciſe rule, in much varietie of Pſalmes and Hymnes, for no other purpoſe, but only that out of ſo plentifull a treaſure there might be for euery mans heart to chuſe out his owne Sacrifice, and to offer vnto God by particular ſecret inſtinct, what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeuerall either partie or Congregation may ſeeme to haue. They that would cleane take from vs therefore the daily vſe of the very beſt meanes we haue to magnifie and prayſe the Name of Almightie God for his rich bleſſings, they that complaine of our reading and ſinging ſo many Pſalmes for ſo good an end, they I ſay that find fault with our ſtore, ſhould of all men be leaſt willing to reproue our ſcarcitie of thankſgiuings. But becauſe peraduenture they ſee it is not either *generally* fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame thankſgiuings anſwerable to each petition, they ſhorten ſomewhat the reines of their cenſure, there are no formes of thankſgiuing they ſay for releaſe of thoſe *common calamities*, from which wee haue petitions to be deliuered. *There are prayers ſet forth to be ſaid in the common calamities and vniuerſall ſcourges of the Realme, as Plague, Famine, &c. And indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God. But as ſuch Prayers are needfull*, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing, when we haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which we asked in our prayers. As oft therefore as any publique or vniuerſall ſcourge is remoued, as oft as we are deliuered from thoſe either imminent or preſent calamities, againſt the ſtorme and tempeſt whereof wee all inſtantly craued fauour from aboue, let it bee a queſtion what we ſhould render vnto God for his bleſſings vniuerſally, ſenſibly, and extraordinarily beſtowed. A prayer of three or foure lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church Liturgie? No, we are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble inioyne vs the dutie of inuocation, and promiſe vs the benefit of deliuerance, and profeſſe that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to glorifie him as our mighty and only Sauiour, the Church can diſcharge in manner conuenient

a *Epheſ.5.9. Coloſ.3.16.*

T.C.l.1.p.138.

a worke of ſo great importance by fore-ordaining ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefly to mention thankes. Our cuſtome therefore whenſoeuer ſo great occaſions are incident, is by publike authoritie to appoint throughout all Churches ſet and ſolemne formes as well of ſupplication as of thankſgiuing, the preparations and intended complements whereof may ſtirre vp the minds of men in much more effectuall ſort, then if only there ſhould be added to the Booke of Prayer that which they require. But we erre in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our vnderſtanding be very plaine, that in our Booke *there are Prayers ſet forth* to bee ſaid when *common calamities* are felt, as *Plague, Famine*, and ſuch like; againe, that *indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God*; that likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſarie prayers of thankſgiuing when wee haue receiued thoſe things*; finally, that the want of ſuch formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which wee haue petitions to be deliuered, is the *default of the Booke* of Common Prayer: yet all this they meane but only by way of *ſuppoſition of expreſſe Prayers* againſt ſo many earthly miſeries were conuenient, *that then* indeed as many expreſſe and particular thankſgiuings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not haue it ſo vnderſtood as though their minds were that any ſuch addition to the Booke is needfull, whatſoeuer they ſay for arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is they waue in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolued what to thinke, ſpeake or write, more then onely that becauſe they haue taken it vpon them, they muſt (no remedie now) be oppoſite.

44 The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiſſe. In a Song of praiſe to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt wee haue theſe words, *When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdome of Heauen to all beleeuers.* Which maketh ſome ſhew of giuing countenance to their errour, who thinke that the faithfull which departed this life before the comming of Chriſt, were neuer till then made partakers of ioy, but remayned all in that place which they terme the *Lake of the Fathers.* In our *Liturgie* requeſt is made that wee may bee preſerued from ſodaine death. This ſeemeth friuolous, becauſe the Godly ſhould bee alwayes prepared to die. Requeſt is made that God would giue thoſe things which wee for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske. This they ſay, *carrieth with it the note of Popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the Children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenly Father.* Requeſt is made that we may euermore be defended from all aduerſitie. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*, and therefore *it is no prayer of faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelues that we ſhall obtaine it.* Finally, requeſt is made that God would haue mercie vpon all men. This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are the veſſels of wrath, to whom God will neuer extend his mercie.

In ſome things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, vnſound.

45 As Chriſt hath purchaſed that heauenly Kingdome, the laſt perfection whereof is *glory in the life to come*, grace in this life a preparation thereunto; ſo the ſame he hath *opened* to the World in ſuch ſort, that whereas none can poſſibly without him attaine ſaluation, by him *all that beleeue* are ſaued. Now whatſoeuer hee did or ſuffered, the end thereof was to open the doores of the Kingdome of Heauen which our iniquities had *ſhut vp*. But becauſe by *aſcending after*

When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdome of Heauen vnto all Beleeuers.

after that the ſharpneſſe of death was ouercome, he tooke the very *locall poſſeſſion* of glory, and that *to the vſe of all that are his*, euen as himſelfe before had witneſſed, [a] *I goe to prepare a place for you*, and againe, whom thou haſt giuen me, O Father, [b] *I will that where I am, they be alſo with me*, that my glory which thou haſt giuen me they may behold: it appeareth that *when Chriſt did aſcend*, hee then moſt *liberally opened* the Kingdome of Heauen, *to the end* that with him and by him all beleeuers might raigne. In what eſtate the Fathers reſted which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All wee can rightly gather is, that as touching their ſoules what degree of ioy or happineſſe ſoeuer it pleaſed God to beſtow vpon them, *his Aſcenſion* which ſucceeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the bodie muſt needs be *not onely of*, but after his. As therefore [c] *Heluidius*, againſt whom S. *Ierome* writeth, abuſed greatly thoſe words of *Matthew* concerning *Ioſeph* and the mother of our Sauiour Chriſt, *Hee knew her not till ſhee had brought forth her firſt borne*, thereby gathering againſt the honour of the bleſſed Virgin, that a thing denied with ſpeciall circumſtance, doth import an oppoſite affirmation when once that circumſtance is expired: after the ſelfe-ſame manner it ſhould be a weake Collection, if whereas we ſay that *when* Chriſt had ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, he *then opened* the Kingdome of Heauen to all beleeuers, a thing in ſuch ſort affirmed with circumſtance were taken as inſinuating an oppoſite deniall before that circumſtance be accompliſhed, and conſequently, that becauſe when the ſharpneſſe of death was ouercome, he then opened Heauen *as well to beleeuing Gentiles as Iewes*, Heauen till then was no receptacle to the ſoules of either. Wherefore be the Spirits of the iuſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſely thought excluded out of heauenly ioy, by that which wee in the words alleaged before doe attribute to Chriſts Aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion, nor to the [d] fauourers thereof any countenance at all giuen. Wee cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe words then Pope *Leo* himſelfe expoundeth them, whoſe ſpeech concerning our Lords Aſcenſion may ſerue in ſteed of a marginall Gloſſe; [e] *Chriſts exaltation is our promotion, and whither the glorie of the head is alreadie gone before, thither the hope of the body alſo is to follow. For as this day we haue not only the poſſeſſion of Paradiſe aſſured vnto vs, but in Chriſt wee haue entred the higheſt of the Heauens.* His opening the Kingdome of Heauen and his entrance thereinto was not onely to his owne vſe, but for the benefit of all beleeuers.

a *Iohn* 14.2.
b *Iohn* 17.24.
c *Hieron. contr. Helu. Aug. hær.* 84.
d *Lyr. ſuper Gen.* 29. *Th. p.* 3. *q.* 52.
e *Leo Ser.* 1. *de Aſcenſ.*

Touching prayer for deliuerance from ſodaine death.

46 Our good or euill eſtate after death dependeth moſt vpon the qualitie of our liues. Yet ſomewhat there is why a vertuous minde ſhould rather wiſh to depart this World with a kinde of treatable diſſolution, then to be ſodainely cut off in a moment; rather to be taken then ſnatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men ſuffer, but not all men with one minde, neither all men in one manner. For being of neceſſitie a thing common, it is through the manifold perſwaſions, diſpoſitions and occaſions of men, with equall deſert both of praiſe and diſpraiſe ſhunned by ſome, by others deſired. So that abſolutely wee cannot diſcommend, wee cannot abſolutely approoue either willingneſſe to liue or forwardneſſe to die. And concerning the wayes of death, albeit the choice thereof be onely in his hands, who alone hath power ouer all fleſh, and vnto whoſe appointment wee ought with patience

tience, meekely to ſubmit our ſelues (for to be agents voluntarily in our owne deſtruction, is againſt both God and nature) yet there is no doubt but in ſo great varietie, our deſires will and may lawfully preferre one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not inſtructed in the Schoole of Chriſt, or euer taught what the ſoundneſſe of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the dayes of this tranſitory life as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato Socrates* are deſcribed, then to ſinke downe with them of whom [a] *Elihu* hath ſaid *Momento moriuntur*, there is ſcarce an inſtant betweene their flouriſhing and their not being? But let vs which know what it is to dye as *Abſalon* or *Ananias* and *Saphyra* dyed, let vs beg of God that when the houre of our reſt is come, the patternes of our diſſolution may be [b] *Iacob*, *Moſes*, *Ioſua*, *Dauid*, who leaſurably ending their liues in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come vpon their poſteritie; repleniſhed the hearts of the neereſt vnto them with words of memorable Conſolation; ſtrengthned men in the feare of God, gaue them wholeſome inſtructions of Life, and confirmed them in true Religion, in ſumme, taught the World no leſſe vertuouſly how to die, then they had done before how to liue. To ſuch as iudge things according to the ſenſe of naturall men and aſcend no higher, ſuddainnes becauſe it ſhortneth their griefe ſhould in reaſon bee moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſſe in death, is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants vſe what Art they can to increaſe the ſlowneſſe of death. Quicke riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for vertuous conſiderations, that Wiſedome ſo farre preuaileth with men as to make them deſirous of ſlow and deliberate death againſt the ſtreame of their ſenſuall inclination, content to indure the longer griefe and bodily paine, that the Soule may haue time to call it ſelfe to a iuſt accompt of all things paſt, by meanes whereof Repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the ioyes of the Kingdome of Heauen haue leaſure to preſent themſelues, the pleaſures of ſinne and this Worlds vanities are cenſured with vncorrupt iudgement, Charitie is free to make aduiſed choice of the ſoyle wherein her laſt Seed may moſt fruitfully bee beſtowed, the minde is at libertie to haue due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things which it can neuer afterwards alter, and becauſe [c] the neerer wee draw vnto God, the more wee are oftentimes inlightened with the ſhining beames of his glorious preſence as being then euen almoſt in ſight, a leaſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent, that which ſhall cauſe them for euer after from the bottome of their hearts to pray, *O let vs dye the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs.* All which benefits and oportunities are by ſuddaine death preuented. And beſides, for as much as death howſoeuer is a generall effect of the wrath of God againſt ſinne, and the ſuddainneſſe thereof a thing which happeneth but to few, The world in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubiect to doubtfull conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incurre, ſo they whoſe happie eſtate after life is of all mens the moſt certaine, would eſpecially wiſh that no ſuch accident in their death may giue vncharitable mindes occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpicious verdicts,

[a] *Iob.* 34. 20.

[b] *Heb.* 11. 21. *Deut.* 33. *Ioſh* 24. 1. *Reg.* 2.

[c] *Cypr. de mortal.*

whereunto they are ouer prone, ſo that whether euill men or good be reſpected, whether wee regard our ſelues or others, to be preſerued from ſuddaine death is a bleſſing of God. And our Prayer againſt it importeth a two-fold deſire, firſt, that death when it commeth may giue vs ſome conuenient reſpite, or ſecondly, if that be denyed vs of God, yet we may haue wiſedome to prouide alwayes before hand, that thoſe euils ouertake vs not, which death vnexpected doth vſe to bring vpon careleſſe men, and that although it bee ſuddaine in it ſelfe, neuertheleſſe in regard of our prepared mindes it may not be ſuddaine.

Prayer that thoſe things which wee for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske, God for the worthyneſſe of his Sonne would vouchſafe to grant. This requeſt carryeth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoreth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the Children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenly Father. *T. C. lib. 1. page 136.*

47 But is it credible that the very acknowledgement of our owne vnworthineſſe to obtaine, and in that reſpect our profeſſed feareſulneſſe to aske any thing otherwiſe then onely for his ſake to whom GOD can deny nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a Popiſh Errour, that this ſhould be termed baſeneſſe, abiection of mind, or *ſeruilitie*, is it credible? That which wee for our vnworthineſſe are afraid to craue, our Prayer is, that God for the worthyneſſe of his Sonne would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to grant. May it pleaſe them to ſhew vs which of theſe words it is that carryeth the note of Popiſh and ſeruile feare? In reference to other Creatures of this inferior World mans worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt Inſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coyne is that of DAVID, [a] *Vniuerſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*, whoſoeuer hath the name of a mortall man, there is in him whatſoeuer the name of vanity doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our owne *vnworthineſſe*, there is no doubt but Truth wil ratifie, Alleaged in Prayer it both becommeth and behoueth Saints. For as humility is in Suters a decent vertue, ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch effectuall acknowledgements not onely [b] argueth a ſound appehenſion of his ſupereminent Glorie and Maieſty before whom we ſtand, but putteth alſo into his hands a kinde of pledge or bond for ſecuritie againſt our vnthankfulneſſe, the verie naturall Roote whereof is alwayes either ignorance, Diſſimulation, or Pride; Ignorance when we know not the Author from whom our good commeth; Diſſimulation, when our hands are more open then our eyes vpon that we receiue; Pride, when we thinke our ſelues *worthy* of that which meere grace and vndeſerued mercie beſtoweth. In Prayer therefore to abate ſo vaine imaginations with the *true conceit of vnworthineſſe*, is rather to preuent then commit a fault. It being no Error thus to thinke, no fault thus to ſpeake of our ſelues when we pray, is it a fault that the conſideration of our vnworthineſſe maketh vs *feareſull* to open our mouthes by way of Suite? While *Iob* had proſperity and liued in honour, men feared him for his authorities ſake, and in token of their feare when they ſaw him they [c] *hid themſelues*. Betweene *Elihu* and the reſt of *Iobs* Familiars the greateſt diſparity was but in yeeres. And he, though riper then they in iudgement, doing them reuerence in regard of age, ſtood long [d] *doubtfull*, and very loth to aduenture vpon ſpeech in his Elders hearing. If ſo ſmall inequalitie betweene man and man make their modeſtie a commendable vertue, who reſpecting ſuperiors *as ſuperiors*, can neither ſpeak

[a] *Pſal. 39. 5.*

[b] Μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐσίας μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς, *Philo. de ſacrif. Abel. & Cain.*

[c] *Iob. 29. 8.* Amongſt the parts of honor *Ariſtotle* reckoneth προσκλισεις and ἐκστάσεις, *Rhet. l. 1. c. 5.*

[d] *Iob. 32. 6.*

nor

nor ſtand before them without ſeare: that the Publican approcheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercie draweth neere to *Peter*, he in humilitie and feare craueth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeake, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great Maieſtie we are afraid, let no man blame vs. [a] In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to flie altogether from God, to deſpaire that creatures vnworthy ſhall be able to obtaine any thing at his hands, and vnder that pretence to ſurceaſe from Prayers as bootleſſe or fruitleſſe offices, were to him no leſſe iniurious then pernicious to our owne ſoules, euen that which we tremble to doe we doe, we aske thoſe things which we dare not aske. The knowledge of our owne vnworthineſſe is not without beliefe in the merits of Chriſt. With that true feare which the one cauſeth there is coupled true boldneſſe, and encouragement drawne from the other. The very ſilence which our vnworthineſſe putteth vs vnto, doth it ſelfe make requeſt for vs, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward wee are ſtricken dumbe, looking vpward wee ſpeake and preuaile. O happy mixture wherein things contrary doe ſo qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others exceſſe, that neither boldneſſe can make vs preſume as long as we are kept vnder with the ſenſe of our owne wretchednеſſe; nor, while wee truſt in the mercie of God through Chriſt Ieſus, feare be able to tyrannize ouer vs! As therefore our feare excludeth not that [b] boldneſſe which becommeth Saints; ſo if their *familiaritie* with God doe not ſauour of this feare, it draweth too neere that irreuerend confidence wherewith true Humilitie can neuer ſtand.

a The Publican did indeed not lift vp his eyes: So that if by his Example wee ſhould ſay wee dare aske nothing, we ought alſo to aske nothing, otherwiſe in ſtead of teaching true humilitie, wee open a Shoole to hypocriſie, which the Lord deteſteth. *T.C.l.3 p.203.*

b *Ro.5.2,8,15; Heb.10.19.*

48 Touching continuall deliuerance in the World from all aduerſitie, their conceit is, that we ought not to aske it of God by Prayer, for as much as in Scripture there is no promiſe that wee ſhall be euermore free from vexations, calamities and troubles. Mindes religiouſly affected are woont in euery thing of waight and moment which they doe or ſee, to examine according vnto rules of Pietie what dependencie it hath on God, what reference to themſelues, what coherence with any of thoſe duties whereunto all things in the World ſhould leade, and accordingly they frame the inward diſpoſition of their mindes ſometime to admire God, ſometimes to bleſſe him and giue him thankes, ſometime to exult in his loue, ſometime to implore his mercie. All which different eleuations of ſpirit vnto God are contained in the name of Prayer. Euery good and holy deſire though it lacke the forme, hath notwithſtanding in it ſelfe the ſubſtance, and with him the force of a Prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groanes and ſignes of the heart of man. Petitionarie Prayer belongeth only to ſuch as are in themſelues impotent, and ſtand in need of reliefe from others. Wee thereby declare vnto God what our owne deſire is that hee by his power ſhould effect. It preſuppoſeth therefore in vs firſt the want of that which we pray for; Secondly, a feeling of that want; Thirdly, an earneſt willingneſſe of minde to be eaſed therein; Fourthly, a declaration of this our deſire in the ſight of God, not as if he ſhould be otherwiſe ignorant of our neceſſities, but becauſe wee this way ſhew that we honour him as our God, and are verily perſwaded that no good thing can come to paſſe which hee by his Omnipotent power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no mans Prayer acceptable, whoſe perſon is odious, neither any mans perſon gracious without

Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie; For as much as there is no promiſe in the Scripture that wee ſhould bee free from all aduerſitie, and that euermore it ſeemeth that this Prayer might haue been better conceiued being no Prayer of Faith, or of that which we can aſſure our ſelues that wee ſhall obtain it. *T.C.l.1.p.136.*

faith, it is of neceſſitie required that they which pray doe beleeue. The Prayers which our Lord and Sauiour made were for his owne worthineſſe accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be ioyned with [a] beliefe in Chriſt. The Prayers of the Iuſt are accepted alwayes, but not alwayes thoſe things granted for which they pray. For in Prayer if faith and aſſurance to obtaine were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obtaining is a plaine teſtimonie that they which prayed were not ſure they ſhould obtaine, it would follow that their Prayer being without certaintie of the euent, was alſo made vnto God without faith, and conſequently that God abhorred it. Which to thinke of ſo many Prayers of Saints as we find haue fayled in particular requeſts how abſurd were it? His faithfull people haue this comfort, that whatſoeuer they rightly aske, the ſame no doubt, but they ſhall receiue, ſo farre as may ſtand with the glory of God, and their owne euerlaſting good, vnto either of which two it is no vertuous mans purpoſe to ſeeke or deſire to obtaine any thing preiudiciall, and therefore that clauſe which our Lord and Sauiour in the Prayer of his Agonie did expreſſe, wee in petitions of like nature doe alwayes imply, *Pater, ſi poſſibile eſt*, if it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure. Or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied vs, yet the Prayer it ſelfe which we make is a pleaſing Sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it ſome other way. So that ſinners in very truth are denied when they [b] ſeeme to preuaile in their Supplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes or to their good that their Sutes take place; the faithfull contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their Petitions doe not take place, preuaile euen then when they moſt [c] ſeeme denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted ſome impatient mens requeſts, as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſute he hath of fauour and mercie not granted*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. To thinke we may pray vnto God for nothing but what he hath promiſed in holy Scripture we ſhall obtaine, is perhaps an errour. For of Prayer there are two vſes. It ſerueth as a meane to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed to grant when wee aske; and it ſerueth as a meane to expreſſe our lawfull deſires alſo towards that, which whether wee ſhall haue or no wee know not till wee ſee the euent. Things in themſelues vnholy or vnſeemely wee may not aske; wee may whatſoeuer being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace ſhall reaſonably moue vs to wiſh as importing the good of men, albeit God himſelfe haue no where by promiſe aſſured vs of that particular which our Prayer craueth. To pray for that which is in it ſelfe and of it owne nature apparently a thing impoſſible; were not conuenient. Wherefore though men doe without offence wiſh daily that the affaires which with euill ſucceſſe are paſt might haue fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may haue beene any other then they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibilitie in it ſelfe, the Rules of Religion doe not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe when things of their owne nature contingent and mutable are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though wee the other way make our Prayers, and conſequently aske thoſe things of God which are *by this ſuppoſition* impoſſible, we notwithſtanding doe not hereby in Prayer tranſgreſſe our lawfull bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Sonne of God, hauing

[a] *Oratio quæ non fit per Chriſtum, non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum, ſed etiam ipſa fit peccatum. Aug. enar. 1. in Pſal. 108.*

[b] *Num. 11. 33. 1. Sam. 8. 7. Iob 1. 12. & 2, 6. Luke 8. 52.*

[c] *2. Cor. 12. 7, 8, 9. Aug. Epiſt. 121. ad probam viduam.*

hauing no Superior, and therefore owing honour vnto none, neither ſtanding in any need ſhould either giue thankes, or make petition vnto God, were moſt abſurd. As man what could beſeeme him better, whether we reſpect his affection to God-ward, or his owne neceſſitie, or his charitie and loue towards men? Some things hee knew ſhould come to paſſe and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſary meanes to effect them, were his Prayers. As in the Pſalme it is ſaid, [a] *Aske of me, and I will giue thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the ends of the Earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore that which here God promiſeth his Sonne, the ſame in the 17. of *Iohn* hee prayeth for, [b] *Father, the houre is now come, glorifie thy Sonne, that thy Sonne alſo may glorifie thee, according as thou haſt giuen him power ouer all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of euery particular for which hee prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know in [c] what ſort he prayed for remouall of that bitter cup, which cup he taſted notwithſtanding his Prayer. To ſhift off this Example they anſwere firſt that [d] *as other children of God, ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliuerance,* as farre *as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if we our ſelues haue not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie, what meaneth the Sacred Scripture to ſpeake in ſo large termes, *Bee obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in* [e] *euery worke of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy Cattell, and in the fruit of the Land for thy wealth.* Againe, *Keepe his Lawes, and thou ſhalt be bleſt aboue all people, the Lord ſhall take from thee* [f] *all infirmities.* The man whoſe delight is in the Law of God, [g] *whatſoeuer he doth it ſhall proſper.* For the vngodly there are *great plagues* remayning; but whoſoeuer putteth his truſt in the Lord, mercie imbraceth him [h] *on euery ſide.* Not onely that mercie which keepeth from being ouerlaid or oppreſt, but mercie which ſaueth from being *touched* with grieuous miſeries, mercie which turneth away the courſe of [i] *the great water flouds,* and permitteth them not to *come neere.* Neuertheleſſe, becauſe the Prayer of Chriſt did concerne but one calamitie, they are ſtill bold to deny the lawfulneſſe of our Prayer for deliuerance out of all, yea, though wee pray with the ſame exception that he did, *If ſuch deliuerance may ſtand with the pleaſure of Almightie God and not otherwiſe.* For they haue ſecondly found out a Rule that Prayer ought onely to be made for deliuerance [k] *from this or that particular aduerſitie, whereof we know not but vpon the euent what the pleaſure of God is.* Which quite ouerthroweth that other principle wherein they require vnto euery Prayer which is of Faith an aſſurance to obtaine the thing we pray for. At the firſt to pray againſt all aduerſitie was vnlawfull, becauſe we cannot aſſure our ſelues that this will be granted. Now wee haue licence to pray againſt any particular aduerſitie, and the reaſon giuen, becauſe wee know not but vpon the euent what God will doe. If wee know not what God will doe, it followeth that for any aſſurance wee haue, hee may doe otherwiſe then wee pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot aſſuredly preſume that God will grant. Seeing therefore neither of theſe two Anſweres will ſerue the turne, they haue [l] a third, which is, that to pray in ſuch ſort is but idly-miſſe-ſpent labour, becauſe God hath alreadie reuealed his Will touching this

a *Pſal.* 2. 8.

b *Iohn* 17. 1, 2.

c *Matth.* 26. 39 *Marke* 14. 36. *Luke* 22. 42.

d Neither did our Sauiour Chriſt pray without promiſe: for as other the Children of God to whoſe condition hee had humbled himſelfe haue, ſo had he a promiſe of deliuerance, ſo farre as the glory of God in that accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 200.

e *Deut.* 30. 9.

f *Deut.* 7. 15.

g *Pſal.* 1. 4.

h *Pſal.* 32. 11.

i 7.

k *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 201.

l Wee ought not to deſire to be free from all aduerſitie if it be his will, conſidering that hee hath alreadie declared his will therein. *T. C. l.* 3. *f.* 201.

this requeſt, and we know that the ſute we make is denyed before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Chriſt ignorant what God had determined touching thoſe things which himſelfe ſhould ſuffer? To ſay[a] *hee knew not what waight of ſufferances his heauenly father had meaſured vnto him*, is ſomwhat hard, harder that although *he knew them*, notwithſtanding for the preſent time they were *forgotten, through the force of thoſe vnſpeakeable pangs which hee then was in.* The one againſt the plaine expreſſe words of the holy Euangeliſt, [b] *He knew all things that ſhould come vpon him*; the other leſſe credible, if any thing may bee of leſſe credit then what the Scripture it ſelfe gaineſayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his ſufferings, make report that memorie fayled them? Is there in his words and ſpeeches any ſigne of defect that way? Did not himſelfe declare before what ſoeuer was to happen in the courſe of that whole Tragedie? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his owne mouth either in the place of publique iudgement, or vpon the Altar of the Croſſe, that through the bruſing of his Bodie, ſome part of the treaſures of his ſoule were ſcattered and ſlipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did fayle at this only middle inſtant, there muſt appeare ſome manifeſt cauſe how it came to paſſe. True it is that the pangs of his heauineſſe and griefe were *vnſpeakeable*: and as true, that becauſe the minds of the afflicted doe neuer thinke they haue fully conceiued the waight or meaſure of their owne woe, they vſe their affection as a whetſtone both to wit and memory, theſe as nurces doe feed griefe, ſo that the weaker his conceit had bin touching that which he was to ſuffer, the more it muſt needs in that houre haue helped to the mitigation of his anguiſh. But his anguiſh we ſee was then at the very higheſt whereunto it could poſſibly riſe; which argueth his deepe apprehenſion euen to the laſt drop of the gaule which that Cup contayned, and of euery circumſtance wherein there was any force to augment heauineſſe, but aboue all things, the reſolute determination of God, and his owne vnchangeable purpoſe which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer which plainly teſtifieth ſo great willingneſſe to auoide death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the Eſſence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God diuers wils, although the God-head be in diuers perſons, becauſe the power of willing is a naturall not a perſonall proprietie. Contrariwiſe, the perſon of our Sauiour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two wils, becauſe two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of man, which both doe imply this facultie and power. So that in Chriſt there is a diuine and there is an humane will, otherwiſe hee were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretiques, for holding that Chriſt had but one will. The workes and operations of our Sauiours humane will were all ſubiect to the will of God, and framed according to his Law, [c] *I deſire to doe thy will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart.* Now as mans will, ſo the will of Chriſt hath two ſeuerall kinds of operation, the one naturall or neceſſary, whereby it deſireth ſimply whatſoeuer is good in it ſelfe, and ſhunneth generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore imbrace things as good, becauſe the eye of vnderſtanding iudgeth them good to that end which we ſimply deſire. Thus in

a *T.C. lib. 3. pag. 101.*

b *Iohn 18.4.*

c *Pſal. 40.8.*

it

it ſelfe we deſire health, phyſicke onely for healths ſake. And in this ſort ſpeciall reaſon oftentimes cauſeth the will by choice to preferre one good thing before another, to leaue one for anothers ſake, to forgoe meaner for the attainment of higher deſires, which our Sauiour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſie how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite either the one of them vnto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his ſpeech be weighed, [a] *My ſoule is now troubled, and what ſhould I ſay? Father, ſaue me out of this houre. But yet for this very cauſe I am come into this houre.* His purpoſe herein was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole world two contrarie obiects, the like whereunto in force and efficacie were neuer preſented in that manner to any but onely to the Soule of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearefull houre on the one ſide Gods heauie indignation and wrath towards mankinde as yet vnappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, Hell as yet neuer maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peraduenture more then is either poſſible or needfull for the wit of man to find out, finally himſelfe fleſh and bloud * left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe; on the other ſide, a World to be ſaued by One, a pacification of wrath through the dignitie of that ſacrifice which ſhould be offred, a conqueſt ouer death through the power of that Deity which would not ſuffer the Tabernacle thereof to ſee corruption, and an vtter diſappointment of all the forces of infernall powers, through the puritie of that ſoule which they ſhould haue in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man maruaile that in this caſe the ſoule of Chriſt was much *troubled*. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breed but (as their nature is) inexplicable paſſions of mind deſires abhorring what they imbrace, and imbracing what they abhorre? In which agonie *how ſhould the tongue goe about to expreſſe* what the ſoule indured? When the griefes of *Iob* were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill vnto his ſeeming they were vndiſcouered, [b] *Though my talke* (ſaith *Iob*) *be this day in bitterneſſe, yet my plague is greater then my groning.* But heere to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerue, when nature hath more to declare then grones and ſtrong cries; more then ſtreames of bloudie ſweates, more then his doubled and tripled prayers can expreſſe, who thriſe putting forth his hand to receiue that Cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his comming into the World, hee thriſe pulleth it backe againe, and as often euen with teares of bloud craueth, *If it be poſſible, O Father, Or if not, euen what thine owne good pleaſure is*, for whoſe ſake the Paſſion that hath in it a bitter and bloudie conflict euen with Wrath and Death and Hell is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore wee find in God a will reſolued that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the humane will of Chriſt two actuall deſires, the one auoyding, and the other accepting death; is that deſire which firſt declareth it ſelfe by prayer, againſt that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them againſt his minde to whom prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? We may iudge of theſe diuerſities in the will, by the like in the vnderſtanding. For as the intellectuall part doth not croſſe it ſelfe, by conceiuing man to be iuſt and vniuſt, when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and vnlearned,

[a] Iohn 12.27.

* Matth. 27. 46. *Non potuit diuinitas humanitatem & ſecundum aliquid deſeruiſſe, & ſecundum aliquid non deſeruiſſe? Subtraxit protectionem, ſed non ſeparauit vnionem. Sic ergo dereliquit vt non adiuuaret, ſed non dereliquit vt recederet. Sic ergo humanitas à diuinitate in paſſione derelicta eſt. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate, ſed pro noſtra redemptione ſuſtinuit, quare ſit derelicta requirit, non quaſi aduerſus Deum de pœna murmurans, ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in pœna demonſtrans.* Hug. de Sacra. lib. 2. par. 1. c. 10.

Deus meus, vt quid dereliquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ alijs inueſtigandæ cauſæ ardorem & diligentiam acuat.

[b] Iob 23. 2.

learned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning vnskilfull, because the parts of euery true oppoſition doe alwayes both concerne the ſame ſubiect, and haue reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite and not in truth: So the will about one and the ſame thing may in contrary reſpects haue contrarie inclinations, and that without contrarietie. The miniſter of iuſtice may for publique example to others, vertuouſly will the execution of that partie, whoſe pardon another for conſanguinities ſake as vertuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in it ſelfe, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it. Conſider death as a meane to procure the ſaluation of the world, and mercie worketh in Chriſt all [a] willingneſſe of mind towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires there can be no repugnant oppoſition. Againe, compare them with the will of God, and if any oppoſition be, it muſt be onely betweene his appoyntment of Chriſts death, and the former deſire which wiſheth deliuerance from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the will of God. The will of God was that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the paines of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocencie did in it ſelfe pleaſe and delight God, but ſuch was his will, in regard of the end whereunto it was neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in it ſelfe therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtaine life he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner the Sonne of man indureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grieuous paines, which ſimply not to haue ſhunned had been againſt nature and by conſequent againſt God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Chriſt either knew not what himſelfe was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which errour was an ouer-reſtrained conſideration of Prayer, as though it had no other lawfull vſe but onely to ſerue for a choſen meane, whereby the will reſolueth to ſeeke that which the vnderſtanding certainely knoweth it ſhall obtaine: whereas prayers in truth both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of meere deſires, as a meane of procuring deſired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadfull obiects euen in mindes moſt perfect, may as cloudes ouer-caſt all ſenſible ioy; that no aſſurance touching future victories can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweet and eaſie, but nature will ſhun and ſhrinke from them, nature will deſire eaſe and deliuerance from oppreſſiue burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire; yet not againſt the affection it ſelfe, becauſe it is naturally in vs; that in ſuch caſe our prayers cannot ſerue vs as meanes to obtaine the thing wee deſire; that notwithſtanding they are vnto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices, becauſe they teſtifie we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be ouer-ruled by his will, and in generall they are not repugnant vnto the naturall will of God, which wiſheth to the workes of his owne hands, in that they are his owne handy-worke all happineſſe, although perhaps for ſome ſpeciall cauſe in our owne particular, a contrarie determination haue ſeemed more conuenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effect as wee ſpecifie, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure vs his heauenly grace, euen as this very Prayer of Chriſt obtained [b] Angels to be ſent him as comforters in his agonie. And according to this

a *Eſa.* 53.10. *Iohn* 10.15.

b *Luke* 22.43.

this example wee are not afraid to preſent vnto God our prayers for thoſe things, which that hee will performe vnto vs wee haue no ſure nor certaine knowledge. [a] Saint *Pauls* Prayer for the Church of Corinth was that they might not doe any euill, although he knew that no man liueth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we alwayes muſt pray, [b] *Forgiue vs our ſinnes.* It is our frailtie that in many things wee all doe amiſſe, but a vertue that we would doe amiſſe in nothing, and a teſtimonie of that vertue, when we pray that what occaſion of ſinne ſoeuer doe offer it ſelfe, wee may be ſtrengthened from aboue to withſtand it. They pray in vaine to haue ſinne pardoned which ſeeke not alſo to preuent ſinne by prayer, euen euery particular ſinne by prayer againſt all ſinne, except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith wee ought to haue truce. For in very deed although wee cannot be free from all ſinne collectiuely in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall be found inherent in vs, yet diſtributiuely at the leaſt all great and grieuous actuall offences, as they offer themſelues one by one, both may and ought to bee by all meanes auoided. So that in this ſenſe to bee preſerued from all ſinne is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliuerance it ſelfe from all aduerſitie, we vſe not to ſay men are in aduerſitie whenſoeuer they feele any ſmall hinderance of their welfare in this World, but when ſome notable affliction or croſſe, ſome great calamitie or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it diuers circumſtances, they mind ſundry faculties to apprehend them: It offereth ſometime it ſelfe to the lower powers of the ſoule as a moſt vnpleaſant ſpectacle to the higher, ſometimes as drawing after it a traine of dangerous inconueniences, ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundry euils, as Gods inſtrument of reuenge and furie ſometime, ſometime as a rod of his iuſt yet moderate ire and diſpleaſure, ſometime, as matter for them that ſpitefully hate vs to exerciſe their poyſoned malice, ſometime as a furnace of tryall for vertue to ſhew it ſelfe, and through conflict to obtaine glorie. Which different contemplations of aduerſitie doe worke for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Aduerſitie either apprehended by ſenſe as a thing offenſiue and grieuous to nature; or by reaſon conceiued as a ſnare, an occaſion of many mens falling from God, a ſequell of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth, and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth feare. For moderation of which two affections growing from the very naturall bitterneſſe and gall of aduerſitie, [c] the Scripture much alleageth contrarie fruits, which affliction likewiſe hath whenſoeuer it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* teacheth, that [d] euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution, and by many tribulations wee muſt enter into the Kingdome of Heauen, becauſe in a forreſt of many Wolues, ſheepe cannot chooſe but feed in continuall danger of life; or when [e] Saint *Iames* exhorteth to account it a matter of exceeding ioy when we fall into diuers temptations, becauſe by the triall of faith patience is brought forth; was it ſuppoſe wee their meaning to fruſtrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that yee enter not into temptation?* when himſelfe pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his Name ſake be ſubiect

a 2.*Cor.*13.7.

b We may not pray in this life to be free from all ſinne, becauſe wee muſt alwayes pray, Forgiue vs our ſinnes. *T.C.l.*3.*p.*200.

c *Pſal.* 119.71.
d 2.*Tim.*3.12. To pray againſt perſecution is contrary to that word which ſaith, that euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution. *T.C.l.*3.*p.*200.
e *Iames* 1.2.

to

to all kinds of ignominie and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose that
a Psal.119.22. no man should euer pray with *Dauid*, a *Lord, remoue from me shame and con-*
b Aug.Epist. 121.cap.14. *tempt?* In those tribulations, saith b Saint *Augustine*, *which may hurt as well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we should aske as we ought, we know not, yet because they are tough, because they are grieuous, because the sense of our weakenesse flieth them, we pray according to the generall desire of the will of man, that God would turne them away from vs, owing in the meane while this deuotion to the Lord our God, that if he remoue them not, yet wee doe not therefore imagine our selues in his sight despised, but rather with godly sufferance of euils, expect greater good at his mercifull hands. For thus is vertue in weakenesse perfected.* To the flesh (as the Apostle himselfe granteth) all affliction is naturally grieuous. Therefore nature which causeth to feare, teacheth to pray against all aduersitie. Prosperitie in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almightie God, doth proue for the most part a thing dangerous to the soules of
c Prou.1.32. men. Very ease it selfe is c death to the wicked, and the prosperitie of fooles slayeth them; their table is a snare, and their felicitie their vtter ouerthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sinne not. Howbeit euen as these ill effects, although they be very vsuall and common, are no barre to the heartie prayers, whereby most vertuous minds wish peace & prosperity alwayes where they loue, because they consider that this in it selfe is a thing naturally desired: so because all aduersitie is in it selfe against nature, what should hinder to pray against it, although the prouidence of God turne it often vnto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be deliuered from all aduersitie, are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of mens mindes towards death, much lesse to that blessed patience and meeke contentment which Saints by heauenly inspiration haue to indure, what crosse or calamitie soeuer it pleaseth God to lay vpon them, then our Lord and Sauiours owne prayer before his Passion was repugnant vnto his most gracious resolution to die for the sinnes of the whole World.

Prayer that all men may find mercie, and of the wil of God that all men might be saued.

49 In praying for deliuerance from all aduersitie, we seeke that which nature doth wish to it selfe; but by intreating for mercie towards all, wee declare that affection wherewith Christian Charitie thirsteth after the good of the whole World, wee discharge that dutie which d the Apostle himselfe doth impose on the Church of Christ as a *commendable* office, a sacrifice *acceptable* in
d 1.Tim.2.3. Gods sight, a seruice according to his heart, whose *desire* is to haue all men saued, a worke most suteable with his purpose, who gaue himselfe to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible meane to *procure the conuersion* of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must saue their soules. Against it there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all mens saluation, and many mens eternall condemnation or death, are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to passe; that wee know there are vessels of wrath to whom God will neuer extend mercie, and therefore that wittingly wee aske an impossible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercie and wrath are matters of meere vnderstanding or knowledge, all mens saluation and some mens endlesse perdition are things so opposite, that whosoeuer doth affirme the one, must necessarily

ſarily deny the other, God himſelfe cannot effect both, or determine that both ſhall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certainty, that life and death haue diuided betweene them the whole bodie of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himſelfe knoweth; for vs hee hath left no ſufficient meanes to comprehend, and for that cauſe neither giuen any leaue to ſearch in particular who are infallibly the heires of the Kingdome of God, who caſt-awayes. Howbeit concerning the ſtate of all men with whom we liue (for onely of them our prayers are meant) we may till the Worlds end, *for the preſent*, alwayes preſume, that *as farre as in vs there is power to diſcerne* what others are, and as farre as any dutie of ours dependeth vpon the notice of their condition in reſpect of God, the ſafeſt axiomes for charitie to reſt it ſelfe vpon are theſe, *He which beleeueth alreadie, is*; and *He which beleeueth not as yet, may be the Child of God.* a It becommeth not vs *during life altogether to condemne any man, ſeeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of euery mans forgiueneſſe, the poßibilitie of whoſe repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charitie which b *hopeth all things*, prayeth alſo for all men. Wherefore to let goe perſonall knowledge touching veſſels of wrath and mercie, what they are inwardly in the ſight of God it skilleth not, for vs there is cauſe ſufficient in all men, whereupon to ground our prayers vnto God in their behalfe. For whatſoeuer the mind of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charitie and loue is to haue it inlarged in the very vttermoſt extent, that all may inioy it to whom it can any way adde perfection. Becauſe therefore the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier wee reckon it, our prayers for all mens good no leſſe then for our owne, the Apoſtle with very fit termes commendeth as being καλὸν a worke commendable for the largeneſſe of the affection from whence it ſpringeth, euen as theirs, c which haue requeſted at Gods hands the ſaluation of many with the loſſe of their owne ſoules, drowning as it were and ouer-whelming themſelues in the abundance of their loue towards others, is propoſed as being in regard of the rarenes of ſuch affections ὑπερκαλὸν more then excellent. But this extraordinarie height of deſire after other mens ſaluation is no common marke. The other is a dutie which belongeth vnto all and preuaileth with God daily. For as it is in it ſelfe good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithfull men. Our prayers for all men doe include both them that ſhall find mercie, and them alſo that ſhall find none. For them that ſhall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom wee craue that mercie which is not to be obtained, let vs not thinke that d our Sauiour did miſ-inſtruct his Diſciples, willing them to pray for the peace euen of ſuch as ſhould be vncapable of ſo great a bleſſing; or that the prayers of the e Prophet *Ieremie* offended God, becauſe the anſwer of God was a reſolute deniall of fauour to them for whom ſupplication was made. And if any man doubt how God ſhould accept ſuch prayers in caſe they be oppoſite to his will, or not grant them if they be according vnto that which himſelfe willeth, our anſwere is, that ſuch ſutes God accepteth in that they are conformable vnto his *generall inclination*, which is that all men might be ſaued, yet alwayes he granteth them not, for as much as there is in God ſometimes a more priuate *occaſioned will*

which

a *Sidon. Apol. lib 6. Epiſt.*

b 1. *Cor.* 14. 7.

c *Rom* 9. 3. & 10. 1.

d *Matth.* 10, 11, 12.

e *Ier.* 15. 1.

which determineth the contrarie. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requests for things opposite to this will of God are not therefore the lesse gracious in his sight. There is no doubt but wee ought in all things to frame our wils to the will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoeuer we doe we sinne. For of our selues being so apt to erre, the only way which we haue to streighten our paths, is by following the rule of his will, whose foot-steps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot doe that which the will commandeth, though they serue as instruments to sinne, yet is sinne the commanders fault and not theirs, because nature hath absolutely and without exception made them subiects to the will of man which is Lord ouer them. As the bodie is subiect to the will of man, so mans will to the will of God; for so it behoueth that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subiection of the bodie to the will is by naturall necessitie, the subiection of the will vnto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our wils and desires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing alwayes the selfesame thing that God intendeth. For it may chance that his purpose is sometime the speedie death of them, whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were vnnaturall. When the obiect or matter therefore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of it selfe and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it is vertuous & apparantly most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charity; pietie that which wee doe in declaring our desire by prayer; yea ouer and besides all this, sith we know that to pray for all men liuing is but to shew the same affection which towards euerie of them our Lord Iesus Christ hath borne, who knowing onely as God who are his, did [a] as man taste death for the good of all men, surely to that will of God which ought to be and is the knowne rule of all our actions, wee doe not herein oppose our selues, although his secret determination happily be against vs, which if we did vnderstand as we doe not, yet to rest contented with that which God will haue done, is as much as hee requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our selues what we earnestly craue in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, wee meekely submit vnto his most gracious will and pleasure. Finally, as we haue cause sufficient why to thinke the practice of our Church allowable in this behalfe, so neither is ours the first which hath beene of that mind. For to end with the words [b] of *Prosper*, *This Law of supplication for all men* (saith he) *the deuout zeale of all Priests and of all faithfull men doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the World where Christian people do not vse to pray in the same manner. The Church euery where maketh prayers vnto God not onely for Saints and such as alreadie in Christ are regenerate, but for all Infidels and enemies of the Crosse of Iesus Christ, for all Idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his followers, for Iewes to whose blindnes the light of the Gospell doth not yet shine, for Heretiques and Schismatiques, who from the vnitie of faith and charitie are estranged. And for such what doth the Church aske of God but this, that leauing their errors they may be conuerted vnto him, that faith & charitie may be giuen them, and that out of the darknes of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? Which because they cannot themselues doe in their owne behalfe,*

[a] *Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpserat aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem diuinam, in qua cum patre omnia disponebat futurum non esse præsciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, vt pietate moueretur, & hoc ad veram diuinitatem, vt à sua dispositione non moueretur. Hug. de quat. Chrys. volunt.*

[b] *Prosp. de vocat. Gen. lib. 1. cap. 4. inter opera Ambros.*

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as long as the ſway of euill cuſtome ouer-beareth them, and the chaines of Satan detaine them bound, neither are they able to break thorough thoſe errours wherein they are ſo determinately ſetled, that they pay vnto falſity the whole ſumme of whatſoeuer loue is owing vnto Gods Truth, our Lord mercifull and iuſt requireth to haue all men prayed for, that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawne vp from the depth of ſo bottomeleſſe euils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing we requeſted, nor deſpayre, but that being thankfull for them towards whom already he hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet inlightned, ſhall before they paſſe out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which ſaueth [for ſo we ſee it falleth out] ouerpaſſe ſome, ſo that the Prayer of the Church for them be not receiued, this we may leaue to the hidden Iudgements of Righteouſneſſe, and acknowledge that in this ſecret there is a Gulfe, which while we liue we ſhall neuer ſound.

Of the name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt * *Gal.* 4. 26. *Eſay* 54. 3.

50 Inſtruction and Prayer, whereof wee haue hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerue as Elements, Parts or Principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chiefe. The Church is to vs that very * Mother of our new Birth, in whoſe bowels we are all bred, at whoſe breſts we receiue nouriſhment. As many therefore as are apparently to our iudgment borne of God, they haue the ſeed of Regeneration by the Miniſterie of the Church, which vſeth to that end and purpoſe not onely the Word, but the Sacraments, both hauing generatiue force and vertue. As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly vnderſtood (for in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers all Articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian Faith; all duties of Religion containing that which ſenſe or natural reaſon cannot of it ſelfe diſcerne, are moſt commonly named Sacraments) our reſtraynt of the Word to ſome few principall diuine Ceremonies, importeth in euery ſuch Ceremonie two things, the ſubſtance of the Ceremony it ſelfe which is viſible, and beſides that ſomewhat elſe more ſecret, in reference whereunto we conceiue that Ceremonie to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the ſeruice which we doe vnto God in receiuing them, as the dignity of that ſacred and ſecret gift which we thereby receiue from God, Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch gift or grace ſupernaturall, as onely God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be obſerued their force & their forme of adminiſtration. Vpon their force their neceſſity dependeth. So that how they are neceſſary we cannot diſcerne, till we ſee how effectuall they are. When Sacraments are ſaid to bee viſible Signes of inuiſible Grace, we thereby conceiue how grace is indeed the very end for which theſe heauenly Myſteries were inſtituted, and beſides ſundry other properties obſerued in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt, is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their end. But ſtill their efficacie reſteth obſcure to our vnderſtanding, except we ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what grace in particular, that is, whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they haue towards it. The vſe of Sacraments is but onely in this life, yet ſo, that here they concerne a farre better life then this, and are for that cauſe accompanied with

grace which worketh ſaluation. Sacraments are the powerfull Inſtruments of God to eternall life. For as our naturall life conſiſteth in the vnion of the bodie with the Soule; ſo our life ſupernaturall in the vnion of the Soule with God. And for as much as there is no vnion of God with man, without that [a] meane betweene both which is both, it ſeemeth requiſite that wee firſt conſider how God is in Chriſt, then how Chriſt is in vs, and how the Sacraments do ſerue to make vs partakers of Chriſt. In other things we may be more briefe, but the waight of theſe requireth largeneſſe.

[a] *Oportebat Deum carnem fieri vt in ſemet ipſo concordiam conſibularet ter renorum pariter atq; cæleſtium, dum vtrinſque patris in ſe connectens pignora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularet.* Tertull. de Trinit.

That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall Incarnation of the Sonne who is very God. *Iſay.9.6. Ier.23.6. Rom.9.5. Iohn 16.15. Iohn.5.21. Coloſſ.2.9. 1.Iohn 5.20.*

51 The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiuiſible vnitie notwithſtanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himſelfe, we glorifie that Conſubſtantiall Word which is the Sonne, wee bleſſe and magnifie that Coeſſentiall Spirit eternally proceeding from both, Which is the holy Ghoſt. Seeing therefore the father is of none, The Sonne is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by theſe their ſeuerall properties really diſtinguiſhable each from other. For the ſubſtance of God with this propertie *to be of none*, doth make the perſon of the Father; the very ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance in number with this property *to be of the Father*, maketh the perſon of the Sonne; the ſame ſubſtance hauing added vnto it the propertie of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt. So that in euery perſon there is implyed both the ſubſtance of God which is one, and alſo that propertie which cauſeth the ſame perſon really and truely to differ from the other two. Euery [b] perſon hath his owne ſubſiſtence which no other beſides hath, although there be others beſides that are of the ſame ſubſtance. As no man but *Peter* can bee the perſon which *Peter* is, yet *Paul* hath the ſelfe-ſame Nature which *Peter*. Againe Angels haue euery of them the nature of pure and inuiſible Spirits, but euery Angell is not that Angell which appeared in a Dreame to *Ioſeph*. Now when God became man, leſt we ſhould erre in applying this to the perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, Saint *Peters* Confeſſion vnto Chriſt was, Thou art the [c] *Sonne* of the Liuing God, and Saint *Iohns* Expoſition thereof was made plaine, and that it is the [d] *Word* which was made fleſh. [e] *The Father and the Holy Ghoſt* (ſaith DAMASCEN) *haue no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwiſe then onely by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Word and Deity are one ſubiect, we muſt beware we exclude not the Nature of God from incarnation, and ſo make the Sonne of God incarnate not to be very God. For vndoubtedly euen [f] the Nature of God it ſelfe in the onely perſon of the Sonne is incarnate, and hath taken to it ſelfe fleſh. Wherefore incarnation may neither be granted to any perſon but onely one, nor yet denied to that nature which is common vnto all three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible Myſtery, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing vnconſonant, that the world ſhould honour any other as the Sauiour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creatour of

[b] Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόσασις ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἰδιότης δὲ ὑπόστασις. Suid. ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τῆ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ πρόσασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπάρξαι. Damaſc. de Orthod. fide lib.3.cap.6.

[c] *Mat.16.16.*

[d] *Iohn 1.14.*

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ. Οὐδὲν ἀτῦ λόγος οὐ ῥῆτὸς ἀλλ' ὀυσιῶδης. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρε ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θειᾶς ἰδίᾳ γενητὴ. e Κατ' ἐδένα λογον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῆ σαρκώσει τῦ λόγυ, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damaſc.

[f] *In illo diuinitas eſt vnigeniti factia particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, vt & nos participes eius immortalitatis eſſemus* Aug. Epiſt.57.

of the World, and in the Wiſedome of God it hath not beene thought conuenient to admit any way of ſauing man but by man himſelfe, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the loue and mercie of God towards man, which this way are become ſuch a ſpectacle, as neither men nor Angels can behold without a kinde of heauenly aſtoniſhment, wee may heereby perceiue there is cauſe ſufficient why diuine Nature ſhould aſſume Humane, that ſo [a] God might be in Christ reconciling to himſelfe the World. And if ſome cauſe be likewiſe required, why rather to this end and purpoſe the Sonne, then either the Father or the holy Ghoſt ſhould be made man, could wee which are borne the children of wrath, be adopted the Sonnes of God through grace, any other then the naturall Sonne of God being Mediatour betweene God and vs? It [b] became therefore him by whom all things are, to be the way of ſaluation to all, that the inſtitution and reſtitution of the World might bee both wrought by one hand. The Worlds Saluation was without the Incarnation of the Sonne of God; a thing impoſſible, not ſimply impoſſible, but impoſſible, it being preſuppoſed that the Will of God was no otherwiſe to haue it ſaued then by the death of his owne Sonne. Wherfore taking to himſelfe our fleſh, and by his Incarnation making it his owne fleſh, he had now of his owne, although from vs, what to offer vnto God for vs. And as Chriſt tooke Manhood, that by it hee might be capable of death whereunto he humbled himſelfe, ſo becauſe Manhood is the proper ſubiect of compaſſion and feeling pittie, which maketh the Scepter of Chriſts Regencie euen in the Kingdome of Heauen amiable, hee which without our Nature could not on Earth ſuffer for the ſinnes of the World, doth now alſo [c] by meanes thereof both make interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe dominion ouer all men with a true, a naturall, and a ſenſible touch of mercie.

[a] 2. Cor. 5. 19.

[b] Heb. 2. 10.

[c] Heb. 4. 15.

52 It is not in mans abilitie either to expreſſe perfectly, or conceiue the manner how this was brought to paſſe. But the ſtrength of our Faith is tryed by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit becauſe this Diuine Myſterie is more true then plaine, diuers hauing framed the ſame to their owne conceits and fancies, are found in their expoſitions thereof more plaine then true: In ſo much that by the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres after Chriſt, the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe, ſauing only with care and trauaile to preſerue this Article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of Heretikes. Whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the [d] *Nicen* Councell had diſpeld, it was not long ere *Macedonius* transferred vnto Gods moſt holy Spirit the ſame blaſphemie, wherewith *Arrius* had alreadie diſhonoured his coeternally begotten Sonne; not long ere *Apollinarius* began to [e] pare away from Chriſts humanitie. In refutation of which impieties when the Fathers of the Church, *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painfull trauailes ſufficiently cleered the truth, no leſſe for the Deitie of the Holy Ghoſt, then for the complete humanitie of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a finall concluſion, whereby thoſe Controuerſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Ætius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarme of peſtilent *Dimi-arians*, had from time to time ſtirred vp ſithence the Councell of *Nice*, were both priuately firſt at Rome in a ſmaller Synode, and

The miſinterpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner how God and man are vnited in one Chriſt.

[d] *Anno D.* 325.

[e] Μηδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρωπείας φυσὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐκείνην ἀνθρώπου νοὸς ἢ ψυχῆς μοναυχένιον ἀπὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐνδεδυκότος θεῖον. Synod.

then [a] at Constantinople in a generall famous Assembly brought to a peaceable and quiet end, seuenscore Bishops and ten agreeing in that Confession which by them set downe, remayneth at this present houre, a part of our Church Liturgie, a Memoriall of their fidelitie and zeale, a soueraigne preseruatiue of Gods people from the venemous infection of Heresie. Thus in Christ the veritie of God, and the complete substance of man, were with full agreement established throughout the World, till such time as the Heresie of *Nestorius* broched it selfe, [b] *diuiding Christ into two persons, the Sonne of God, and the Sonne of man, the one a person begotten of God before all Worlds, the other also a person borne of the Virgin* Mary, *and in speciall fauour chosen to be made intire to the Sonne of God aboue all men, so that whosoeuer will honour God, must together honour Christ, with whose person God hath vouchsafed to ioyne himselfe in so high a degree of gracious respect and fauour.* But that the selfe-same person which verily is man should properly be God also, and that, by reason not of two persons linked in amitie, but of two natures, Humane and Diuine, conioyned in one and the same Person, the God of glory may be said as well to haue suffered death, as to haue raised the dead from their graues, the Son of man as well to haue made as to haue redeemed the World, *Nestorius* in no case would admit. That which deceiued him, was want of heed to the first beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. The Word saith S. *Iohn*, was made flesh and dwelt [c] *in vs.* The Euangelist yseth the plurall number, Men for Manhood, *Vs* for the nature whereof we consist, euen as the Apostle denying the Assumption of *Angelicall nature*, saith likewise in the plurall number, he tooke not [d] *Angels* but the seed of *Abraham*. It pleased not the Word or Wisdome of God to take to it selfe some one person amongst men, for then should that one haue beene aduanced which was assumed and no more, but Wisdome, to the end She might saue many, built her House of that *nature* which is common vnto all, She made not *this or that man* her Habitation, but dwelt *in vs*. The Seeds of Herbes and Plants at the first are not in act, but in possibilitie that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Sonne of God had taken to himselfe a man now made and alreadie perfected, it would of necessitie follow that there are in Christ two persons, the one assuming and the other assumed, whereas the Sonne of God did not assume a mans person vnto his owne, but a mans nature to his owne person, and therefore tooke *semen*, the seed of *Abraham*, the very first originall Element of our nature, [e] before it was come to haue any personall Humane subsistence. The flesh and the coniunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant, his making and taking to himselfe our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personall subsistence but one, and that from euerlasting. By taking only the nature of man, hee still continueth one person, and changeth but the manner of his subsisting, which was before in the meere glory of the Sonne of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. For as much therefore as Christ hath no personall subsistence but one whereby wee acknowledge him to haue beene eternally the Sonne of God, wee must of necessitie apply to the *person* of the Sonne of God, euen that which is spoken of Christ according to his humane nature. For example, according to the flesh hee was borne of the Virgin *Mary* baptized of *Iohn* in the Riuer Iordan, by *Pilate* adiu-

[a] *Anno Do.* 381

[b] Οὐκ ἔστι τὼ ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν, Cyril. Epist. ad Eulog. Οὐκ ἔλεξε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε κὴ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ κὴ ἄνθρωπον κὴ θεὸν ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν χριστὸν, ἀλλ' ἔκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει κὴ τῇ οἰκειώσει κατὰ τὸ ταυτὸ ἀλλήλοις προσκεῖσθαι διὰ τὼ ὑπερβολὼ τῆς φιλίας. Leont. de Sect.

[c] *Iohn* 1.14.

[d] *Heb.* 2.16.

[e] ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις ἐ πρὸ τῆς ἕνωσεως ὑπῆρχε τῆς λήψεως, Theod. Dial. Ἄτρεπτος.

adiudged to dye, and executed by the Iewes. Wee cannot ſay properly that the Virgin bore, or *Iohn* did baptize, or *Pilate* condemne, or the Iewes crucifie the nature of man, becauſe theſe all are perſonall Attributes, his perſon is the ſubiect which receiueth them, his nature that which maketh his perſon capable or apt to receiue. If wee ſhould ſay that the perſon of a man in our Sauiour Chriſt was the ſubiect of theſe things, this were plainely to intrap our ſelues in the very ſnare of the *Neſtorians* Hereſie, betweene whom and the Church of God there was no difference, ſauing onely that *Neſtorius* imagined in Chriſt as well a perſonall Humane ſubſiſtence as a Diuine, the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance both Diuine and Humane, but no other perſonall ſubſiſtence then Diuine, becauſe the Sonne of God tooke not to himſelfe a mans perſon, but the nature onely of a man. Chriſt is a perſon both diuine and Humane, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one, neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a perſon Diuine, becauſe hee is *perſonally* the Sonne of God, Humane, becauſe *he hath* really *the nature* of the children of men. In Chriſt therefore God and Man, *there is* (ſaith[a] PASCHASIVS) *a two-fold-ſubſtance, not a two-fold perſon, becauſe one perſon diſtinguiſheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct.* For the perſonall being which the Sonne of God already had, ſuffered not the ſubſtance to be perſonall which hee tooke although together with the nature which he had, the nature alſo which hee tooke continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt *Neſtorius*; that no perſon was borne of the Virgin but the Sonne of God, no perſon but the Sonne of God baptized, the Sonne of God condemned, the Sonne of God and no other perſon crucified, which one onely poynt of Chriſtian Beliefe, *the infinite worth of the Sonne of God*, is the very ground of all things beleeued concerning life and ſaluation, by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as man in our behalfe. But for as much as Saint *Cyril*, the chiefeſt of thoſe two hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the[b] Counſell of Epheſus where the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* was condemned, had in his Writings againſt the Arrians auouched, that *the Word or wiſedome* of God hath *but one nature* which is eternall, and whereunto hee aſſumed fleſh (for the Arrians were of opinion, that beſides Gods owne eternall Wiſedome there is a Wiſedome which God created before all things, to the end hee might thereby create all things elſe, and that this created Wiſedome was the Word which tooke fleſh.) Againe, for as much as the ſame *Cyrill* had giuen inſtance in the bodie and the ſoule of man no farther then onely to enforce by example againſt *Neſtorius*, that a viſible and an inuiſible, a mortall and an immortall ſubſtance may vnited make *one perſon*, the wordes of *Cyril* were in proceſſe of time ſo taken, as though it had beene his driſt to teach, that euen as in vs the bodie and the ſoule, ſo in Chriſt, God and man make but *one nature*. Of which errour, ſixe hundred and thirtie Fathers in the[c] Councell of Chalcedon condemned *Eutiches*. For as *Neſtorius* teaching rightly that God and man are diſtinct Natures, did thereupon miſ inferre that in Chriſt thoſe natures can by no coniunction make one perſon; ſo *Eutiches* of ſound beliefe, as touching their true perſonall copulation became vnſound, by denying the difference which ſtill continueth betweene the one and the other nature. Wee muſt therefore

a *Paſchaſ lib. de Spirit. Sanct.*

b *An. D. 431.*

c *An. D. 451.*

keepe warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons wherein *Nestorius* went awry, and also this later confusion of natures which deceiued *Eutiches*. [a] These natures from the moment of their first combination haue beene and are for euer inseparable. For euen when his soule forsooke the Tabernacle of his Body, his Deity forsooke neither Body nor Soule. If it had then could we not truely hold either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise vp it selfe from the dead. For the Body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the Person of Christ; nor is it true, to say that the Son of God in raising vp that Body did rayse vp himselfe, if the Body were not both with him and of him, euen during the time it lay in the Sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the Soule, otherwise we are plainly and inenitably *Nestorians*. The very person of Christ therefore for euer one and the selfe-same, was onely touching bodily substance concluded within the Graue, his Soule onely from thence seuered, but by personall vnion, his Deitie still vnseparably ioyned with both.

a Ἀ᾽χωρίστον ὑπόστασιν τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπαθὴς.

That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neyther gaine nor losse of essentiall properties o either.

53 The sequel of which coniunction of natures in the person of Christ, is no abolishment of naturall properties appertayning to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally, no such mutuall infusion as really causeth the same naturall operations or properties to be made common vnto both substances, but whatsoeuer is naturall to Deitie, the same remayneth in Christ vncommunicated vnto his Manhood, & whatsoeuer naturall to Manhood, his Deitie thereof is vncapable. The true properties and operations of his Deitie are, to know that which is not possible for *created natures* to comprehend: to bee simply the highest cause of all things, the wel-spring of immortality & life; to haue neither end nor beginning of dayes; to be euery-where present, and inclosed no where, to be subiect to no alteration nor passion; to produce of it selfe those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Maiestie and power. The true properties and operations of his Manhood are such, as [b] *Irenæus* reckoneth vp, *If Christ* (saith hee) *had not taken flesh from the very earth, he would not haue coueted those earthly nourishments wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after trauaile, testified compassion and loue by teares, groned in heauinesse, and with extremitie of griefe euen melted away it selfe into bloudie sweates.* To Christ wee ascribe both working of Wonders and suffering of paines, wee vse concerning him, speeches as well of Humilitie as of Diuine Glory, but the one we apply vnto that nature which he tooke of the Virgin *Mary*, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagine that the properties of the weaker nature haue vanisht with the presence of the more glorious, and haue bin therein swallowed vp as in a Gulfe. We dare not in this point giue eare to them, who ouer-boldly affirme, that [c] *The nature which Christ took weak & feeble from vs by being mingled with Deity became the same which deity is, that the assumption of our substance vnto his, was like the blending of a drop of Vineger with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which seuered it hath, because sithence the instant of their coniunction, all distinction & difference of the one from the other is extinct, & whatsoeuer we can now conceiue of the Son of God, is nothing*

b Ταῦτα πάλιν σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπιλαμβάνης. Iren. lib. 3. aduers. hæres. Christ did all these, ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ. Greg. Nazian. orat. 2. de filio. τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνυμνουμένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λογῳ Theodor. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτ.

c Gregor. Nyss. Epist. ad Theophil. Alexandr.

elſe but meere deity, which words are ſo plain & direct for *Eutiches*, that I ſtand in doubt they are not his whoſe name they carry. Sure I am they are farre from truth and muſt of neceſſity giue place to the better aduiſed ſentences of other men.[a] *He which in himſelfe was poynted* (ſaith HILARIE) *a Mediator to ſaue his Church, and for performance of that myſterie of mediation betweene God and Man is become God and man, doth now being but one, conſiſt of both thoſe natures vnited, neither hath he through the vnion of both incurred the damage or loſſe of either, leſt by being borne a Man, we ſhould thinke he hath giuen ouer to be God, or that becauſe he continued God, therefore he cannot be Man alſo, whereas the true beliefe which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth ioyntly God and Man, confeſſeth the word and fleſh together.* CYRIL more plainely, [b] *His two natures haue knit themſelues the one to the other, and are in that neereneſſe as vncapable of confuſion as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference betweene them, Fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue fleſh, although it be now the fleſh of God.* Yea, *of each ſubſtance* (ſaith [c] LEO) *the properties are all preſerued and kept ſafe.* Theſe two natures are as cauſes & originall grounds of all things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things he doth as God, becauſe his Deitie alone is the well-ſpring from which they flow; ſome things as Man, becauſe they iſſue from his meere humane nature, ſome things ioyntly as both God and Man becauſe both natures concurre as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each *nature* do cleaue onely to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Chriſt cannot *naturally be* as God, the ſame which he *naturally* is as Man, yet both natures may very well concurre vnto *one effect*, & Chriſt in that reſpect be truely ſaid to *worke* both as God and as Man, one and the ſelfe ſame thing. Let vs therefore ſet it down for a rule or principle ſo neceſſary, as nothing more to the plaine deciding of all doubts and queſtions about the vnion of natures in Chriſt, that of both natures there is a *cooperation* often, an *aſſociation* alwayes, but neuer any mutuall *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infuſed into the other. Which rule muſt ſerue for the better vnderſtanding of that which *Damaſcene* hath touching croſſe and circulatorie ſpeeches, wherein there are attributed to God ſuch things as belong to manhood, and to Man ſuch as properly concerne the Deitie of Chriſt Ieſus, the cauſe whereof is the *aſſociation* of natures in one ſubiect. A kind of mutuall commutation there is, whereby thoſe concrete names, *God*, and *Man*, when we ſpeake of *Chriſt*, doe take interchangeably one anothers roome, ſo that for truth of ſpeech it skilleth not whether we ſay, that the Sonne of God hath created the world, and the Sonne of man by his death hath ſaued it, or elſe that the Sonne of man did create, and the Sonne of God dye to ſaue the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Man-hood of Chriſt claimeth, or to man what his Deitie hath right vnto, we vnderſtand by the name of God, and the name of Man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole perſon of Chriſt in whom both natures are. When the Apoſtle ſaith of the Iewes, that they crucified the Lord of glorie, and when the Sonne of man, being on earth, affirmeth that the Sonne of Man was in heauen at the ſame inſtant, there is in theſe two ſpeeches that mutuall circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God, or the [c] Lord of glorie, death, whereof diuine nature is not capable; in the other

[a] Hilar. de Trin. lib. 9.

[b] Cypr. Epiſt. ad Neſt.

[c] Salua proprietate vtriuſque naturæ, ſuſcepta eſt à maieſtate humilitas, à virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas, Leo. Epiſt. ad Flauia.

[d] Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων γινομένης τῆς ἑνώσεως τὰ ἴδια ἀλλήλων τῶν ὑποστάσεων ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damaſc. de Orthod. fid. lib. 3. c. 4. *Verum eſt duarum in Chriſto naturarum, alteram ſuas alteri proprietates impartire enumeiando videlicet, idque non in abſtracto ſed in concreto ſolum, diuinam homini non humanitati, humanas non Deitati ſed Deo tribui. Cuius hæc eſt ratio quia cum ſuppoſitum prædicationis ſit eiuſmodi vt vtramque naturam in ſe contineat, ſiue ab vna, ſiue ab altera de nomine tur, nihil refert.*

[e] 1 Cor. 2. 8.

other vbiquitie vnto [a] Man, which humane nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of glorie we muſt needs vnderſtand the whole perſon of Chriſt, who being Lord of glorie, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of glory. In like manner, by the Sonne of man the whole whole perſon of Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be meant, who being man vpon earth, filled heauen with his glorious preſence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is giuen him. Without this caution the fathers whoſe beliefe was ſincere and their meaning moſt ſound, ſhall ſeeme in their writings one to deny what another conſtantly doth affirme. *Theodoret* diſputeth with great earneſtneſſe, that *God* cannot be ſaid to ſuffer. But he thereby meaneth Chriſts *diuine nature* againſt [b] *Apollinarius*, which held euen Deitie it ſelfe paſſible. *Cyril.* on the other ſide againſt *Neſtorius* as much contendeth, that whoſoeuer will deny *very God* to haue ſuffered death, doth forſake the faith. Which notwithſtanding to hold, were hereſie, if the name of God in this aſſertion did not import as it doth the perſon of Chriſt, who being verily God ſuffered death, but in the fleſh, and not in that ſubſtance for which the name of God is giuen him.

a *Iohn.* 3. 13.

b Ἀντιλῶ τῷ υἱῷ κατασκευάζοντι τὸν θάνατον. Greg. Nyſſ. de ſectator. *Apollinar. Epiſt. ad Flauia.*

What Chriſt hath obtained according to the fleſh by the vnion of his fleſh with Deitie.

54 If then both natures doe remaine with their properties in Chriſt thus diſtinct as hath beene ſhewed, we are for our better vnderſtanding what either nature receiueth from other, to note, that Chriſt is by three degrees a receiuer, firſt, in that he is the Sonne of God: ſecondly, in that his humane nature hath had the honour of vnion with Deitie beſtowed vpon it: thirdly, in that by meanes thereof ſundrie eminent graces haue flowed as effects from Deitie into that nature which is coupled with it. On Chriſt therefore there is beſtowed the gift of eternall generation, the gift of vnion, and the gift of vnction. By the gift of eternall Generation Chriſt hath receiued of the Father one and in number the [c] ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance, which the Father hath of himſelfe receiued from any other. For euery [d] *beginning is a Father* vnto that which commeth of it; and euery *off-ſpring is a Sonne* vnto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [e] originally that Deitie which Chriſt [f] originally is not (for Chriſt is God [g] by being of God, light [h] by iſſuing out of light) it followeth hereupon, that whatſoeuer Chriſt hath [i] common vnto him with his heauenly Father, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be *giuen* him, but naturally and [k] eternally giuen, not beſtowed by way of beneuolence and fauour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [l] where the Fathers giue it out for a rule, that whatſoeuer Chriſt is ſaid in Scripture to haue

c *Natiuitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt tenere naturam. Neq; enim aliud quàm Deus ſubſiſtit, qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit,* Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 5. *Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate hoc quod pater eſt, omnia tamen hæc non ſine auctore ſicut pater, ſed ex patre tanquam filius ſine initio & æqualis habet.* Ruffin. in Symb. Apoſt. cap. 9. *Filium aliunde non deduco, ſed de ſubſtantia patris omnem à patre conſecutum poteſtatem,* Tertull. Contra. Prax. d *Epheſ.* 1. 15 πᾶσα πατρία, *quicquid alteri quomodo dat eſſe.* e *Iac.* 1. 17. *Pater luminum* ὑ ἐν τῷ χ ἀποσκίασμα ἔνι ἀλλοίωσις ἢ τροπῆς ἀποκύησις, Pachym. in Dionyſ. de Cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. *Pater eſt principium totius diuinitatis quia ipſa à nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat, ſed ab eo & filius eſt genitus, & Spiritus ſanctus procedit,* Aug. de Trin. l. 4. c. 20 *Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen vbi & patris vſurpat; quia pater nimirum eſt* πηγαία θεότης. f *Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, filius vero derivatio totius & propagatio.* Tertul. contra Prax. g *Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt,* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Nihil niſi natum habet filius.* Hilar. lib. 4. h Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. *Heb.* 1. 3. Ἐστὶν ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής, ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, Sap. 7. 25. 26. i *Nihil in ſe diuerſum ac diſſimile habent natus & generans,* Hilar. de Synod. Aduerſ. Aria. *In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud,* Vincent. Lyr. ca. 19. k *Vbi author æternus eſt, ibi & natiuitatis æternitas eſt: quia ſicut natiuitas ab authore eſt, ita & ab æterno authore æterna natiuitas eſt* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12 *Sicut naturam præſtat filio ſine initio generatio: ita Spiritui ſancto præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio proceſſio,* Aug. de Trin. lib. 5 cap. 15. l Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς ἢ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, ἣν τὴν θεότητα, Theodoret. fol. 42. & ex Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 2. de fil. *ibid.* 44.

haue *receiued*, the ſame we ought to apply onely to the Man-hood of Chriſt: their Aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath receiued *by grace*, but to that which he hath receiued of the Father by eternall natiuitie or birth, it reacheth not. Touching vnion of Deitie with Man-hood, it is by grace becauſe there can be no greater grace ſhewed towards man, then that God ſhould vouchſafe to vnite to mans nature the Perſon of his onely begotten Sonne. Becauſe the Father[a] loueth the Sonne as Man, he hath by vniting Deitie with Man-hood, *giuen* all things into his hands. It hath[b] *pleaſed* the Father that in him all fulneſſe ſhould dwell. The name which he hath aboue all names is[c] *giuen* him. As the father hath life in himſelfe, the Sonne in himſelfe hath life alſo by the[d] *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a Fountaine of life, is, that[e] *coniunction of the nature of God with the nature of Man*, in the perſon of Chriſt, [f] *which gift* (ſaith Chriſt to the Woman of Samaria) if thou didſt know, and in *that reſpect* vnderſtand *who it is*, which asketh water of thee, thou wouldeſt aske of him, that he might giue thee liuing Water. The Vnion therefore of the Fleſh with Deitie, is to *that fleſh* a gift of principall grace and fauour. For by vertue of this grace, Man is really made God, a creature is exalted aboue the dignitie of all creatures, and hath all creatures elſe vnder it. This admirable vnion of God with Man, can inforce in that higher nature [g] no alteration, becauſe vnto God there is nothing more naturall then not to bee ſubiect to any change. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, that the Word being made fleſh, ſhould be that which it was not before, as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the ſame it was, becauſe the Incarnation of the Sonne of God conſiſteth *meerely in the vnion* of Natures, which vnion doth adde perfection to the Weaker, to the Nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the perſon of the Sonne of God hath attayned by aſſuming Man-hood, ſurely, the whole ſumme of all is this, to be as wee are truely, really, and naturally man, by meanes whereof he is made capable of meaner offices, then otherwiſe his perſon could haue admitted, the onely gaine he thereby purchaſed for himſelfe, was to be capable of loſſe and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly beſaid concerning the Incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt, that as our nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as litle alteration hath inſued? The very cauſe of his taking vpon him our nature, was to change it, to better the qualitie, and to aduance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the ſubſtance which hee tooke, nor to infuſe into it the naturall forces and properties of his Deitie. As therefore we haue ſhewed how the Sonne of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that perſonall ſubſiſtence which before was ſolitarie, and is now in the aſſociation of fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; ſo neither are the *properties of mans nature*, in the perſon of Chriſt, by force and vertue of the ſame coniunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limits which our ſubſtance is bordered withall; nor the *ſtate and quality* of our ſubſtance ſo vnaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo neere copulation with Deitie. God from vs can receiue nothing, we by him

a *Iohn.3.35.*
b *Epheſ.1.5.*
c *Phil.2.9.*
d *Iohn 5.26.*
e *1.Iohn.5.10.* Hic eſt verus Deus, & vita æterna.
f *Iohn 4.10.*
g ὡς σωμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν ἐστὶ τὸ δυνητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἀτρεπτον τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, Theod. Dial. 4. Ἄτρεπτος. *Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt*, Tertul. de car. Chr. *Maieſtatis filij Dei corporea natiuitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit*, Leo de Natiui. Ser. 8. Μένει ὁ, λῶ ἀπαρχῆς, θεὸς μένειν, τὰ ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὑπάρξειν, Theophil. *Informam ſerui tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei*, Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12.

him haue obtained much. For albeit the naturall properties of Deitie bee not communicable to mans nature, the supernaturall gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Sonne of God, is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common vnto vs with him, the glory prouided for him and his in the Kingdome of heauen, his Right and Title thereunto euen in that he is man, differeth from other mens, becausse he is that man of whom God is himselfe a part. Wee haue right to the same inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath, his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoope vnto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisedome, Righteousnesse, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heire of all things; to be that supreme Head whereunto all power both in heauen and in earth is giuen; these are not honours common vnto Christ with other men, they are Titles aboue the dignitie and worth of any which were but a meere man, yet true of Christ euen in that he is man, But man with whom Deitie is personally ioyned, and vnto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more then worthy thereof. Finally, sith God hath defied our nature, though not by turning it into himselfe, yet by making it his owne inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceiue how God should without man either [a] exercise diuine power, or receiue the glorie of diuine praise. For Man is in [b] both an associate of Deitie. But to come to the grace of *vnction*, did the parts of our nature the Soule and Bodie of Christ receiue by the influence of Deitie, where-with they were matcht, no abilitie of operation, no vertue or qualitie aboue nature? Surely, as the sword which is made fierie, doth not onely cut by reason of the sharpnesse which simply it hath, but also burne by meanes of that heate which it hath from fire; so there is no doubt, but the Deitie of Christ hath enabled that nature which it tooke of man, to doe more then man in this world hath power to comprehend, for as much as (the bare essentiall properties of Deitie excepted) he hath imparted vnto it all things, he hath repleniſht it with all such perfections as the same is any way apt to receiue, [c] at the least, according to the exigence of that œconomie or seruice, for which it pleased him in loue and mercie to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mysticall administration did require, which he voluntarily vndertooke, the beames of Deitie did in operation alwayes accordingly either [d] restraine or inlarge themselues. From hence we may somewhat coniecture, how the powers of that Soule are illuminated which being so inward vnto God, cannot choose but be priuie vnto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessitie be indued with knowledg so far forth [e] vniuersall, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deitie it selfe. The Soule of Christ that saw in this life the face of God, was here, through so visible presence of Deitie, filled with all manner [f] graces and vertues in that vnmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him we reade it written, that God with the Oile of gladnesse anoynted [g] him [h] aboue his [i] fellowes. And as God hath in Christ vnspeakeably glorified the Nobler, so

a Μετεχειν ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. Theod.

b ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων ἡ τις ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος διὸ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὐτὴ τὸν ἐνοδέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν υἱὸς διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Gregor. Nyss. Apud Theod.

Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκαθάρισεν ἑαυτὸν πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, Chry. in Psal 41.

c Luc. 2. 47.

d Ἡσυχάζουσα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σαυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγγινομένη δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ γινώσκειν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρησίμως ἔχειν καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι Theodoret. & Iren. lib. 2. aduers. hæres.

Matth. 27. 46.

e Col. 2. 3.

f Isa. 11. 2.

g Isa. 11. 2. Luc. 4. 18. Acts 4. 27.

h Heb. 1. 9.

i 2. Cor. 1. 21. 1. Ioh. 2. 20, 27.

like-

likewiſe the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily ſubſtance of man. Where alſo that muſt againe be remembred which we noted before, concerning degrees of the influence of Deitie proportionable vnto his owne purpoſes, intents and counſels. For in this reſpect his bodie which by naturall condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of euerlaſting immunitie from death, paſſion, and diſſolution, till God which gaue it to be ſlaine for ſinne, had for righteouſneſſe ſake reſtored it to life with certainty of endleſſe continuance. Yea, in this reſpect the very glorified Body of Chriſt retayned in it [a] the skars and markes of former mortality. But ſhall wee ſay, that in heauen his glorious Body by vertue of the ſame cauſe, hath now power to preſent it ſelfe in all places, and to be euery-where at once preſent? We nothing doubt, but God hath many wayes aboue the reach of our capacities exalted that Body which it hath pleaſed him to make his owne, that Body wherewith he hath ſaued the world, that Body which hath beene and is the roote of eternall Life, the Inſtrument wherewith Deitie worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away ſinne, the Price which hath ranſomed Soules from death, the Leader of the whole Army of bodies that ſhall riſe againe. For though it had a beginning from vs, yet God hath giuen it vitall efficacie, Heauen hath indowed it with celeſtiall power, that vertue it hath from aboue, in regard whereof all the Angels of heauen adore it. Notwithſtanding, [b] a Body ſtill it continueth, a Body conſubſtantiall with our bodies, a Body of the ſame both nature and meaſure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one ſumme all that hitherto hath beene ſpoken touching this poynt, there are but foure things which concurre to make complete the whole ſtate of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; his Deitie, his Manhood, the coniunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being ioyned in one. Foure principall Hereſies there are which haue in thoſe things withſtood the truth; *Arrians*, by bending themſelues againſt the Deity of Chriſt; *Apollinarians*, by mayming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his humane nature; *Neſtorians*, by renting Chriſt aſunder, and diuiding him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutiches*, by confounding in his perſon thoſe natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there haue beene foure moſt famous ancient generall Councels, the Councell of *Nice* to define againſt *Arrians*, againſt *Apollinarians* the Councell of *Conſtantinople*, the Councell of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*, againſt *Eutichians*, the *Calcedon* Councell. In foure words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truely*, *perfectly*, *indiuiſibly*, *diſtinctly*, the firſt applied to his being God, and the ſecond to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his ſtill continuing in that One both, wee may fully by way of abridgement comprize whatſoeuer antiquitie hath at large handled, either in declaration of Chriſtian beliefe, or in refutation of the foreſaid Hereſies. Within the compaſſe of which foure heads, I may truly affirme, that all Hereſies which touch but the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, whether they haue riſen in theſe later dayes, or in any Age heretofore, may be with great facilitie brought to confine themſelues. Wee conclude therefore, that to ſaue the World, it was of neceſſitie the Sonne of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt as hath beene declared.

[a] *Iohn* 20. 27.

[b] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν σῶμα μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μέτον, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον περιγραφήν. Theod. fol. 80.

Of the personall presence of Christ euery where, and in what sense it may be granted he is euery where present according to the flesh.

55 Hauing thus farre proceeded in speech concerning the person of Iesus Christ, his two natures, their coniunction, that which he either is or doth in respect of both, and that which the one receiueth from the other; sith God in Christ is generally the medicine, which doth cure the world, and Christ in vs is that receipt of the same medicine, whereby we are euery one particularly cured, In as much as Christs Incarnation and Passion can be auaileable to no mans good which is not made partaker of Christ, neither can wee participate him without his presence, wee are briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end it may thereby better appeare how we are made partakers of Christ both otherwise and in the Sacraments themselues. All things are in such sort diuided into finite and infinite, that no one substance, nature, or qualitie, can be possibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are stinted, all effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they worke, whatsoeuer they doe, whatsoeuer they may, and whatsoeuer they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and also the preseruation thereof. Measure is that which perfecteth all things, because euery thing is for some end, neither can that thing be auaileable to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well excesses as defects, are opposite. Againe, for as much as nothing doth perish but onely through excesse or defect of that, the due proportioned measure whereof doth giue perfection, it followeth that measure is likewise the preseruation of all things. Out of which premises we may conclude, not only that nothing created can possibly be vnlimited, or can receiue any such accident, qualitie, or propertie, as may really make it infinite (for then should it cease to be a creature) but also that euery creatures limitation is according to his owne kinde, and therefore as oft as wee note in them any thing aboue their kind, it argueth that the same is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cause more powerfull then they are. Such as the substance of each thing is, such is also the presence thereof. Impossible it is that [a] God should withdraw his presence from any thing, because the very substance of God is infinite. Hee filleth Heauen and Earth, although hee take vp no roome in either, because his substance is immateriall, pure, and of vs in this World so incomprehensible, that albeit [b] no part of vs be euer absent from him, who is present whole vnto euery particular thing, yet his presence with vs wee no way discerne further then onely that God is present, which partly by reason, and more perfectly by Faith wee know to be firme and certaine. Seeing therefore that presence euery where is the sequell of an infinite and incomprehensible substance, (for what can bee euery where, but that which can no where be comprehended?) to inquire whether Christ be euery where, is to inquire of a naturall propertie, a propertie that cleaueth to the Deitie of Christ. Which Deity being common vnto him with none, but only the Father and the Holy Ghost, it followeth that nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the Soule nor the Body of Christ, and consequently, not Christ as man, or Christ according to his humane nature, can possibly be euery where present, because those phrases of limitation and restraint doe either point out the principall subiect whereunto euery such attribute adhereth,

[a] *Psal.* 139 7,8. *Ier.* 23.24.

[b] *Ideo Deus vbique esse dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum absens est; ideo totus quia non parti rerum partem sui præsentem præbet, & alteri parti, alteram partem, sed non solum vniuersitati creaturæ, verumetiam cuilibet parti eius totus pariter adest*, Aug. Epist. 57.

or

or elſe they intimate the radicall cauſe out of which it groweth. For Example, when wee ſay that Chriſt as man, or according to his humane nature ſuffered death, we ſhew what nature was the proper ſubiect of mortalitie; when wee ſay that as God, or according to his Deitie he conquered death, wee declare his Deitie to haue beene the cauſe, by force and vertue whereof hee raiſed himſelfe from the Graue. But neither is the Manhood of Chriſt that ſubiect whereunto vniuerſall preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe originall by force whereof his Perſon is inabled to be euery where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentially preſent with all things, in that hee is very God, but not preſent with all things as man, becauſe Manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cauſe nor the true ſubiect of ſuch preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more plainely to ſhew a true immediate reaſon wherefore the Manhood of Chriſt can neither be euery where preſent, nor cauſe the perſon of Chriſt ſo to be, we acknowledge that of Saint *Auguſtine* concerning Chriſt moſt true, [a] *In that he is perſonally the Word, he created all things, in that he is naturally man, hee himſelfe is created of God*, and it doth not appeare that any one creature hath power to be preſent with all creatures. Whereupon, neuertheleſſe it will not follow that Chriſt cannot therefore be thus preſent, becauſe hee is himſelfe a creature, for as much as onely infinite preſence is that which cannot poſſibly ſtand with the eſſence or being of any creature, as for preſence with all things that are, ſith the whole race, maſſe, and body of them is finite, Chriſt by being a *creature*, is not *in that reſpect* excluded from poſſibilitie of preſence with them. That which excludeth him therefore as man from ſo great largenes of preſence, is only his being *man*, a creature *of this particular kind*, whereunto the God of Nature hath ſet thoſe bounds of reſtraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute vnto it any thing more then a creature *of that ſort* can admit, were to giue it another nature, to make it a creature of ſome other kind then in truth it is. Furthermore if Chriſt in that he is man be euery where preſent, ſeeing this commeth not by the nature of Manhood it ſelfe, there is no other way how it ſhould grow but either by the grace of vnion with Deitie, or by the grace of vnction receiued from Deitie. It hath beene already ſufficiently proued, that by force of vnion the properties of both natures are imparted *to the perſon onely* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conueyed or tranſlated into the other; it hath beene likewiſe proued, that natures vnited in Chriſt continue the very ſame which they are where they are not vnited. And concerning the grace of vnction, wherein are contained the gifts and vertues which Chriſt as man hath aboue men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent then wee are, they take not from him the nature and ſubſtance that wee haue, they cauſe not his ſoule nor bodie to bee of another kind then ours is. Supernaturall endowments are an aduancement, they are no extinguiſhment of that nature whereto they are giuen. The ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt hath no preſence, neither can haue but onely locall. It was not therefore euery where ſeene, nor did it euery where ſuffer death, euery where it could not be intombed, it is not euery where now being exalted into Heauen. There is no proofe in the World ſtrong to inforce that Chriſt had a true bodie, but by the true and naturall properties of his bodie. Amongſt which proper-

[a] *Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt; quod ad hominem, creatura eſt*, Aug. Epiſt. 57. *Deus qui ſemper eſt & ſemper erat, fit creatura.* Leo de Natiu. *Multi timore trepidant ne Chriſtum eſſe creaturam dicere complectantur, nos proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere Chriſtum eſſe creaturam.* Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ. 2.

ties definite or locall preſence is chiefe, [a] *How is it true of Chriſt* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that he dyed, was buried, and roſe againe, if Chriſt had not that very fleſh, the nature whereof is capable of theſe things, fleſh mingled with bloud, ſupported with bones, wouen with ſinewes, imbroidered with veines?* If his maieſticall body haue now any ſuch new propertie, by force whereof it may euery-where really euen *in ſubſtance* preſent it ſelfe, or may at once be in many places, then hath the Maieſtie of his eſtate extinguiſhed the veritie of his nature. [b] *Make thou no doubt or queſtion of it* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *but that the man Chriſt Ieſus is now in that very place from whence he ſhall come in the ſame forme and ſubſtance of fleſh, which hee carryed thither and from which he hath not taken nature, but giuen thereunto immortality. According to this forme he ſpreadeth not out himſelfe into all places. For it behoueth vs to take great heed, leſt while we goe about to maintaine the glorious Deity of him which is man, wee leaue him not the true bodily ſubſtance of a man.* According to S. *Auguſtines* opinion therefore that Maieſticall body which we make to be euery-where preſent, doth thereby ceaſe to haue the ſubſtance of a true bodie. To conclude, we hold it in regard of the fore-alleadged proofes a moſt infallible Truth, that Chriſt as man is not euery where-preſent. There are which thinke it as infallibly true, that Chriſt is euery-where preſent as man, which peraduenture in ſome ſenſe may be well enough granted. His humane ſubſtance in it ſelfe is naturally abſent from the earth, his ſoule and body not on earth, but in heauen onely. Yet becauſe this ſubſtance is inſeparably ioyned to that perſonall word which by his very diuine eſſence is preſent with al things, the nature which cannot haue in it ſelf vniuerſal preſence, hath it *after a ſort* by being *no where ſeuered* from that which euery-where is preſent. For in as much as that infinite word is not diuiſible into parts, it could not in part, but muſt needs be wholy incarnate, and conſequently whereſoeuer the word is, it hath with it Manhood, elſe ſhould the word be in part or ſomewhere God only, and not man, which is impoſſible. For the *perſon of Chriſt is whole*, perfect God and perfect man whereſoeuer, although the parts of his Man-hood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot ſay that the *whole of Chriſt* is ſimply euery where, as we may ſay that his Deity is, & that his perſon is by force of Deity. For *ſomwhat of the perſon* of Chriſt is not euery where in that ſort, namely his manhood the *onely coniunction* whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual *poſition* reſtrayned and tyed to a certaine place, yet preſence *by way of coniunction* is in ſome ſort preſence. Againe, as the manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort bee euery-where ſaid to bee preſent, becauſe that Perſon is euery-where preſent, from whoſe diuine ſubſtance Manhood no where is ſeuered: ſo the ſame Vniuerſality of preſence may likewiſe ſeeme in another reſpect applyable thereunto, namely, by *cooperation* with Deity, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did firſt by it ſelfe illuminate the World, but after that the Sunne and Moon were created, the World ſithence hath *by them* alwayes enioyed the ſame. And that Deity of Chriſt which before our Lords incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it or idle. Chriſt as man hath [c] all power both in Heauen and Earth giuen him. He hath as man, not as God only, [d] ſupreme dominion ouer quicke and dead, for ſo much his aſcenſion into

a *Tertul. de car. Chriſt.*

b *Aug. Epiſt. 57*

c *Mat. 28.*

d *Rom. 14. 9.*

into Heauen and his ſeſſion at the right hand of God do import. The Sonne of God which did firſt humble himſelfe by taking our fleſh vpon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the fleſh obedient ſo farre as to ſuffer death euen the death of the Croſſe for all men, becauſe ſuch was his Fathers will. The former was an humiliation of Deitie, the later an humiliation of Manhood, [a] for which cauſe there followed vpon the later an exaltation of that which was humbled, for with power he created the World, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his Manhood he had glorified God on Earth, ſo God hath glorified in Heauen that nature which yeelded him obedience, and hath giuen vnto Chriſt euen in that hee is man ſuch fulneſſe of power ouer the whole World, that he which before fulfilled in the ſtate of humilitie and patience whatſoeuer God did require, doth now [b] raigne in glorie till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came downe from Heauen, and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the Earth, is aſcended farre aboue all Heauens, that ſitting at the right hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with the gracious & happy fruits of his ſauing preſence. Aſcenſion into Heauen, is a plaine locall tranſlation of Chriſt according to his Manhood from the lower to the higher parts of the World. Seſſion at the right hand of God, is the actuall exerciſe of that Regencie and Dominion wherein the Manhood of Chriſt is ioyned and matched with the Deity of the Sonne of God. Not that his Manhood was before without the poſſeſſion of the ſame power, but becauſe the full vſe thereof was ſuſpended, till that humilitie which had bin before as a vaile to hide and conceale maieſtie were laid aſide. [c] After his riſing againe from the dead then did God ſet him at his right hand in heauenly places farre aboue all principalitie and power, and might, and domination, and euery name that is named not in this World only but alſo in that which is to come, & hath [d] put all things vnder his feet, & hath appointed him ouer all the head to the Church which is his bodie, the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all. The [e] ſcepter of which ſpirituall Regiment ouer vs in this preſent World is at the length to be yeelded vp into the hands of the Father which gaue it, that is to ſay, the vſe and exerciſe thereof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on Earth any Militant Church to gouerne. This gouernment therefore he exerciſeth both as God and as man; as God by eſſentiall preſence with all things; as man, by cooperation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how hee worketh as man in all things, the principall powers of the ſoule of man are the will and vnderſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth vnto all things, & from the other nothing which Deitie doth worke is hid, ſo that by knowledge and aſſent the ſoule of Chriſt is preſent with all things which the Deity of Chriſt worketh. And euen the bodie of Chriſt it ſelfe, although the definite limitation thereof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kind of infinite and vnlimited preſence likewiſe. For his bodie being a part of that nature, which whole nature is preſently ioyned vnto deitie where ſoeuer deitie is, it followeth that his bodily ſubſtance hath euery where a preſence of true coniunction with Deitie. And for as much as it is by vertue of that coniunction made the bodie of the Sonne of God, by whom alſo it was made a Sacrifice for the ſinnes of the whole world, this giueth it a *preſence of force and efficacie* throughout al generations of

[a] *Phil.2.9. Heb.2.9. Reuel.5.12.*

[b] *Luke 21.27. Act.3.21. Epheſ.4.9.*

[c] *Epheſ.1.20.*

[d] *Pſal 8.6. Heb.2.8.*

[e] *1.Cor.15.*

men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actually* infinite *in ſubſtance*, but God onely in that he is God, neuertheleſſe as euery number is infinite by poſſibility of addition, and euery line by poſſibilitie of extenſion infinite, ſo there is no ſtint which can be ſet to the value or merit of the ſacrificed Body of Chriſt, it hath no meaſured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacie vnto life it knoweth none, but is alſo it ſelfe infinite in *poſſibilitie of application*. Which things indifferently euery way conſidered, that gracious promiſe of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt concerning preſence with his to the very end of the World, I ſee no cauſe but that we may well and ſafely interpret hee doth performe both as God by eſſentiall preſence of Deitie, and as man in that order, ſenſe and meaning which hath beene ſhewed.

The vnion or mutuall participation which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt in this preſent world.

56 We haue hitherto ſpoken of the perſon and of the preſence of Chriſt. Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Chriſt hath of vs, and wee of him, in ſuch ſort that each poſſeſſeth other by way of ſpeciall intereſt, propertie and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, wee may from that which hath beene before ſufficiently proued, aſſume to our purpoſe theſe two Principles, that *euery originall cauſe impartеth it ſelfe vnto thoſe things which come of it, and whatſoeuer taketh being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which giueth it being*. It followeth hereupon, that the Sonne of God being light of light, muſt needs be alſo light [a] in light. The perſons of the Godhead, by reaſon of the vnitie of their ſubſtance, doe as neceſſarily remayne one within another, as they are of neceſſitie to be diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe two are the iſſue of one, and one the of-ſpring of the other two, onely of three one not growing out of any other. And ſith they all are but one God in number, one indiuiſible Eſſence or ſubſtance, their diſtinction cannot poſſibly admit Separation. For how ſhould that ſubſiſt *ſolitarily* by it ſelfe which hath no ſubſtance, but *indiuidually* the very ſame whereby others ſubſiſt with it; ſeeing that the Multiplication of ſubſtances *in particular* is neceſſarily required to make thoſe things ſubſiſt a-part, which haue the ſelfe-ſame generall Nature, and the perſons of that Trinitie are not three particular ſubſtances to whom one *generall* Nature is common, but three that ſubſiſt by one ſubſtance, *which it ſelfe is particular*, yet they all three haue it, and their ſeuerall wayes of hauing it are that which maketh their perſonall diſtinction? The Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers firſt Of-ſpring which is the Sonne, remayneth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally alſo in the Sonne, no way ſeuered or diuided by reaſon of the ſole and ſingle vnitie of their ſubſtance. The Sonne in the Father as light in that light, out of which it floweth without ſeparation; the Father in the Sonne as light in that light which it cauſeth and leaueth not. And becauſe in this reſpect his eternall being is of the Father, which eternall being is his life, therefore hee by the Father liueth. Againe, ſith all things doe accordingly loue their Of-ſpring as themſelues are more or leſſe contained in it, he which is thus the onely begotten, muſt needs bee in this degree the onely Beloued of the Father. Hee therefore which is in the Father by eternall deriuation of being and life from him, muſt needes

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[a] In the boſome of the Father. *Iob.* 1. 18. *Ecce dico alium eſſe patrem, & alium filium; non diuiſione alium, ſed diſtinctione.* Tertul. contra Prax. *Nec in numerum pluralem deſinit incorporea generatio nec in diuiſionem cadit, vbi qui naſcitur nequaquam à generante ſeparatur.* Ruffin. in Symbol.

be in him through an eternall affection of loue. His Incarnation causeth him also as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that hee is man, hee receiueth Life from the Father as from the Fountaine of that euer-liuing Deitie, which in the person of the Word hath combined it selfe with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life as to no other Creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration likewise the [a] loue of the Father towards him is more then it can bee towards any other, neither can any attaine vnto that perfection of loue which he beareth towards his heauenly Father. Wherefore God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ, whether wee consider him as the personall Word of God, or as the naturall Sonne of man. All other things that are of God haue God in them and he them in himselfe likewise. Yet because their substance and his wholy differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongst themselues is in no sort like vnto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very Essence of all things, without which influence of Deitie supporting them, their vtter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things haue both receiued their first being and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his Off-spring, his influence is in them, and the personall Wisedome of God is for that very cause said to excell in nimblenesse or agilitie, to [b] pierce into all intellectuall, pure and subtile spirits, to goe through all, and to reach vnto euery thing which is. Otherwise, how should the same Wisedome be that which supporteth, [c] beareth vp, and sustaineth all? Whatsoeuer God doth worke, the hands of all three Persons are ioyntly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion*, whereby they each depend vpon other. And therefore albeit in that respect the Father bee first, the Sonne next, the Spirit last, and consequently neerest vnto euery effect which groweth from all three, neuertheless, they all being of one essence, are likewise all of one efficacie. Dare any man, vnlesse hee be ignorant altogether how inseparable the Persons of the Trinitie are, perswade himselfe that euery of them may haue their sole and seuerall Possessions, or that [d] wee being not partakers of all, can haue fellowship with any one? The Father as Goodnesse, the Sonne as Wisedome, the Holy Ghost as Power, doe all concurre in euery particular, outwardly issuing from that one onely glorious Deitie which they all are. For that which moueth God to worke is Goodnesse, and that which ordereth his Worke is Wisedome, and that which perfecteth his Worke is Power. All things which God in their times and seasons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a worke vnbegun is in the Artificer which afterward bringeth it vnto effect. Therefore whatsoeuer wee doe behold now in this present World, it was inwrapped within the bowels of diuine Mercie, written in the Booke of eternall Wisedome, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power, the first foundations of the World being as yet vnlaid. So that all things which God hath made are in that respect the [e] Off-spring of God, they are in him as effects in their highest cause, he likewise actually is in them, the assistance and influence of his Deitie is their life. Let hereunto sauing efficacie bee added, and it bringeth forth a speciall

a *Luke* 3.22. *John* 3.34,35. 5.20.10.17. 14.31.15.10.

b *Sap.* 7.23.

c *Heb.* 1.3.

d *Iohn* 14.23.

e *Act.* 17.28,29 *Iohn* 1 4.1.10. *Isay* 40.26.

ciall of-ſpring amongſt men, containing them to whom God hath himſelfe giuen the gracious and amiable name of [a] Sonnes. Wee are by nature the Sonnes of *Adam*. When God created *Adam* hee created vs, and as many as are deſcended from *Adam*, haue in themſelues the Roote out of which they ſpring. The Sonnes of God wee neither are all nor any one of vs otherwiſe then onely by grace and fauour. The Sonnes of God haue Gods owne naturall Sonne as a [b] ſecond *Adam* from Heauen, whoſe Race and Progenie they are by Spirituall and Heauenly Birth. God therefore louing eternally his Sonne, hee muſt needs eternally [c] in him haue loued and preferred before all others them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſprung out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Sauiour, and not as in their Creator onely. It was the purpoſe of his *ſauing* Goodnes, his *ſauing* Wiſdome, and his *ſauing* Power which inclined it ſelfe towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, haue by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the Artificer is in the Worke which his hand doth preſently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and commeth not to vs but [d] by the Sonne, nor by the Sonne to any of vs in particular but * through the Spirit. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of Corinth [e] the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt. Which three Saint *Peter* comprehendeth in one, [f] the *participation of diuine Nature*. Wee are therefore in God through Chriſt eternally according to that intent and purpoſe, whereby wee were choſen to be made his in this preſent World before the World it ſelfe was made, wee are in God through the knowledge which is had of vs, and the loue which is borne towardes vs from euerlaſting. But in God wee actually are no longer then onely from the time of our actuall Adoption into the bodie of his true Church, into the fellowſhip of his Children. For his Church hee knoweth and loueth, ſo that they which are in the Church, are thereby knowne to be in him. Our being in Chriſt by Eternall fore-knowledge, ſaueth vs not without our actuall and reall Adoption into the fellowſhip of his Saints in this preſent World. For in him we actually are by our actuall [g] incorporation into that ſocietie which hath him for their head; and doth make together with him one bodie, (hee and they in that reſpect hauing [h] one name) for which cauſe by vertue of this Myſticall coniunction, wee are of him and in him, euen [i] as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould bee made continuate with his. Wee are in Chriſt, becauſe hee [k] knoweth and loueth vs euen as parts of himſelfe. No man actually is in him but they [l] in whom he actually is. For he which hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life: [m] I am the Vine, and you are the branches: Hee which abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much Fruit, but the branch ſeuered from the Vine withereth. We are therefore adopted Sonnes of God to Eternall Life by participation of the onely begotten Sonne of God, whoſe Life is in the [n] Wel-ſpring and cauſe of ours. It is too cold an interpretation, whereby ſome men expound our being in Chriſt to import nothing elſe, but onely that the ſelfe-ſame Nature which maketh vs to bee men, is in him, and maketh him man as wee are.

a 1. *Iohn* 3.1.
b 1. *Cor.* 15.47.
c *Epheſ.* 1.3,4.
d 1. *Iohn* 5.11.
* *Rom.* 8.10.
e 2 *Cor.* 13.13.
f 2. *Pet.* 1.4.
g *Col.* 2.10.
h 1. *Cor.* 12.12.
i *Epheſ.* 5.30.
k *Iohn* 15.9.
l 1. *Iohn* 5.12.
m *Iohn* 15.5,6.
n *Iohn* 14.19. *Epheſ.* 5.23.

For

For what man in the World is there which hath not ſo farre-forth communion with Ieſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtaine the weight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeake of the myſterie of our [a] coherence with Ieſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt as *Eue* was in *Adam*. Yea by grace wee are euerie of vs in Chriſt and in his Church, as by nature we are in thoſe our firſt Parents. God made *Eue* of the rib of *Adam*. And his Church hee frameth out of the very fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Sonne of man. His bodie crucified and his bloud ſhed for the life of the World, are the true Elements of that heauenly being, which maketh vs [b] ſuch as himſelfe is of whom wee come. For which cauſe the words of *Adam* may be fitly the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bones*, a true natiue extract out of mine owne bodie. So that in him euen according to his Manhood, wee according to our heauenly being are as branches in that root out of which they grow. To [c] all things hee is life, and to men light *as the Sonne of God*; to the Church both life and light, [d] eternall by being made the Sonne of man for vs, and by being in vs a Sauiour, whether wee reſpect him as God, or as man. *Adam* is in vs as an originall cauſe of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which cauſeth death, Chriſt as the [e] cauſe originall of reſtauration to life; The perſon of *Adam* is not in vs but his nature, and the corruption of his nature deriued into all men by propagation, Chriſt hauing *Adams* nature as wee haue, but incorrupt, deriueth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his owne perſon into all that belong vnto him. As therefore wee are really partakers of the bodie of ſinne and death receiued from *Adam*; ſo except wee bee truely partakers of Chriſt, and as really poſſeſſed of his Spirit, all we ſpeake of eternall life is but a dreame. That which [f] quickneth vs, is the Spirit of the ſecond *Adam*, and his fleſh that wherewith hee quickeneth. That which in him made our nature vncorrupt, was the vnion of his Deitie with our nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of death and condemnation, which onely taketh hold vpon ſinfull fleſh, could no way poſſibly extend vnto him. This cauſed his voluntary death for others to preuaile with God, and to haue the force of an expiatory Sacrifice. The bloud of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, doth therefore take away ſinne, becauſe [g] *through the eternall Spirit hee offered himſelfe vnto God without ſpot*. That which ſanctified our nature in Chriſt, that which made it a ſacrifice auailable to take away ſinne, is the ſame which quickeneth it, raiſed it out of the graue after death, and exalted it vnto glorie. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in vs as a quickning Spirit, the firſt degree of Communion with Chriſt muſt needes conſiſt in the participation of his Spirit, which *Cyprian* in that reſpect well termeth [h] *germaniſſimam ſocietatem*, the higheſt and trueſt ſocietie that can bee betweene man and him which is both God and man in one. Theſe things [i] Saint *Cyrill* duely conſidering, reproueth their ſpeeches, which taught that onely the Deitie of Chriſt is the Vine whereupon we by faith doe depend as branches, and that neither his fleſh nor our bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any man doubt but that euen from the fleſh of Chriſt our verie bodies doe receiue that life which ſhall make them glorious at the latter

a *Iohn* 14.20. *Iohn* 15.4.

b 1.*Cor.*15.48.

c *Iohn* 1.

d *Iohn* 6.55.

e *Heb.*5.9.

f 1.*Cor.*15.45. 22.

g *Heb.*9.14.

h *Cypr. de cœna Dom. cap.*6.

i *Cyril in Iohn lib.*10.*cap.*13.

latter day, and for which they are already accounted parts of his blessed body? Our corruptible bodies could neuer liue the life they shall liue, were it not that here they are ioyned with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortalitie, a cause by remouing through the death and merit of his owne flesh that which hindered the life ours. Christ is therefore both as God and as Man, that true Vine whereof we both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient [a] Fathers disclaime. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they [b] speake of, to signifie what our very bodies through mysticall coniunction receiue from that vitall efficacie which we know to be in his, & from bodily mixtures they borrow diuers [c] similitudes rather to declare the truth, then the manner of coherence betweene his sacred and the sanctified bodies of Saints. Thus much no Christian man will deny, that when Christ sanctified his owne flesh, giuing as God, and taking as man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himselfe only, but for our sakes, that the grace of sanctification and life which was first receiued in him, might passe from him to his whole race as malediction came from *Adam* vnto all mankind. Howbeit, because the worke of his Spirit to those effects is in vs preuented by sinne and death possessing vs before, it is of necessity that as well our present sanctification vnto newnesse of life, as the future restauration of our bodies should presuppose a participation of the grace, efficacie, merit or vertue of his body and bloud, without which foundation first laid there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainely himselfe by degrees. It pleaseth him in mercie to account himselfe incomplete and maimed [d] without vs. But most assured we are that wee all receiue of his fulnesse, because hee is in vs as a mouing and working cause, from which many blessed effects are really found to ensue, and that in sundry both kindes and degrees, all tending to eternall happinesse. It must be confest that of Christ, working as a creatour, and a gouernour of the world by prouidence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby he inhabiteth whom hee saueth. Againe, as hee dwelleth not by grace in all, so neither doth he equally worke in all them in whom he dwelleth. [e] *Whence is it* (saith Saint *Augustine*) *that some be holier then others are, but because God doth dwell in some more plentifully then in others*? And because the diuine substance of Christ is equally in all, his humane substance equally distant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Christ wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needes consist in such effects as being deriued from both natures of Christ really into vs, are made our owne, and wee by hauing them in vs, are truly said to haue him from whom they come, Christ also more or lesse to inhabit and impart himselfe as the graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which really flow into vs from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with euery part of the Church, as touching his person which can no way diuide it selfe,

a *Nostra quippe & ipsius coniunctio nec miscet personas nec vnit substantias, sed affectus consociat & confœderat voluntates.* Cypr. de cœn. Dom. b *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem deuenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & sanguine alitur?* Iræn. lib. 4. aduers hæres. cap. 34. c *Vnde considerandum est non solum ὁμοίωσιν seu conformitate affectionum Christum in nobis esse, verumetiam participatione naturali (id est reali & vera) quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram aly ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit vt vnum quid ex vtrisque factum videatur, sic communicatione corporis & sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est & nos in ipso.* Cyril. in Ioh. lib. 10. cap. 13.

d *Ephes.* 1. 23. *Ecclesia complementum eius qui implet omnia in omnibus.* τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

e *Aug. Epist.* 57

ſelfe, or be poſſeſt by degrees and portions. But the participation of Chriſt importeth, beſides the preſence of Chriſts perſon, and beſides the myſticall copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actuall influence of grace whereby the [a] life which we liue according to godlines is his, and from him we receiue thoſe perfections wherein our eternall happines conſiſteth. Thus we participate Chriſt partly by imputation, as when [b] thoſe things which he did and ſuffered for vs are imputed vnto vs for righteouſneſſe; partly by habituall and reall infuſion, as when grace is inwardly beſtowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our ſoules and bodies made like vnto his in glory. The firſt thing of his ſo infuſed into our hearts in this life is the [c] Spirit of Chriſt, whereupon becauſe the reſt of what kinde ſo euer doe all both neceſſarily depend and infallibly alſo inſue, therefore the Apoſtles terme it ſometime [d] the ſeed of God, ſometime the [e] pledge of our heauenly inheritance, ſometime the [f] hanſell or earneſt of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the myſticall bodie of our Sauiour Chriſt, and bee in number as the ſtarres of heauen, diuided ſucceſſiuely by reaſon of their mortall condition into many generations, are notwithſtanding coupled [g] euery one to Chriſt their head, and [h] all vnto euery particular perſon amongſt themſelues, in as much as the ſame Spirit, which anoynted the bleſſed ſoule of our Sauior Chriſt, doth ſo formalize, vnite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he & they were ſo many limmes compacted into one bodie, by being quickned all with one and the ſame ſoule. That wherein we are partakers of Ieſus Chriſt by imputation, agreeth equally vnto all that haue it. For it conſiſteth in ſuch acts and deeds of his, as could not haue longer continuance then while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong vnto any other but to him from whom they come, and therefore how men either then, or before or ſithence ſhould be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but onely by imputation. Againe a deed muſt either not be imputed to any, but reſt altogether in him whoſe it is, or if at all it be imputed they which haue it by imputation, muſt haue it ſuch as it is whole. So that degrees being neither in the perſonal preſence of Chriſt, nor in the participation of thoſe effects which are ours by imputation only, it reſteth that we wholy apply them to the participation of Chriſts infuſed grace, although euen in this kinde alſo the firſt beginning of life, the ſeede of God, the firſt fruits of Chriſts Spirit be without latitude. For we haue hereby onely the being of the Sonnes of God, in which number how farre ſoeuer one may ſeeme to excell another, yet touching this that all are ſonnes, they are all equals, ſome happily better ſonnes then the reſt are, but none any more a ſonne then another. Thus therefore we ſee how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, how both are in all things, and all in them, what communion Chriſt hath with his Church, how his Church and euery member thereof, is in him by originall deriuation, and he perſonally in them by way of myſticall aſſociation wrought through the gift of the holy Ghoſt, which they that are his receiue from him, and together with the ſame, what benefit ſoeuer the vitall force of his bodie and bloud may yeeld, yea by ſteps and degrees they receiue the complete meaſure of all ſuch diuine grace, as doth ſanctifie & ſaue throughout, till the day of their finall exaltation to a ſtate of fellowſhip in glorie with him.

a *Gal.2.16.*
b *Eſay 53.5. Epheſ.1.7.*
c *Rom.8.9. Gal.4.6.*
d *1.Iohn 3.9.*
e *Epheſ.1.14.*
f *Rom.8.23.*
g *1 Cor.12.27. Epheſ.4.15.*
h *Rom.12.5. Epheſ.4.25.*

him whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we haue of Christ includeth no such kind of grosse surmize.

The necessitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Christ.

57 It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the vse of the holy Sacraments, assigne vnto them no end but onely *to teach* the mind, by other senses, that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heauenly mysteries may follow, wee see in part by some experience had of those men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the Word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing wee haue to learne, if all the benefit wee reape by Sacraments be instruction, they which at all times haue opportunitie of vsing the better meane to that purpose, will surely hold the worse in lesse estimation. And vnto infants which are not capable of instruction, who would not think it a meere superfluitie that any Sacrament is administred, if to administer the Sacraments be but to teach receiuers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore vndoubtedly some other more excellent and heauenly vse. Sacraments, by reason of their mixt nature, are more diuersly interpreted and disputed of then any other part of Religion besides, for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfe-same thing, as euery mans wit hath taken hold of some especiall consideration aboue the rest, so they haue accordingly seemed one to crosse another as touching their seuerall opinions about the necessitie of Sacraments, whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For let respect be had to the dutie which euery communicant doth vndertake, and we may well determine concerning the vse of Sacraments, that they serue as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutuall exercise of Christian charitie, prouocations to godlinesse, preseruations from sinne, memorials of the principall benefits of Christ; respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for euer vnto the New Testament, as other Rites were before with the Old; regard the weaknes which is in vs, and they are warrants for the more securitie of our beliefe; compare the receiuers of them with such as receiue them not, and Sacraments are markes of distinction to separate Gods owne from strangers, so that in all these respects they are found to be most necessary. But their chiefest force and vertue consisteth not herein so much, as in that they are heauenly Ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordained to bee administred in his Church, first, as markes whereby to know when God doth impart the vitall or sauing grace of Christ vnto all that are capable thereof, and secondly, as meanes conditionall which God requireth in them vnto whom he imparteth grace. For sith God in himselfe is inuisible, and cannot by vs be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heauenly wisedome, that men for some speciall intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious presence, he giueth them some plaine and sensible token wherby to know what they cannot see. For *Moses* to see God and liue was impossible, yet [a] *Moses* by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present. The [b] Angell, by whom God indued the waters of the Poole called *Bethesda* with supernatural vertue to heale, was not seene of any, yet the time of the Angels presence knowne by the troubled

a *Exod.*3.2.

b *Iohn* 5.4.

troubled motions of the waters themselues. The Apostles [a] by fiery tongues which they saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was vpon them. In like manner it is with vs. Christ and his holy Spirit with all their blessed effects, though entring into the soule of man we are not able to apprehend or expresse how, do notwithstanding giue notice of the times when they vse to make their accesse, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible meanes those blessings which are incomprehensible. Seeing therfore that grace is a consequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiued from God himself the author of Sacraments, and not from any other natural or supernatural qualitie in them, it may be heereby both vnderstood that Sacraments are necessary and that the manner of their necessity to life supernaturall is not in all respects as food vnto naturall life, because they contain *in themselues* no vitall force or efficacie, they are not physicall but *morall instruments* of saluation, duties of seruice and worship, which vnlesse we performe as the author of grace requireth, they are vnprofitable. For all receiue not the grace of God which receiue the Sacraments of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to bestow the grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace also they that receiue by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receiue it from him & not from them. For of Sacraments the very same is true which *Salomons* wisdome obserueth in the brazen Serpent: [b] *He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee o Sauiour of all.* This is therefore the necessitie of Sacraments. That sauing grace which Christ originally is, or hath for the generall good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he seuerally deriueth into euery member therof Sacraments serue as the instruments of God to that end and purpose, moral instruments the vse whereof is in our hands, the effect in his; for the vse we haue his expresse commandement, for the effect his conditionall promise; so that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparant assurance, as contrariwise where the signes and Sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt vnreceiued, or receiued with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really giue what they promise, and are what they signifie. For we take not Baptisme nor the Eucharist for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signes* & testimonies assuring vs of grace receiued before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for meanes effectuall, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, deliuereth into our hands that grace available vnto eternall life, which grace the Sacraments [c] represent or signifie. There haue growne in the doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong vnto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to passe, that the true immediat cause why Baptisme, and why the Supper of our Lord is necessary, few doe rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow vnto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed vnto the other. Yet then doth baptisme challenge to it selfe but the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on mysteries ensuing. We receiue Christ Iesus in baptisme once as the first beginner, in the Eucharist often as being by continuall degrees the finisher of our life. By baptisme therefore

[a] *Acts* 2.3.

[b] Wisd. 16.17. *Spiritus Sancti munus est gratiam implere mysterij.* Ambr. in Luc. cap. 3. *Sanctificatis elementis efficitur non propria ipsorum natura præbet, sed virtus diuina potentius operatur.* Cypr. de Chrism.

[c] *Dum homini bonum inuisibile redditur, forma ei eiusdem significatio per species visibiles adhibetur: vt foris excitetur & intus reparetur. In ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ.* Hugo de Sacram. li. 1. ca. 3. *Si ergo vasa sunt spiritualis gratiæ sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed medicina.* Idem. li. 1. ca. 9

We

we receiue Christ Iesus, and from him that sauing grace which is proper vnto baptisme. By the other Sacrament we receiue him also, imparting therein himselfe and that grace which the Eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that which is generall or common, and that also which is peculiar vnto it selfe, we may hereby gather that the participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper.

The substance of Baptisme; the rites or solemnities ther unto belonging; and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptisme may giue place to necessity.

58 Now euen as the soule doth organize the body, and giue vnto euery member thereof that substance, quantity & shape which nature seeth most expedient, so the inward grace of Sacraments may teach what serueth best for their outward forme, a thing in no part of Christian Religion, much lesse heere to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments was a cause of the choise, & is a reason of the fitnesse of the Elements themselues. Furthermore, seeing that the grace which here we receiue, doth no way depend vpon the natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity that words of expresse declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himselfe should be added vnto visible Elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to passe. In writing and speaking of the blessed Sacrament, we [a] vse for the most part vnder the name of their *substance*, not onely to comprise that whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret grace which they signifie and exhibit. This is the reason wherefore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge the number of Sacraments, we find grace expresly mentioned as their true essentiall forme, Elements as the matter whereunto that forme doth adioyne it selfe. But if that be separated which is secret, and that considered alone which is seene, as of necessity it must in al those speeches that make distinction of sacraments from sacramental grace, the name of a sacrament in such speeches can imply no more then what the *outward substance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward substance of a sacrament, there is required an outward forme which forme sacramental Elements receiue from sacramentall words. Hereupon it groweth that many [c] times there are three things said to make vp the substance of a Sacrament namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the Element which shadoweth or signifieth grace, and the Word which expresseth what is done by the Element. So that whether we consider the outward by it selfe alone, or both the outward and inward substance of any Sacrament, there are in the one respect but two essentiall parts, and in the other but three that concurre to giue Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, because definitions are to expresse but the most immediate and neerest parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are not withstanding in nature implyed & presupposed, we must note that in as much as Sacraments are actions religious and mysticall, which nature they haue not vnlesse they proceed from a serious meaning; and what euery mans priuate

a *Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena & cœlesti.* Irenæ. aduers. hæres. l. 4. c. 34. *Arcenarum rerum symbola non nudis signu, sed signis simul & rebus constant.* Heluet. confes. prior. Art. 2.

b *Sacramentum est cum res gesta visibilis longè aliud inuisibile intus operatur* Isidor. Etymol. lib. 1. *Sacramentum est per quod sub tegumento rerum visibilium diuina virtus salutem secretius operatur*, Gregor. mag. *Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum*, Occa sent. lib. 4. d. 1. *Sacramentum proprié non est signum cuiuslibet rei sacræ, sed tãtum rei sacræ sãctificantis homines.* Th. 12 q 101. 4. & q 102. 5. *Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo est commemoratio præteriti, demonstratio præsentis, & prognostikon futuri.* Th. 3 q. 60 3. *Sacramenta sunt signa & symbola visibilia rerum internarum & inuisibilium, per quæ, seu per media Deus virtute spiritus sancti in nobis agit.* Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item Bœ confess. ca. 11.

c *Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, & rebus significatis.* Confess Heluet. post. cap. 19.

uate miud is, as we cannot know, ſo neither are we bound to examine: therefore alwayes in theſe caſes the knowne intent of the Church generally doth ſuffice, & where the contrarie is not [a] manifeſt, we may preſume that he which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Leſſons, Sermons, Actions, and their Circumſtances whatſoeuer they are to the outward ſubſtance of Baptiſme but things acceſſory, which the wiſdome of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principall. Againe, conſidering that ſuch Ordinances haue beene made to adorne the Sacrament, [b] not the Sacrament to depend on them; ſeeing alſo that they are not of the ſubſtance of Baptiſme, and that Baptiſme is farre more neceſſary then any ſuch incident Rite or Solemnitie ordained for the better adminiſtration thereof, [c] if the caſe bee ſuch as permitteth not Baptiſme to haue the decent Complements of Baptiſme, better it were to inioy the bodie without his Furniture, then to wait for this, till the opportunitie of that for which we deſire it be loſt. Which Premiſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to haue beene no abſurde collection, that in caſes of neceſſitie which will not ſuffer delay till Baptiſme bee adminiſtred, with vſuall ſolemnities (to ſpeake the leaſt) it may be tolerably giuen without them, rather then any man without it ſhould be ſuffered to depart this life.

a *Si aliud Miniſtri agere intendant, puta ſacris illudere myſterijs, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat, nihil agitur, ſine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exerceri quidem poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt* Lancel. inſt. iur. Can. lib. 2. tit. 5. hoc tamen

b *Acceſſorium non regulat principale, ſed ab eo regulatur,* 42. De regul. iur. in Sext. l. 3. ff. quod iuſſu. c *Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen vbi æquitas euidens poſcit ſubueniendum eſt.* Lib. 83. de reg. iur.

59 They which denie that any ſuch caſe of neceſſitie can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate Baptiſme, without the decent Rites & Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch tolerations haue riſen from a falſe interpretation which *certaine men* haue made of the Scripture, grounding a neceſſitie of externall Baptiſme vpon the words of our Sauiour Chriſt. *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.* For, by *Water and the Spirit*, we are in that place to vnderſtand (as they imagine) no more then if the Spirit alone had beene mentioned, and Water not ſpoken of. Which they thinke is plaine, becauſe elſe where it is not improbable, that *the Holy Ghoſt and Fire*, doe but ſignifie the Holy Ghoſt in operation reſembling Fire. Whereupon they conclude, that ſeeing Fire in one place may be, therefore Water in another place is but a Metaphor, Spirit, the interpretation thereof, and ſo the words doe onely meane, that vnleſſe a man bee borne againe of the Spirit hee cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heauen. I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in Expoſitions of ſacred Scripture, that where a literall conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the Letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous then this licentious and deluding Art, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would doe the ſubſtance of Metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howſoeuer ſuch voluntarie exerciſe of wit might be borne with otherwiſe, yet in places which vſually ſerue, as this doth, concerning Regeneration by water & the

The ground in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward Baptiſme hath beene built.

T. C. l. 1. p. 143. Priuate Baptiſme firſt roſe vpon a falſe interpretation of the place of Saint *Iohn* 3. 5. *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of Water and of the Spirit:* and where certaine doe interpret the word *Water* for the materiall and elementall Water, when as our Sauiour Chriſt taketh Water there by a borrowed ſpeech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For euen as in another place, *Matthew* 3. 11. by Fire and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth: So in this place by Water and the Spirit, hee meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God which cleanſeth the filth of ſinne, and cooleth the broyling heat of an vnquiet Conſcience, as Water waſheth the thing which is foule, and quencheth the heate of the fire.

Holy Ghoſt, to be alleaged for grounds and principles, leſſe is permitted. To hide the generall conſent of Antiquitie agreeing in the literall interpretation, they cunningly affirme, that *certaine* haue taken thoſe words as meant of materiall water, when they know, that of all the Ancient there is not one to be named, that euer did otherwiſe either expound or alleage the place, then as implying externall Baptiſme. Shall that which hath alwayes[a] receiued this and no other conſtruction, be now diſguiſed with a toy of noueltie? Muſt wee needs at the only ſhew of Criticall conceit without any more deliberation, vtterly condemne them of errour, which will not admit that fire in the words of *Iohn*, is quenched with the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, or with the name of the Spirit, water dried vp in the words of Chriſt? When the letter of the Law hath two things plainely and expreſly ſpecified, *Water*, and the *Spirit*; Water as a dutie required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God beſtoweth; there is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelues were more then needeth. We may by ſuch rare expoſitions attraine perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill aduice. Finally, if at [b] the time, when that Baptiſme which was meant by *Iohn*, came to be really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelfe, we find the Apoſtles that had beene, as we are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, and in this their later Baptiſme as well a [c] viſible deſcent of fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on vs he accompliſh likewiſe the heauenly worke of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with Water thereunto adioyned, ſith the faithfulleſt Expounders of his words are his owne deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought, declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully vtter.

a *Minimè ſunt mutanda quæ inter relationem certam ſemper habuerunt.* D. lib. 1. tit. 2. lib. 23.

b *Acts* 1. 3. *Iohn* baptized with Water, but you ſhall within few dayes be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt.

c *Acts* 2. 3.

60 To this they adde, that as wee erre by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alleaged, ſo our ſecond ouerſight is, that wee thereupon inferre a neceſſitie ouer-rigorous and extreme. The true neceſſitie of Baptiſme, a few Propoſitions conſidered will ſoone decide. All things which either are knowne [d] *Cauſes*, or ſet *Meanes*, whereby any great good is vſually procured, or men deliuered from grieuous euill, the ſame wee muſt needs confeſſe neceſſary. And if *Regeneration* were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſarie to eternall life, would Chriſt himſelfe haue taught *Nicodemus* that to ſee the Kingdome of God is [e] impoſſible, ſauing onely for thoſe men which are borne from aboue? His wordes following in the next ſentence, are a proofe ſufficient, that to our Regeneration *his Spirit* is no leſſe [f] neceſſary, then Regeneration it ſelfe neceſſary vnto life. Thirdly, vnleſſe as the Spirit is a neceſſary inward cauſe, ſo *Water* were a neceſſary outward meane to our Regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould wee giue vnto thoſe words wherein we are ſaid to be new born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος,

What kind of neceſſitie in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeed is. *T. C. l. 1. p.* 143 Secondly, this errour [of priuate Baptiſme] came by a falſe and vnneceſſarie concluſion drawne of that place. For although the Scripture ſhould ſay, that none can be ſaued but thoſe which haue the Spirit of God, and are baptized with materiall and elementall Water, yet ought it to be vnderſtood of thoſe which can conueniently and orderly bee brought to Baptiſme, as the Scripture, ſaying, that who ſo doth not beleeue the Goſpell is condemned alreadie, *Ioh.* 3. 18. meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and haue diſcretion to vnderſtand it when they heare it, and cannot here ſhut vnder this condemnation, either thoſe that be borne deafe, and ſo remaine, or little Infants, or naturall Fooles, that haue no wit to conceiue what is preached.

d Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται ἢ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς σωστίν· καὶ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι, ἢ τι κακὸν ἀποκαλεῖν ἢ στερῆσιν. *Neceſſarium id dicitur ſine quo vt concauſa fieri non poteſt vt viuatur: & ea ſine quibus fieri nequit vt bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoueatur, aut non adſit,* Ariſt. Metaph. 5. cap. 5.

e *Iohn* 3. 3.

f 5.

euen of *Water*? Why are wee taught that [m] with water God doth purifie and cleanſe his Church? Wherefore doe the Apoſtles of Chriſt terme baptiſme [n] a bath of Regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giuing men aduice to receiue outward Baptiſme, and in perſwading them it did auaile [o] to remiſſion of ſinnes? If outward Baptiſme were a cauſe in it ſelfe poſſeſſed of that power either naturall or ſupernaturall, without the preſent operation whereof no ſuch effect could poſſibly grow, it muſt then follow, that ſeeing effects doe neuer preuent the neceſſarie cauſes out of which they ſpring, no man could euer receiue grace before Baptiſme: which being apparently both knowne and alſo confeſt to be otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt we make not Baptiſme a cauſe of grace, yet the grace which is giuen them with their [p] Baptiſme, doth ſo farre forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will haue it imbraced not onely as a ſigne or token what wee receiue, but alſo as an inſtrument or meane [w] whereby wee receiue grace, becauſe Baptiſme is a Sacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receiue the ſame, might thereby bee [q] incorporated into Chriſt, and ſo through his moſt precious Merit obtayne as well that ſauing grace of imputation which taketh away [r] all former guiltines, as alſo that [ſ] infuſed Diuine vertue of the Holy Ghoſt, which giueth to the powers of the Soule their firſt diſpoſition towards future newneſſe of life. There are that eleuate too much the ordinary and immediate meanes of life, relying wholly vpon the bare conceit of that eternall Election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to inioy what God ſecretly did intend, & therefore to build vpon Gods Election, if wee keepe not our ſelues to the wayes which hee hath appointed for men to walke in, is but a ſelfe-deceiuing vanitie. When the Apoſtle ſaw men called to the participation of Ieſus Chriſt, after the Goſpell of God embraced and the Sacrament of life receiued, he feareth not [t] then to put them in the number of Elect Saints, hee [u] then accounteth them deliuered from death, and cleane purged from all ſinne. Till then, notwithſtanding their preordination vnto life which none could know of ſauing God, what were they in the Apoſtles owne [x] account, but children of wrath as well as others plaine Aliens, altogether without hope, ſtrangers vtterly without God in this preſent world? So that by Sacraments and other ſenſible tokens of grace, we may boldly gather that hee, whoſe mercy vouchſafeth now to beſtow the meanes, hath alſo long ſithence intended vs that whereunto they lead. But let vs neuer thinke it ſafe to preſume of our owne laſt end, by bare coniecturall collections of his intent and purpoſe, the meanes fayling that ſhould come betweene. Predeſtination bringeth

m *Epeſ.* 5. 16.
n *Tit* 3. 5.
o *Act.* 2. 38.
p *Fideles ſalutem exiſtis elementis non quærunt, etiamſi in iſtis quærunt. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per iſta tribuitur.* Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. q *Suſceptus à Chriſte Chriſtumq; ſuſcipiens non idem ſit poſt lauachrum qui ante baptiſmum fuit, ſed corpus regenerati ſit caro crucifixi.* Leo. Serm. 4. de Paſ. Dom. r *Caro abluitur vt anima emaculetur.* Tert. de carn. reſur. *Homo per aquam baptiſmi licet à foris idem eſſe videatur intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus ſine peccato renaſcitur, prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit, deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innouatur, perſona tingitur & natura mutatur.* Euſeb. Emiſ. de Epiphan. homil. 3. Τριαλῶ γέννησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τλῶ ἐκ σώματος, τλῶ ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τλῶ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δυνάμις ἐ κόσμι καθαλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας καθαρσιν ἔχουσα. Greg. Homil. de ſanct. bapt. ſ *Vnde enitalis auxilio ſuperioris aui labe deterſa in expiatum pectus ac purum deſuper lumen infundit.* Cyp. ep. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τλῶ ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τλῶ ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπαγγελμένων ἐι τίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῆς δεσποτικῆς θανάτυ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνὸς, καὶ τῆς τῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τλῶ μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theodoret. Epito. diuin. dogmat. *Baptizari, eſt purgari à ſordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam nouam & innocentem,* Confeſſ. Heluet. cap. 20.
t *Epheſ.* 1. 1.
u 5. 8.
x 2. 3. 12.

bringeth not to life, without the grace of externall [a] vocation, wherein our Baptiſme is implyed. For as we are not naturally men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifeſt ordinarie courſe of Diuine Diſpenſation new borne, but by that Baptiſme which both declareth and maketh vs Chriſtians. In which reſpect we iuſtly hold it to bee the doore of our actuall entrance into Gods houſe, the firſt apparent [b] beginning of life, a ſeale perhaps to the [c] grace of *Election* before receiued, but to our Sanctification, here a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the old *Valentinian* Heretikes ſome, which had knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed all, and ſo deſpiſed the Sacraments of Chriſt, pretending that as ignorance had made vs ſubiect to all miſerie, ſo the full Redemption of the inward man, and the worke of our Reſtauration, muſt needs belong vnto [d] *Knowledge onely*. They draw very neere vnto this errour, who fixing wholly their minds on the knowne neceſſitie of Faith, [e] imagine that nothing but Faith is neceſſarie for the attaynement of all Grace. Yet is it a branch of Beliefe that Sacraments are in their place no leſſe required then Beliefe it ſelfe. For when our Lord and Sauiour promiſeth eternall Life, is it any otherwiſe then as hee promiſed reſtitution of health vnto *Naaman* the Syrian, namely, with this condition, [f] *Waſh and be cleane?* or as to them which were ſtung of Serpents, health by [g] beholding the brazen Serpent? If Chriſt himſelfe which giueth Saluation doe [h] require Baptiſme, it is not for vs that looke for ſaluation, to ſound and examine him whether vnbaptized men may be ſaued, but ſeriouſly to [i] doe that which is required, and religiouſly to feare the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his will to haue all men baptized, and not acquainted vs with any cauſe why Baptiſme is neceſſarie, our ignorance in the reaſon of that he inioyneth, might perhaps haue hindred ſomewhat the forwardnes of our obedience therunto: whereas now being taught, that Baptiſme is neceſſarie to take away ſinne, how haue we the feare of God in our hearts, if care of deliuering mens Soules from ſinne, doe not moue vs to vſe all meanes for their Baptiſme? [k] *Pelagius* which denyed vtterly the guilt of originall ſinne, and *in that reſpect* the neceſſitie of Baptiſme, did notwithſtanding both baptize Infants, and acknowledge their Baptiſme neceſſarie for *entrance into the Kingdome of God*. Now the Law of Chriſt, which in theſe conſiderations maketh Baptiſme neceſſarie, muſt bee conſtrued and vnderſtood according to rules of [l] naturall equitie. Which rules if they themſelues did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they neuer be able to proue that [m] the Scripture in ſaying, *Who ſo beleeueth not the Goſpell of Chriſt, is condemned already, meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and haue diſcretion when they heare to vnderſtand it, neither ought it to be applyed vnto Infants, Deafemen and fooles* That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Chriſt, is naturall equitie. And (becauſe equitie ſo teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confeſt

a *Rom.* 8. 30.

b Ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Baſil. de Sp. S. c. 10.

c *T. C. l.* 3 *p.* 134. Hee which is not a Chriſtian before hee come to receiue Baptiſme, cannot bee made a Chriſtian by Baptiſme; which is onely the ſeale of the grace of God before receiued.

d *Iren. contra Hæreſ. l.* 1 *c.* 18.

e *Hic ſceleſtiſſimi illi prouocant quæſtiones. Adeo dicunt baptiſmus nõ eſt neceſſarius quibus fide ſatis eſt.* Tert. de baptiſ. *Huic nulla proderit fides, qui cum poſſit non peruenit Sacramentum.* Bern. Epiſt 70. ad Hugon.

f 2. *Reg.* 5. 14.

g *Num.* 21. 8.

h *Marc* 16. 16.

i *Inſtitutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum authorem diſpenſationis eſt, quantum vero ad hominem obedientem neceſſitatis. Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta hominem ſaluare, ſed in poteſtate hominis non eſt, ſine iſtis ad ſalutem peruenire.* Hug. de Sacram. *l.* 1. *c.* 5.

k Pelagius *aſſerere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vitam, ſed propter regnum Cœlorum baptiſmum paruulis conferendum,* Euſeb. Emiſſ. Hom. 5. de Paſch. l *Benigniùs leges interpretanda ſunt, quò voluntas earum conſeruetur.* L. Benign. D. de legib. &. Senatuſc.

m *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 143.

that *there may bee in diuers caſes* life by vertue of inward Baptiſme, euen where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion bee made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this poſſibilitie. For example, to thinke that a man whoſe Baptiſme the Crowne of Martyrdome preuenteth, doth loſe in that caſe, the happineſſe which ſo many thouſands enioy, that onely haue had the grace to beleeue, and not the honour to ſeale the teſtimonie thereof with death, were almoſt barbarous. Againe, [n] when ſome certaine opinatiue man in Saint *Bernards* time began priuately to hold that, becauſe our Lord hath ſaid, *vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water*, therefore life, without either actuall Baptiſme *or Martyrdome* in ſtead of Baptiſme cannot *poſsibly* bee obtained at the hands of God: *Bernard* conſidering that the ſame equitie which had mooued them to thinke the neceſſity of Baptiſme no barre againſt the happie eſtate of vnbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Saluation, in whom, although there bee not the ſufferings of Holy Martyrs, there are the vertues which ſanctified thoſe ſufferings and made them precious in Gods ſight, profeſſed him ſelfe an enemie to that ſeueritie and ſtrictneſſe which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs onely. For, ſaith he, if a man deſirous of Baptiſme bee ſodainely cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither ſound Faith, deuoute Hope, nor ſincere Charitie (God be mercifull vnto me, and pardon me If I erre) but verily of ſuch a ones Saluation, in whom there is no other defect beſides his faultleſſe lacke of Baptiſme, deſpayre I cannot, nor induce my mind to thinke his Faith voyde, his Hope confounded, and his Charitie falne to nothing, onely becauſe hee hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibility withholdeth. *Tell me I beſeech you* (ſaith AMBROSE) *what there is in any of vs more then to will, and to ſeeke for our owne good. Thy Seruant* VALENTINIAN, *O Lord, did both.* (For *Valentinian* the Emperor dyed before his purpoſe to receiue Baptiſme could take effect.) *And is it poſsible that he which had purpoſely thy ſpirit giuen him to deſire grace, ſhould not receiue thy grace which that Spirit did deſire? Doth it mooue you that the outward accuſtomed ſolemnities were not done? As though Conuerts that ſuffer Martyrdome before Baptiſme, did thereby forfeit their right to the Crowne of eternall glorie in the Kingdome of Heauen. If the blood of Martyrs in that caſe be their Baptiſme, ſurely his religious deſire of Baptiſme ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead.* It hath beene therefore conſtantly held as well touching other Beleeuers as Martyrs, that Baptiſme taken away by neceſſity, is ſupplyed by deſire of Baptiſme, becauſe with [o] equitie this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching infants which die vnbaptized, ſith they neither haue the Sacrament it ſelfe, nor any ſenſe or conceit thereof, the iudgement of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing grace is not abſolutely tied vnto Sacraments, and beſides ſuch is the lenitie of God, that vnto things altogether impoſſible he bindeth no man, but where we cannot doe what is inioyned vs, accepteth our will to doe in ſtead of the deede it ſelfe; againe foraſmuch as there is in their Chriſtian Parents and in the Church of God a preſumed deſire that the Sacrament of Baptiſme might be giuen them, yea a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be giuen, remorſe of equitie hath moued diuers of the [p] Schoole-diuines in theſe conſiderations ingenuouſly to grant, that God all-mercifull to ſuch as are not in themſelues able to deſire Baptiſme, imputeth the ſecret deſire that others

[n] *Bern. Epiſt. 76. ad Hugon.*

[o] *Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria iniuriam ſemel dicauit animum in Martyrium mihi videtur implêſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo vt dixi ratio principatum obtinet paſsionis & ſi ſors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati.* Ioſeph. l. de imper. ration.

[p] *Gerſ. Serm. in Natiuit. Beatæ Mariæ. Caietan. in 3. Tho. 9 68. art. 11 & 12. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de ſacr. c. 1 Eliſius Neapol. in Cly. aduerſ. hæreſ. c. de bapt.*

thers haue in their behalfe, and accepteth the same as theirs rather then casteth away their Soules for that which no man is able to helpe. And of the will of God to impart his grace vnto Infants without Baptisme, in that case the verie circumstance of their naturall birth may serue as a iust Argument, whereupon it is not to be misliked that men in charitable presumption doe gather a great likelihood of their Saluation, to whom the benefite of Christian parentage being giuen, the rest that should follow is preuented by some such casualtie as man hath himselfe no power to auoyd. For, we are plainely taught of God; a That the Seede of faithfull Parentage is holy from the verie birth. Which albeit we may not so vnderstand, as if the Children of beleeuing Parents were without sinne, or grace from baptized Parents deriued by Propagation, or God by Couenant and Promise tyed to saue any in meere regard of their Parents Beleefe: yet seeing that to all professors of the name of Christ, this preeminence aboue Infidels is freely giuen, the fruit of their bodies bringeth into the World with it a present interest and right to those meanes wherewith the Ordinance of Christ is, that his Church shall be sanctified, it is not to be thought that he which as it were from Heauen hath nominated and designed them vnto holinesse by speciall priuiledge of their verie birth, will himselfe depriue them of Regeneration and inward grace, onely because necessitie depriueth them of outward Sacraments. In which case, it were the part of Charitie to hope, and to make men rather partiall then cruel Iudges, if wee had not those faire apparancies which heere wee haue. Wherefore a neceffity there is of receiuing, and a necessitie of administring the Sacrament of Baptisme; the one peraduenture not so absolute as some haue thought, but out of all peraduenture the other more Straight and narrow, then that the Church which is by office a Mother vnto such as craue at their hands the Sacred Mysterie of their new Birth, should repell them, and see them dye vnsatisfied of these their Ghostlie desires, rather then giue them their Soules Rites, with omission of those things which serue b but onely for the more conuenient and orderly Administration thereof. For as on the one side we grant that those sentences of Holy Scripture which make Sacraments most necessary to eternall life, are no preiudice to their Saluation that want them by some inuitable necessitie, and without any fault of their owne; so it ought in reason to bee likewise acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himselfe maketh Baptisme necessarie, necessarie whether wee respect the good receiued by Baptisme, or the Testimonie thereby yeelded vnto God of that humilitie and meeke obedience, which reposing wholly it selfe on the absolute authoritie of his Commandement, and on the truth of his Heauenly Promise, doubteth not but from Creatures despicable in their owne condition and substance to obtaine grace of inestimable value, or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them as by his appoynted meanes, howsoeuer hee by the secret wayes of his owne incomprehensible mercy may be thought to saue without Baptisme; this cleereth not the Church from guiltinesse of bloud, if through her superfluous scrupulositie, lets and impediments of lesse regard should cause a grace of so great moment to bee with-held, wherein our mercilesse strictnesse may bee our owne harme, although not theirs towards whom wee shew it;

a 1 Cor. 7. 12.

b T. C. l. 3. p. 218 It is in question whether there be any such necessitie of Baptisme as that for the ministring thereof, the common decent orders should be broken.

and

and we for the hard neſſe of our hearts may periſh, albeit they through Gods vnſpeakeable mercie doe liue. God which did not afflict that innocent, whoſe Circumciſion *Moſes* had ouer-long deferred, tooke reuenge vpon * *Moſes* himſelfe for the iniurie, which was done through ſo great neglect, giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, that they whom Gods owne mercie ſaueth without vs, are on our parts notwithſtanding, and as much as in vs lyeth, euen deſtroyed, when vnder vnſufficient pretences, wee defraude them of ſuch ordinarie outward helpes as we ſhould exhibit. Wee haue for Baptiſme no day ſet as the Iewes had for Circumciſion, neither haue wee by the Law of God, but onely by the Churches diſcretion, a place therevnto appoynted. Baptiſme therefore, euen in the meaning of the Law of Chriſt, belongeth vnto Infants capable thereof, from the * verie inſtant of their birth. Which if they haue not howſoeuer, rather then loſe it by being put off, becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance, doth not ſolemnely enough concurre, the Church as much as in her lyeth, wilfully caſteth away their ſoules.

* *Exod.* 4. 24.

* *In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præſenti die debetur, lib.* 14 D. de Reg. Iur.

61 The ancient it may bee were too ſeuere, and made the neceſſitie of Baptiſme more abſolute then reaſon would, as touching Infants. But will [a] any man ſay that they, notwithſtanding their too much rigour heerein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtaine and tolerate defects of locall or of perſonall ſolemnities, belonging to the Sacrament of Baptiſme? The Apoſtles themſelues did neither vſe nor appoynt for baptiſme any certaine time. The Church for generall baptiſme heeretofore made choiſe of two chiefe dayes in the yeere, the feaſt of Eaſter, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which cuſtome, when certaine Churches in Sicily beganne to violate without cauſe, they were by [b] *Leo* Biſhop of Rome aduiſed, rather to conforme themſelues to the reſt of the World in things ſo reaſonable, then to offend mens mindes through needleſſe ſingularitie: howbeit, alwayes prouiding that neuertheleſſe in apparant perill of death, danger of ſiege, ſtreights of perſecution, feare of ſhipwracke, and the like exigents, no reſpect of times ſhould cauſe this ſingular defence of true ſafety to bee denyed vnto any. This of *Leo* did but confirme that ſentence which [c] *Victor* had many yeares before giuen, extending the ſame exception as well vnto *places* as times. That which Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of women, haſting to bring their children to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weake proofe, that *when neceſſity did not leaue them ſo much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their owne home. Which anſwer diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſicke Iew, caried in bed to the place of Baptiſme, and not baptized at home in priuat. The cauſe why ſuch kinde of Baptiſme barred men afterwards from entring into holy orders, the reaſon wherefore it was obiected againſt *Nouatian*, in what reſpect

What things in Baptiſme haue beene diſpenced with by the Fathers reſpecting neceſſity.

[a] *T. C. l. p.* 146. The Authors themſelues of that eror, that they cannot be ſaued which are not baptized did neuer ſeeke no remedie of the miſchiefe in Womens or priuate Baptiſme. *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 219. What plainer teſtimonie can there bee then that of *Auguſtine*, which noteth the vſe of the Church to haue beene, to come to the Church with their children in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion, that their children could not be ſaued if they were not baptized, *Cont. Ht. Parm. lib.* 1. *cap.* 23. I would alſo know of him what hee will anſwere to that, which is noted of a Chriſtian Iew deſperately ſicke of the palſie, that was with his bed carried to the place of Baptiſme, *Socr. lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. What will hee anſwer to this, That thoſe which were baptized in their beddes, were thereby made vnapt to haue any place amongſt the Clergie [as they cal them] doth it not leaue a note of infamie in thoſe, which had procured that baptiſme ſhould bee miniſtred in priuate houſes? *Euſeb. Lib.* 6. *cap.* 43. What vnto the Emperours decree, which vpon authority of the ancient Lawes, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth that the holie things ſhould be adminiſtred in any mans priuate houſe? *Iuſt. Nouel.* 57. b *Leo Epiſt* 4. *ad Epiſc. Cicil.* [c] *Vict. Epiſt. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſ.*

reſpect and how farre forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon, ſet downe in the Councell of Neocæſarea, after this manner. *A man which hath beene baptized in ſickeneſſe, is not after to be ordained Prieſt.* For it may be thought, *that ſuch doe rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedie, then of a voluntary minde, lay hold on the Chriſtian faith, vnleſſe their true and ſincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcity of others inforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in *Iuſtinians* imperiall Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe, ſeeing it onely forbiddeth men to haue the myſteries of God adminiſtred in their priuate Chappels, leſt vnder that pretence heretiks ſhould do ſecretly thoſe things which were vnlawfull? In which conſideration he therfore commandeth, that if they would vſe thoſe priuate oratories otherwiſe then onely for their priuate Prayers, the Biſhop ſhould appoynt them a Clarke, whom they might entertaine for that purpoſe. This is plaine by later Conſtitutions, made in the time of LEO: [a] *It was thought good* (ſaith the Emperour) *in their iudgement which haue gone before, that in priuate Chappels none ſhould celebrate the holy Communion, but Prieſts belonging vnto greater Churches. Which order they tooke as it ſeemeth for the cuſtodie of Religion, leſt men ſhould ſecretly receiue from heretikes, in ſtead of the food the bane of their ſoules, pollution in place of expiation.* [b] Againe, *Whereas a ſacred Canon of the ſixt reuerend Synode requireth Baptiſme, as others haue likewiſe the holy Sacrifices and Myſteries, to be celebrated only in Temples hallowed for publike vſe, and not in priuate Oratories; which ſtrict decrees appeare to haue beene made heretofore in regard of Heretikes, which entred cloſely into ſuch mens houſes as fauoured their opinions, whom, vnder colour of performing with them ſuch religious Offices, they drew from the ſoundnes of true Religion: now that peruerſe opinions through the grace of Almighty God are extinct and gon: the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that priuat Oratories may henceforward inioy that liberty, which to haue granted them heretofore, had not bin ſafe.* In ſum, all theſe things alledged are nothing, nor wil it euer be proued while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in caſes of extreme neceſſitie, hath made for priuate Baptiſme alwaies more then againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſme by any man in the caſe of neceſsity*, was the [c] voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, or any other of the ancient againſt it. The boldnes of ſuch as pretending *Teclaes* example, tooke openly vpon them both Baptiſme, and all other publique functions of Prieſt-hood, *Tertullian* ſeuerely controlleth, ſaying: [d] *To giue Baptiſme is in truth the Biſhops right. After him it belongeth vnto Prieſts and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him receiued. For ſo the honour of the Church requireth, which being kept, preſerueth peace. Were it not in this reſpect, the Laity might doe the ſame, all ſorts might giue euen as all ſorts receiue.* But becauſe Æmulation is the mother of Schiſmes, *Let it content thee* (which art of the order of Laymen) *to do it in neceſsity, when the ſtate of time, or place, or perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſſe priuiledged that helpe, when the circumſtance of other mens dangers craueth it.* What hee granteth generally to Lay perſons of the houſe of God, the ſame wee cannot ſuppoſe hee denyeth to any ſort or ſexe contained vnder that name, vnleſſe himſelfe did reſtraine the limits of his owne ſpeech, eſpecially ſeeing that *Tertullians* rule of interpretation

a *Leo Conſt.* 4.
b *Idem Conſt.* 15
c *T.C. lib.* 1. *pag* 145. To allow of Womens baptizing, is not only contrarie to the learned Writers now, but alſo contrary to all learned Antiquity, & contrarie to the practiſe of the Church whilſt there was any tolerable eſtate, *Tertull. de Virgin. veland. & lib. de Baptiſ. Epiphan. lib.* 1. *& lib.* 2. *tom. Hæreſ. S. Auguſtine*, although he ſeeme to allow of a Lay mans Baptiſme in time of neceſſitie, *Cont. Epiſt Parmen. lib.* 2. *c.* 13. yet there he mentioneth not Womens Baptiſme: and in the fourth Councell of Carthage, *cap.* 100. it is ſimply without exception decreed, that a woman ought not to baptize.
d *Tertull. de Baptiſ.*

is [a] elſewhere, *Specialties are ſignified vnder that which is generall, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which *Tertullian* doth [b] denie, is, that women may be called to beare, or publikely take vpon them to execute Offices of Eccleſiaſticall order, whereof none but men are capable. As for *Epiphanius*, he ſtriketh on the very ſelfe-ſame Anuill with *Tertullian*. And in neceſſitie if S. *Auguſtine* allow as much vnto Lay-men as *Tertullian* doth, his *not mentioning* of women, is but a ſlender proofe that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Councell of Carthage likewiſe, although it make no expreſſe ſubmiſſion, may be very well preſumed, willing to ſtoupe as other Poſitiue ordinances doe, to the countermands of neceſſitie. Iudge therefore what the ancient would haue thought, if in their dayes it had beene heard which is publiſhed in ours, [c] that becauſe, *The ſubſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the inſtitution of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament*, therefore firſt, *if the whole inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, if Baptiſme be priuate his inſtitution is broken, in as much as *according to the orders which he hath ſet for Baptiſme, it ſhould bee done in the Congregation*, from whoſe ordinance in this point *wee ought not to ſwarue, although we know that Infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without Baptiſme.* O ſir, you that would ſpurn thus at ſuch, as in caſe of ſo dreadfull extremitie ſhould lie proſtrate before your feet, you that would turne away your face from them at the houre of their moſt neede, you that would damme vp your eares, and harden your hearts as Iron, againſt the vnreſiſtable cryes of Supplicants, calling vpon you for mercy with termes of ſuch inuocation, as that moſt dreadful perplexitie might miniſter, if God by miracle did open the mouthes of Infants, to expreſſe their ſuppoſed neceſſitie, ſhould firſt imagine your ſelfe in their caſe, and them in yours. This done, let their ſupplications proceed out of your mouth, and your anſwere out of theirs. Would you then contentedly heare, *My Sonne, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptiſme muſt be kept, wee may not doe* [d] *ill that good may come of it, neither are ſoules to bee deliuered from eternall death and condemnation, by breaking orders which Chriſt hath ſet*, would you in their caſe your ſelfe be ſhaken off with theſe anſweres, and not rather imbrace incloſed with both your armes a ſentence, which now is no Goſpell vnto you, [e] *I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice?* To acknowledge Chriſts inſtitution the ground of both Sacraments, I ſuppoſe, no Chriſtian man will refuſe: for it giueth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the forme of their adminiſtration it teacheth, and it bleſſeth them with that grace whereby to vs they are both pledges and inſtruments of life. Neuertheleſſe, ſeeing Chriſt inſtitution contayneth, beſides that which maketh compleate the Eſſence or Nature, other things that onely are parts as it were of the furniture of Sacraments, the difference betweene theſe two muſt vnfold that which the generall termes of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptiſme bee a part of Chriſts inſtitution, it is but his inſtitution as *ſacrifice*, Baptiſme his inſtitution as *mercy*, in this caſe. Hee which requireth both Mercy and Sacrifice, reiecteth his owne inſtitution of Sacrifice, where the offering of ſacrifice

[a] *Subiectum eſt generali ſpeciale, In ipſo ſignificatur, quia in ipſo cõtinetur*, Tert. de velan. Virg. *Poſito genere ſupponitur ſpecies*, Azo. in l. 2 c. de Tranſact.

[b] *Non permittitur mulieri in Eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec vllius virilis muneris nedum Sacerdotalis officij ſortem ſibi vendicare*, Tertul. de veland. Vir.

[c] *T.C.l.1.p.144.* The ſubſtance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the inſtitution and Word of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament. *T.C.lib.1.p.144.* Although part of the inſtitution bee obſerued, yet if the whole inſtitution be not, it is no Sacrament. *T.C.lib.1 p.146.* The orders which God hath ſet, are, that it ſhould be done in the Congregation and by the Miniſter. *T.C.lib.1 p.146* And I will further ſay, that although that the Infants which die without Baptiſme ſhould be aſſuredly damned; (which is moſt falſe) yet

[d] *Noſtro peccato alterius ſaluti conſulere non debemus*, Aug. lib. cont. Menda. c. 17. [e] *Matth. 9. 13.*

would

would hinder mercy from being ſhewed, Externall circumſtances euen in the
a *Matth.*23.23. holieſt and higheſt actions, are but the a *leſſer things of the Law*, wherunto thoſe actions themſelues being compared are *the greater*; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance that they *muſt be done*, ſo in that extremitie before ſuppoſed, if our account of the leſſer which are *not to be omitted*, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to bee accounted of, were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſts inſtitution touching *Mint and Commin*, a diſobedience to his inſtitution concerning loue? But ſith no inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tyed Baptiſme to publique Aſſemblies, as it hath done all men vnto Baptiſme, away with theſe mercileſſe and bloudie ſentences, let them neuer bee found ſtanding in the Bookes and writings of a Chriſtian man, they ſauour not of Chriſt, nor of his moſt gracious and meeke Spirit, but vnder colour of exact obedience, they nouriſh crueltie and hardneſſe of heart.

Whether Baptiſme by Women be true Baptiſme, good and effectuall to them that receiue it.

62 To leaue priuate Baptiſme therefore, and to come vnto Baptiſme by women, which b they ſay, is no more a Sacrament, then any other ordinarie waſhing or bathing of a mans body; the reaſon whereupon they ground their opinion herein is ſuch, as making Baptiſme by Women void, becauſe Women are no Miniſters in the Church of God, muſt needs generally annihilate the Baptiſme of all vnto whom their conceit ſhall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of ſexe, of qualitie, of inſufficiencie, or whatſoeuer. For if want of Calling doe fruſtrate Baptiſme, they that baptize without Calling do nothing, bee they Women or Men. To make Women Teachers in the houſe of God,
c 1.*Tim.*2.12. d 1.*Tim.*14.34. were a groſſe abſurditie, ſeeing the Apoſtle hath ſaid, c *I permit not a Woman to teach*: And againe, d *Let your Women in Churches be ſilent.* Thoſe extraordinarie gifts of ſpeaking with tongues and prophecying, which God at that time did not onely beſtow vpon Men, but on Women alſo, made it the harder to hold them confined with priuate bounds. Whereupon the Apoſtles ordinance was neceſſarie againſt Womens publique admiſſion to teach. And becauſe when Law hath begun ſome one thing or other well, it giueth good occaſion eitherto draw by iudicious expoſition out of the very Law it ſelfe, or to annexe to the Law by authoritie and iuriſdiction things of like conueniencie,
e *Clem. Conſt. Apoſtol. lib.*2. *cap.*9. therefore e *Clement* extendeth this Apoſtolike Conſtitution to Baptiſme. For (ſaith he) *If we haue denyed them leaue to teach, how ſhould any man diſpenſe with nature, and make them Miniſters of holy things, ſeeing this vnskilfulneſſe is a part of the Grecians impietie, which for the ſeruice of women goddeſſes, haue women Prieſts?* I ſomewhat maruell, that men which would not willingly be thought to ſpeake or write, but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly auouch
f *T.C.l.*1.*p.*144. *Clement* for a f witneſſe, that *as when the Church began not onely to decline, but to fall away from the ſinceritie of Religion, it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens, ſo it borrowed this, and would needes haue women Prieſts as the Heathens had, and that this was one occaſion of bringing Baptiſme by Women into the Church of God.* Is it not plaine in their owne eyes, that firſt by an euidence which forbiddeth Women to be a Miniſters of Baptiſme,

b *T.C.lib.* 1.*pag.*144. On this point, whether he be a Miniſter or no, dependeth not onely the dignitie, but alſo the being of the Sacrament, So that I take the Baptiſme of Women to bee no more the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme, then any other daily or ordinarie waſhing of the child.

they

they endeuour to ſhew how Women were admitted vnto that function in the waine and declination of Chriſtian pietie: Secondly, that by an euidence reiecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impietie, they would prooue ſuch affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the affaires of the Church by the patterne of their example: and thirdly, that out of an euidence which nameth the Heathens, as being in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no Women Prieſts, they gather, the Heathens to haue beene one of the firſt occaſions why it had? So that throughout euery branch of this teſtimonie their iſſue is, *Yea*, and their euidence directly, *No*. But to womens Baptiſme in priuate by occaſion of vrgent neceſſitie, the reaſons that onely concerne ordinarie Baptiſme in publike are no iuſt preiudice, neither can we by force thereof diſproue the practice of thoſe Churches, which (neceſſitie requiring) allow Baptiſme in priuate to be adminiſtred by Women. Wee may not from Lawes that prohibit any thing with reſtraint, conclude abſolute and vnlimited prohibitions: Although wee denie not but they which vtterly forbid ſuch Baptiſme, may haue perhaps wherewith to iuſtifie their orders againſt it. For, euen things lawfull are [a] well prohibited, when there is feare leſt they make the way too vnlawfull more eaſie. And it may bee, the libertie of Baptiſme by Women at ſuch times, doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to doe it where no ſuch neceſſitie is. But whether of permiſſion beſides Law, or in preſumption againſt Law they doe it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, void, and as though it were neuer giuen? They which haue not at the firſt their right Baptiſme, muſt of neceſſitie bee rebaptized, becauſe the Law of Chriſt tyeth all men to receiue Baptiſme. Iteration of Baptiſme once giuen hath beene alwayes thought a manifeſt contempt of that auncient Apoſtolique Aphoriſme, [b] *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme*, Baptiſme not onely one in as much as it hath euery-where the ſame ſubſtance, and offereth vnto all men the ſame grace, but one alſo for that it ought not to bee receiued by any one man aboue once. Wee ſerue that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can bee ioyned with him: wee embrace that Faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innouation: that Baptiſme wee receiue which is but one, becauſe it cannot be receiued often. For how ſhould we practiſe iteration of Baptiſme, and yet teach that wee are by Baptiſme borne anew, that by Baptiſme wee are admitted into the heauenly ſocietie of Saints, that thoſe things bee really and effectually done by Baptiſme, which are no more poſſible to bee often done, [c] then a man can naturally be often borne, or ciuilly be often adopted into any ones ſtocke and family? This alſo is the cauſe why they that preſent vs vnto Baptiſme, are intitled for euer after our Parents in God, and the reaſon why there wee receiue new names, in token that by Baptiſme wee are made new creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore died and riſen from the dead but once, ſo the Sacrament which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſinne, and beginneth in vs a new condition of life, is by one onely actuall adminiſtration for euer auaileable, according to that in the Nicene Creed, *I beleeue one Baptiſme for remiſſion of ſinnes*. And becauſe ſecond Baptiſme was euer [d] abhorred in the Church of God as a kind of inceſtuous birth, they that iterate Baptiſme, are driuen vnder ſome pretence or other to make the former Baptiſme void.

a *Licita prohibentur, ne ſi permitterentur, eorum occaſione perueniatur ad illicita. l. neque tamen*, Iuſt. de Aſſeth. tut. l. Officium, D. de rei vind.

b *Epheſ. 4. 5.*

c *Vna eſt natiuitas de terra alia de cœlo; vna de carne, alia de Spiritu; vna de æternitate, alia de mortalitate: vna de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & Eccleſia. Sed ipſæ duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quomodo enim vterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec baptiſmus iterari*, Proſp. Senten. 331.

Eia fratres lactum genialit, fontis adiaticem conuolate, vt ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes, quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus haurire, Zeno. Inuit. ad font.

d *Auguſt. de Baptiſ. cont. Don. l. 2. c. 14.*

Tef-

a Tertullian the first that proposed to the Church, b Agrippinus the first in the Church that accepted, and against the vse of the Church Nouatian the first that publikely began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore vpon these two grounds, a true perswasion that Baptisme is necessarie, and a false, that the Baptisme which others administred was no Baptisme. Nouatianus his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptisme but the true Church of Iesus Christ, that hee and his followers alone were the Church, and for the rest hee accounted them wicked and prophane persons, such as by Baptisme could cleanse no man, vnlesse they first did purifie themselues, and reforme the faults wherewith hee charged them. At which time c Saint Cyprian with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainely perswaded, then that Heretikes are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reuerse that Baptisme which is giuen by Heretikes. These held and practised their owne opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loued awhit the lesse, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrarie minde. In requitall of which ingenious moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in peaceable sort with very good regard had of them as of men in errour, but not in heresie. The Bishop of Rome against their nouelties, vpheld as beseemed him, the ancient and true Apostolike Customes, till they which vnaduisedly before had erred, became in a manner all d reconciled friends vnto Truth, and saw that heresie in the Ministers of Baptisme, could no way euacuate the force thereof; e such Heresie alone excepted, as by reason of vnsoundnesse in the highest Articles of Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by changing to mayme the substance, the forme of Baptisme. In which respect the Church did neither simply disanull, nor absolutely ratifie Baptisme by Heretickes. For the Baptisme which Nouatianists gaue, stood firme, whereas they whom f Samosatenians had baptized, were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the g Councell of Arles, that if any Arrian did reconcile himselfe to the Church, they should admit him without new Baptisme, vnlesse by examination they found him not baptized in the Name of the Trinitie. Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria h maketh report, how there liued vnder him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being present at the Rites of Baptisme, and obseruing with better consideration then euer before what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craued of his Bishop not to denie him Baptisme, the due of all which professe Christ, seeing it had beene so long sithence his euill hap to bee deceiued by the fraud of Heretickes, and at their hands (which till now hee neuer throughly and duely waighed) to take a Baptisme full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a Baptisme in nothing like vnto that

a Tertull. de Baptism.
b Cypr. Epist. 71
c Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1, 2, 3. Cypr. Epist. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.
d Ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem reuoluti nouum emisere decretum, Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide & August. cont. Cresc. lib. 3. cap. 2, 3. & Epist. 48.
e Dixisti fieri non posse vt in falso baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absoluat. Benè hæc omnia poterunt ad solos hæreticos pertinere, qui falsauerunt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus vnus sit, alter Patrem vult in persona Filij cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: & cæteri huiusmodi, qui à Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur, Optat. lib. 1.
f Synod. Nicæ. cap. 19.
g Synod. 1. Arelat. cap. 8.
h Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 8.

that which the true Church of Chriſt vſeth. The Biſhop greatly mooued thereat, yet durſt not aduenture to rebaptize, but did the beſt hee could to put him in good comfort, vſing much perſwaſion with him not to trouble himſelfe with things that were paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the fellowſhip of Gods people, to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The poore man that ſaw himſelfe in this ſort anſwered but not ſatisfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continuall perplexitie, whereof the Biſhop remayned fearefull to giue releaſe: perhaps too fearefull, if the Baptiſme were ſuch as his owne Declaration importeth. For that the ſubſtance whereof was rotten at the very firſt, is neuer by tract of time able to recouer ſoundneſſe. And where true Baptiſme was not before giuen, the caſe of rebaptization is cleere. But by this it appeareth that Baptiſme is not void in regard of Hereſie, and therefore much leſſe through any *other morall* defect in the Miniſter thereof. Vnder which ſecond pretenſe, Donatiſts notwithſtanding tooke vpon them to make fruſtrate the Churches Baptiſme, & themſelues to rebaptized their owne fry. For whereas ſome fortie yeares after the Martyrdome of bleſſed *Cyprian*, the Emperour *Diocleſian* began to * perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their Religion, to burne vp their ſacred Bookes, there were in the Church it ſelfe *Traditors*, content to deliuer vp the Bookes of God by compoſition, to the end their owne liues might bee ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt, whoſe conſtancie was greater, it fortuned that after, when one *Cæcilian* was ordained Biſhop in the Church of Carthage, whom others endeuoured in vaine to defeate by excepting againſt him as a *Traditor*, they whoſe accuſations could not preuaile, deſperately ioyned themſelues in one, and made a Biſhop of their owne crue, accounting from that day forward their faction the onely true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was *Maiorinus*, whoſe Succeſſour *Donatus* being the firſt that wrote in defence of their Schiſme, the Birdes that were hatched before by others haue their names from him. Arrians and Donatiſts beganne both about one time. Which Hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their owne ſinewes, wrought as hope of ſucceſſe led them, the one with the choiceſt wits, the c̄ther with the multitude ſo farre, that after long and troubleſome experience, the perfecteſt view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certaine determinate reſolution, whether Errour may doe more by the curious ſubtletie of ſharpe Diſcourſe, or elſe by the meere appearance of zeale and deuout affection, the later of which two aides, gaue Donatiſts beyond all mens expectation, as great a ſway as euer any Schiſme or Hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian World where it bred and grew: the rather perhaps becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſids had neceſſarie cauſe to bend it ſelfe againſt others that aymed directly at a farre higher marke the Diety of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts haue theirs forth by the ſpace of threeſcore yeeres and aboue, euen from tenne yeeres before *Conſtantine*, till the time that [b] *Optatus* Biſhop of Mileuis publiſhed his Bookes againſt *Parmenian*. During which terme and the ſpace of that Schiſmes continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other Secular and worldly meanes to helpe them forward, theſe ſpeciall aduantages. Firſt, the very occaſion of

* *circa an.* 300.

[b] *Circa an.* 370.

their breach with the Church of God, a iuſt hatred and diſlike of *Traditors* ſeemed plauſible they eaſily perſwaded their hearers that ſuch men could not bee holy as held cõmunion & fellowſhip with them that betray Religion. Againe, when to dazle the eyes of the ſimple, and to prooue that it can bee no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words the glorious pretenſe of the Creed Apoſtolike, *I beleeue the holy Catholike Church*, wee neede not thinke it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And auouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſme, they had for this point whole Volumes of S. *Cyprians* owne writing, together with the iudgement of diuers Affrican Synods, whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their iuſt cauſe very greatly preiudiced, both for that they could not inforce the dutie of mens communion with a Church confeſt to be in many things blame-worthy, vnleſſe they ſhould oftentimes ſeeme to ſpeake as halfe defendors of the faults themſelues, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers thereof as their aduerſaries; and to withſtand iteration of Baptiſme, the other branch of the Donatiſts Hereſie was impoſſible, without manifeſt and profeſt reiection of *Cyprian*, whom the World vniuerſally did in his life time admire as the greateſt amongſt Prelates, & now honour as the loweſt in the Kingdome of Heauen. So true we find it by experience of all Ages in the Church of God, that the Teachers errour is the peoples tryall, harder and heauier by ſo much to beare, as he is in worth and regard greater that miſperſwadeth them. Although there was oddes betweene *Cyprians* cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of ſounder vnderſtanding in that point, but not diuiding himſelfe from the body of the Church by Schiſme, as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, [a] ſaith VINCENTIVS, *Of one and the ſame opinion we iudge (which may ſeeme ſtrange) the Authors Catholike, & the followers hereticall; we acquit the Maſters, and condemne the Schollers; they are heires of heauen which haue written thoſe Books, the defendors whereof are trodden downe to the pit of hel.* The inuectiues of Catholike Writers therfore againſt them are ſharpe; the words of [b] Imperiall Edicts by *Honorius* & *Theodoſius* made to bridle them very bitter, the puniſhments ſeuere in reuenge of their folly. Howbeit for feare (as wee may coniecture) leſt much ſhould bee derogated from the Baptiſme of the Church, and Baptiſme by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of then was meete, if on the one ſide that which Heretikes had done ill ſhould ſtand as good, on the other ſide that be reuerſed which the Catholike Church had well and religiouſly done, diuers better minded then aduiſed men, thought it fitteſt to meete with this inconuenience, by rebaptizing Donatiſts as well as they rebaptized Catholikes. For ſtay whereof, the [c] ſame Emperours ſaw it meet to giue their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both ſides cut off not only Heretikes which rebaptized whom they could peruert, but alſo Catholike and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like vnto ſuch as before had taken Baptiſme at the hands of Heretikes, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore in proceſſe of time, though with much adoe, wearied, and at the length worne out by the conſtancie of that Truth which teacheth, that euill Miniſters of good things are as Torches, a light to others, a waſte to none but themſelues onely, and that the foulneſſe of their hands can neither

a *Vincent. Liren. aduerſ. hereſ. c. 11.*

b *Vide C. Theo. lib. 16. tit 6. l. Aduerſarios & l. Nullus circa an. 405.*

c *Siquis C. Ne, ſanct. baptiſ. circa an. 413.*

neither any whit impaire the vertue, nor staine the glorie of the Mysteries of Christ. Now that which was done amisse by vertuous and good men, as *Cyprian* carryed aside with hatred against Heresie, and was secondly followed by Donatists, whom Enuie and Rancor couered with shew of Godlines, made obstinate to cancell whatsoeuer the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptisme, hath of later dayes, in another respect, farre different from both the former, beene brought freshly againe into practice. For the Anabaptist rebaptized, because, in his estimation the Baptisme of the Church is frustrate, for that we giue it vnto Infants which haue not Faith, whereas, according vnto Christs Institution as they conceiue it, true Baptisme should alwayes presuppose actuall beliefe in Receiuers, and is otherwise no Baptisme. Of these three Errours, there is not any but hath beene able at the least to alleage in defence of it selfe many faire probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto alwayes constantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are knowne to haue receiued true Baptisme is vnlawfull; that if Baptisme seriously be administred in the same Element, and with the same forme of words which Christs Institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it frustrate, or depriue it of the nature of a true Sacrament; and lastly, that Baptisme is onely then to be read ministred, when the first deliuerie thereof is void, in regard of the forealleaged imperfections and no other, shall wee now in the case of Baptisme, which hauing both for matter and forme the substance of Christs Institution, is by a fourth sort of men voided, for the only defect of Ecclesiasticall authoritie in the Minister, thinke it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare strength of their very breath, by saying, *We take such Baptisme to be no more the Sacrament of Baptisme, then any other ordinarie bathing to be a Sacrament?* * It behoueth generally all sorts of men to keepe themselues within the limits of their owne vocation. And seeing God, from whom mens seuerall degrees and preeminences doe proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that wee should receiue both Baptisme and all other publike medicinable helpes of soule, perhappes thereby the more to settle our hearts in the loue of our ghostly Superiors, they haue small cause to hope that with him their voluntarie seruices will be accepted, who thrust themselues into Functions, eyther aboue their capacitie or besides their place, and ouer-boldly intermeddle with duties, whereof no charge was euer giuen them. They that in any thing exceed the compasse of their owne order, doe as much as in them lyeth to dissolue that Order which is the harmonie of Gods Church. Suppose therefore, that in these and the like considerations the Law did vtterly prohibit Baptisme to bee administred by any other then persons thereunto solemnely consecrated; what necessitie soeuer happen. Are not * many things firme being done, although in part done otherwise then Positiue rigor and strictnesse did require? Nature as much as is possible inclineth vnto validities and preseruations. Dissolutions and Nullities of things done are not onely not fauoured, but hated, when either vrged without cause, or extended beyond their reach: if therefore at any time it come to passe, that in teaching publikely or priuately in deliuering this Blessed Sacrament of Regeneration some vnsanctified hand, contrarie to Christs supposed Ordi-

* *Num.* 16.10. *Leuit.* 10.1. 1. *Sam.* 13.11. 2. *Sam.* 6.6. 2. *Chron.* 26.16. *Heb.* 5.4.

* *Seq.* 106. *Lugdunensis ex literis Decret. de matri. contract. Damas. Burchar Reg.* 106. *Prohibita fieri si fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res fauourabiles contrarium obtinet.*

Ordinance, doe intrude it selfe to execute that, wherupon the Lawes of God & his Church haue deputed others, which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with Equitie, ours that disallow what is done amisse, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much lesse their nature and very substance to depend on the Ministers authoritie and calling, or else [m] theirs which defeate, disanull, and annihilate both, in respect of that one onely personall defect, there being not any Law of God which saith, that if the Minister bee incompetent, his Word shall be no Word, his Baptisme no Baptisme? He which teacheth and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retayneth the name of a Teacher; his vsurped actions haue in him the same nature which they haue in others, although they yeeld him not the same comfort. And if these two cases be peeres, the case of Doctrine and the case of Baptisme both alike, sith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth, is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawfull calling in them that baptize, make baptisme to be vaine? [n] They grant that the matter and the forme in Sacraments are the onely parts of substance, and that if these two be retayned, albeit other things besides bee vsed which are inconuenient, the Sacrament notwithstanding is administred but not sincerely. Why persist they not in this opinion? when by these faire speeches they haue put vs in hope of agreement, wherefore sup they vp their words againe, interlacing such friuolous Interpretations and Gloses as disgrace their Sentence? What should moue them, hauing named the *matter* and the *forme* of the Sacrament, to giue vs presently warning; that they meane by *the forme* of the Sacrament *the institution*, which exposition darkeneth whatsoeuer was before plaine? For whereas in common vnderstanding, that *forme*, which added to the Element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, contayneth onely the words of vsuall application, they set it downe (lest common Dictionaries should deceiue vs) that *the forme* doth signifie in their Language *the institution*, which institution in truth comprehendeth both forme and matter. Such are their fumbling shifts to inclose the Ministers vocation within the compasse of some essentiall part of the Sacrament. A thing that can neuer stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the [p] Minister bee *no circumstance, but a subordinate efficient cause in the* worke of Baptisme? What if the Ministers vocation be a matter [q] *of perpetuall necessity, and not a Ceremonie variable as times & occasions require? What if his calling be a prinzipal part of the Institution of Christ?* Doth it therefore follow that the Ministers authoritie is [r] *of the substance of the Sacrament*, and as incident into the nature thereof as the matter and the forme it selfe, yea, more incident? For whereas in case of necessitie the greatest amongst them professeth the change of the Element of Water lawfull, and others which like not so well this opinion, could bee better content that voluntarily the *words* of Christs Institution were altered, and

[m] *T.C.l.1.p.144* As S. *Paul* saith that a man cannot preach which is not sent, *Rom.* 10.15 no not although hee speake the words of the Scripture & interpret them: So I cannot see how a man can baptize vnlesse he be sent to that end, although hee powre water & rehearse the words which are to bee rehearsed in the Ministry of Baptisme.

[n] *T.C.l.1.p.165.* If eyther the matter of the Sacrament, or the forme of it, which is the Institution [which things are onely substantiall parts] were wanting, there should then haue bin no Sacrament at al ministred. But they being retained & yet other things vsed which are not conueniēt, the Sacrament is ministred, but not sincerely.

[o] *T.C.l.3.p.117.*

[p] *T.C.l.3.p.121*

[q] *T.C.l.3.p.135.* The Minister is of the substance of the Sacrament, considering that it is a principall part of Christs Institution.

[r] *Bez Epist.2. Desit aqua, & tamen baptismus alicuius differri cum ædificatione non possit nèc debeat, ego certè quouis alio liquore non minus vitè quàm aqua baptizarim,* [r] *T.C.l.3.p.138.* Shew me why the breach of the Institution in the forme should make the Sacrament vnauayleable, and not the breach of this part [which concerneth the Minister.] *T. C. ibid.* Howsoeuer some learned and godly giue some libertie in the change of the Elements of the holy Sacrament, yet I doe not see how that can stand. *Idem. p.137.* I would rather iudge him baptized into the Name of Christ without adding the Father and the Holy Ghost when the Element of Water is added, then when the other words being duly kept, some other liquor is vsed.

men

men baptized in *the Name of Chriſt*, without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghoſt, neuertheleſſe, in denying that Baptiſme adminiſtred by priuate perſons, ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore pleaſe them both to conſider, that Baptiſme is an action in part Morall, in part Eccleſiaſticall, and in part Myſticall: Morall, as being a duty which men performe towards God; Eccleſiaſticall, in that it belongeth vnto Gods Church as a publike dutie; finally Myſticall, if wee reſpect what God doth thereby intend to worke. The greateſt Morall perfection of Baptiſme conſiſteth in mens deuout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and alſo that Religious affection which God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoeuer we doe is hatefull in his ſight, who therefore is ſaid to reſpect *Aduerbes* more then *Verbes*, becauſe the end of his Law in appointing what wee ſhall doe is our owne perfection, which perfection conſiſteth chiefely in the vertuous diſpoſition of the minde, and approoueth it ſelfe to him not by *doing*, but by doing *well*, Wherein appeareth alſo the difference betweene Humane and Diuine Lawes, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*, the one doe but clayme the deed, the other eſpecially the minde. So that according to Lawes which principally reſpect the heart of men, workes of Religion being not religiouſly performed, cannot morally be perfect. Baptiſme as an Eccleſiaſticall worke, is for the manner of performance ordered by diuers Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, prouiding that as the Sacrament it ſelfe is a gift of no meane worth, ſo the Miniſterie thereof might in all circumſtances appeare to bee a Function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to the Myſticall perfection of Baptiſme outwardly, is the Element, the Word, and the ſerious application of both vnto him which receiueth both, whereunto if wee adde that ſecret reference which this action hath to life and remiſſion of ſinnes, by vertue of Chriſts owne compact ſolemnely made with his Church, to accompliſh fully the Sacrament of Baptiſme, there is not any thing more required. Now put the queſtion whether Baptiſme adminiſtred to Infants without any Spirituall calling, bee vnto them both a true Sacrament and an effectuall inſtrument of grace, or elſe an act of no more account then the ordinarie Waſhings are. The ſumme of all that can be ſaid to defeat ſuch Baptiſme is, that thoſe things which haue no being can worke nothing, and that Baptiſme without the power of Ordination, is as a iudgement without ſufficient Iuriſdiction, void, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this we anſwere, that the fruit of Baptiſme dependeth onely vpon the Couenant which God hath made; that God by Couenant requireth in the elder ſort, Faith and Baptiſme, in Children the Sacrament of Baptiſme alone, whereunto hee hath alſo giuen them right by ſpeciall priuiledge of birth, within the boſome of the holy Church; that Infants therefore, which haue receiued Baptiſme complete, as touching the Myſticall perfection thereof, are by vertue of his owne Couenant and promiſe cleanſed from all ſinne, for as much as all other Lawes concerning that which in Baptiſme is either Morall or Eccleſiaſticall, doe binde the Church which giueth Baptiſme, and not the Infant which receiueth it of the Church. So that if any thing bee therein amiſſe, the harme which groweth by violation of holy Ordinances, muſt altoge-

ther reſt where the bonds of ſuch Ordinances hold. For that in actions of this Nature it fareth not as in Iuriſdictions may ſomwhat appeare by the very opinion which men haue of them. The nullitie of that which a Iudge doth by way of authoritie without authoritie, is knowne to all men, and agreed vpon with full conſent of the whole World, euery man receiueth it as a generall Edict of Nature, whereas the nullitie of Baptiſme in regard of the like defect, is onely a few mens new vngrounded and as yet vnapprooued imagination. Which difference of generalitie in mens perſwaſions on the one ſide, and their paucitie whoſe conceit leadeth them the other way, hath riſen from a difference eaſie to obſerue in the things themſelues. The exerciſe of vnauthorized Iuriſdiction is a grieuance vnto them that are vnder it, whereas they that without authoritie preſume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food and the Miniſters thereof as Parents or as Nurſes, at whoſe hands when there is neceſſitie but no poſſibilitie of receiuing it, if that which they are not preſent to doe in right of their Office, be of pitie and compaſſion done by others, ſhall this be thought to turne Celeſtiall Bread into grauell, or the medicine of ſoules into poyſon? Iuriſdiction is a yoke which Law hath impoſed on the neckes of men in ſuch ſort, that they muſt indure it for the good of others, how contrary ſoeuer it bee to their owne particular appetites and inclinations, Iuriſdiction bridleth men againſt their wils, that which a Iudge doth preuayle by vertue of his very power; and therefore not without great reaſon, except the Law haue giuen him authoritie, whatſoeuer he doth, vaniſheth. Baptiſme on the other ſide being a fauour which it pleaſeth God to beſtow a benefit of ſoule to vs that receiue it, and a grace which they that deliuer are but as meere Veſſels, either appointed by others or offered of their owne accord to this ſeruice; of which two if they be the one, it is but their owne honour, their owne offence to be the other; can it poſſibly ſtand with [a] equitie and right, that the faultines of their preſumption in giuing Baptiſme ſhould bee able to preiudice vs, who by taking Baptiſme haue no way offended? I know there are many ſentences found in the Bookes and Writings of the ancient Fathers, to prooue both Eccleſiaſticall and alſo Morall defects in the Miniſter of Baptiſme, a barre to the heauenly benefit thereof. Which ſentences we alwaies ſo vnderſtand, as [b] *Auguſtine* vnderſtood in a caſe of like nature the words of *Cyprian*. When Infants baptized were after their Parents reuolt carryed by the in armes to the ſtewes of Idols, thoſe wretched creatures, as S. *Cyprian* thought, were not onely their owne ruine but their childrens alſo; *Their children*, whom this their Apoſtaſie profaned, *did loſe what Chriſtian Baptiſme had giuen the being newly borne*. They loſt (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) the grace of Baptiſme, *if we conſider to what their Parents impietie did tend*, although the mercie of God preſerued them, & will alſo in that dreadful day of account giue them fauorable audience pleading in their owne behalfe, *The harme of other mens perfidiouſneſſe it lay not in vs to auoyd*. After the ſame manner, whatſoeuer we read written, if it ſound to the preiudice of Baptiſme through any either Morall or Eccleſiaſticall defect therein, wee conſter it, as Equitie and Reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offender only, which doth, as farre as concerneth himſelfe and them, which wittingly concurre with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitleſſe. S. *Auguſtine*

[a] *Factum alterius aliꝫ nocere non debet.* Vlp. l. de pupillo. §. ſi plurimum. Item Alphen. l. Pater familias. De Hære. inſti.

Maleficia tenent Authores ſuos non alios. L. Sancimus 22 C. de pæn.

[b] *Aug.* Epiſt. 23.

gustines [a] *doubtfulnesse*, whether Baptisme by a Lay-man may stand, or ought to be re-administred, should not be mentioned by them which presume to define peremptorily of that, wherein he was content to professe himselfe vnresolued. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plaine enough, but the manner of deliuering his iudgement being modest, they make of a vertue an imbecillitie, and impute his calmenesse of speech to an irresolution of mind. His Disputation in that place is against *Parmenian*, which held, that a Bishop or a Priest if they fall into any Heresie, doe thereby lose the power which they had before, to baptize, and that therefore Baptisme by Heretikes is meerely void. For answer whereof hee first denyeth, that Heresie can more depriue men of power to baptize others, then it is of force to take from them their owne Baptisme; & in the second place he farther addeth, that if Heretikes did lose the power which before was giuen them by Ordination, & did therefore vnlawfully vsurpe as oft as they tooke vpon them to giue the Sacrament of Baptisme, it followeth not that Baptisme, by them administred without authoritie, is no Baptisme. For then what should we thinke of Baptisme by Lay-men, to whom authoritie was neuer giuen? I doubt (saith S. *Augustine*) whether any man which carryeth a vertuous & godly mind will affirme, that the Baptisme which Lay-men doe in case of necessity administer should be iterated. *For to doe it vnnecessarily, is to execute another mans office; necessitie vrging, to doe it is then either no fault at all* (much lesse so grieuous a crime that it should deserue to be termed by the name of [b] sacriledge) *or if any, a very pardonable fault. But suppose it euen of very purpose vsurped and giuen vnto any man by euery man that listeth, yet that which is giuen cannot possibly bee denied to haue beene giuen, how truly soeuer we may say it hath not beene giuen lawfully. Vnlawfull vsurpation a penitent affection must redresse. If not, the thing that was giuen shal remaine to the hurt & detriment of him, which vnlawfully either administred or receiued the same, yet so that in this respect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all beene giuen.* Whereby we may plainely perceiue, that Saint *Augustine* was not himselfe vncertaine what to thinke, but doubtfull, whether any wel-minded man in the whole world, could thinke otherwise then hee did Their [c] Argument taken from a stollen seale, may returne to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cause nothing. That which men giue or grant to others, must appeare to haue proceeded of their owne accord. This being manifest, their Gifts and Grants are thereby made effectuall, both to barre themselues from reuocation, and to assecure the right they haue giuen. Wherein for further preuention of mischiefes, that otherwise might grow by the malice, treacherie, and fraud of men, it is both equall and meete that the strength of mens deeds, and the instruments which declare the same, should strictly depend vpon diuers solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that passe betweene God and vs, because sith wee neede not doubt, least the treasures of his heauenly grace should, without his consent be past by forged conueyances, nor lest he should, deny at any time his owne acts, and seeke to reuoke what hath beene consented vnto before: as there is no such feare of danger through deceit and falshood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of mens persons that waight in Baptisme, which for good and iust considerations in the custodie of seales of Office it ought to haue. The grace of Baptisme

[a] *T.C.l.3 p.136. Augustine* standeth in doubt, whether Baptisme by a Lay-man be availeable or no. *Cont. lit. Parmen l.2.c.13.* where by all likelyhood he was out of doubt, that that which was ministred by a Woman, whose vnaptnesse herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

[b] *T.C.l.3 p.116.* The sacriledge of priuate persons, Women especially in administring the holy Sacrament of Baptisme.

[c] *T.C.l.3.p 139.* As by the seale which the Prince hath set apart to seale his Grants with, when it is stollen and set to by him that hath no authoritie, there groweth no assurance to the partie that hath it: So if it were possible to be the seale of God which a woman should set to, yet for that she hath stollen it and put it to, not only without, but contrarie to the Commendement of God, I see not how any can take any assurance by reason thereof.

Baptiſme commeth by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the miniſterie of Baptiſme vnto ſpeciall men, it is for orders ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their authoritie might giue being, or adde force to the Sacrament it ſelfe. That Infants haue right to the Sacrament of Baptiſme, wee all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileſull and wrongfull poſſeſſors of that, whereunto they haue right by the manifeſt will of the Donor, and are not parties vnto any defect or diſorder in the maner of receiuing the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder be, we haue ſufficiently before declared, that *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, mens owne faults are their owne harmes. Wherefore to counteruaile this and the like miſchoſen reſemblances with that, which more truely and plainely agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that miniſter Baptiſme, wherein the myſterie of our regeneration is wrought, hath therunto the ſame Analogie which lawes of wedlocke haue to our firſt natiuitie and birth. So that if Nature doe effect procreation, notwithſtanding the wicked violation and breach euen of Natures law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this preſent world might be without blemiſh, may wee not iuſtly preſume that Grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faultineſſe in them that tranſgreſſe the order which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumciſion, for explication, what is true in this queſtion of Baptiſme. Seeing then, that euen they, which [a] condemne *Sephora* the wife of *Moſes*, for taking vpon her to circumcile her ſonne, a thing neceſſary at that time for her to do, & as I thinke very hard to reprooue in her, conſidering how *Moſes*, becauſe himſelfe had not done it ſooner, was therefore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremitie performe the office; whereunpon, for the ſtay of Gods indignation, there was no choice, but the action muſt needes fall into her hands; whoſe fact therein whether we interpret, as ſome haue done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not ſo throughly acquainted with the exerciſe of Iewiſh Rites, it much diſcontented her, to ſee her ſelfe through her husbands ouerſight, in a matter of his owne Religion brought vnto theſe perplexities and ſtreights, that either ſhee muſt now indure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her owne Child, which ſhe could not doe but with ſome indignation ſhewed, in that ſhee fumingly both threw downe the fore-skin at his feete, and vpbraided him with the crueltie of his Religion: or if wee better like to follow their more iudicious Expoſition, which are not inclinable to thinke that *Moſes* was matcht like *Socrates*, nor that Circumciſion could now in *Eleazar* bee ſtrange vnto her hauing had *Gerſom* her elder ſonne before circumciſed, nor that any occaſion of choler could riſe from a ſpectacle of ſuch miſerie, as doth [b] naturally mooue compaſſion and not wrath, nor that *Sephora* was ſo impious, as in the viſible preſence of Gods deſerued anger, to ſtorme at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the hiſtorie it ſelfe can inforce any ſuch affection, but doe onely

[a] *Exod.* 4. 24.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 144. I ſay that the vnlawfulnes of that fact doth appeare ſufficiently, in that ſhee did it before her husband *Moſes* which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumciſion did appertaine. Beſides, that ſhee did cut off the fore-skin of the Infant, not of mind to obey the Commandement of God, or for the ſaluation of the Child, but in a choler onely, to the end that her husband might bee eaſed and haue releaſe: which mind appeareth in her both by her words, and by caſting away in anger the fore-skin which ſhee had cut off. And if it be ſaid, that the euent declared that the act pleaſed God, becauſe that *Moſes* forthwith waxed better, and was recouered of his ſickneſſe, I haue ſhewed before that if we meaſure things by the euent, we ſhall oftentimes iuſtifie the wicked, and take the righteouſneſſe of the righteous from them.

[b] *Malis paſſionibus irascimur, ſed compatimur*, Boet. de Conſol.

only declare how after the act performed, ſhe *touched* the feete of *Moſes*, ſaying, [a] *Sponſus tu mihi es ſanguinum*; *Thou art vnto me an husband of bloud*, which might be very well, the one done, and the other ſpoken, euen out of the flowing abundance of commiſeration and loue, to ſignifie with hands laid vnder his feete, that her tender affection towards him, had cauſed her thus to forget woman-hood, to lay all motherly affection aſide, and to redeeme her husband out of the hands of Death with effuſion of bloud; the ſequele thereof, take it which way you will, is a plaine argument that God was ſatisfied with that ſhee did, as may appeare by his owne teſtimony, declaring how there followed in the perſon of *Moſes* preſent releaſe of his grieuous puniſhment vpon her ſpeedie diſcharge of that dutie, which by him neglected, had offended God, [b] euen as after execution of Iuſtice by the hands of Princes, the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunitie of ſinne had cauſed; in which ſo manifeſt and plaine caſes, not to make that a reaſon of the euent, which God himſelfe hath ſet downe as a reaſon, were falſely to accuſe whom he doth iuſtifie, and without any cauſe to traduce what wee ſhould allow: yet ſeeing they which will haue it a breach of the Law of God, for her to circumciſe in that neceſſitie, are not able to deny, but Circumciſion being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which receiued it true Circumciſion, why ſhould that defect whereby Circumciſion was ſo little weakened be to Baptiſme a deadly wound? Theſe premiſſes therefore remayning, as hitherto they haue beene laid, becauſe the commandement of our Sauiour Chriſt, which committeth [c] ioyntly to publique Miniſters both Doctrine and Baptiſme, doth no more by linking them together import, that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Miniſters authoritie and power to preach the Word, then the force and vertue of the Word doth on licence to giue the Sacrament; and conſidering that the worke of externall miniſterie in Baptiſme is onely a preeminence of honor, which they that take to themſelues and are not therunto called as *Aaron* was, doe but themſelues in their owne perſons, by meanes of ſuch vſurpation, incurre the iuſt blame of diſobedience to the Law of God, farther alſo in as much as it ſtandeth with no reaſon, that errours grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens deedes, ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoeuer is miſconceiued, and that Baptiſme by Women ſhould ceaſe to be Baptiſme, as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die vnbaptized are damned, which opinion if the act of Baptiſme adminiſtred in ſuch manner did inforce, it might be ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether void; laſt of all, whereas generall and full conſent of the godly-learned in all Ages, doth make for validitie of Baptiſme, yea albeit adminiſtred in priuate and euen by Women, which kind of Baptiſme, in caſe of neceſſitie, diuers reformed Churches do both allow and

a Where the vſuall tranſlation hath *Exod.* 4. 25. She cut away the fore-skin of her ſonne, & caſt it at his feete, and ſaid, Thou art indeed a bloudie husband vnto me. So he departed from him. Then ſhee ſaid, O bloudy husband, becauſe of the circumciſion: the words as they lie in the originall, are rather to bee thus interpreted: And ſhe cut off the fore-skinne of her ſonne. Which being done, ſhee touched his feete (the feet of *Moſes*) and ſaid, Thou art to me an husband of bloud (in the plurall number, thereby ſignifying effuſion of bloud.) And the Lord withdrewe from him at the very time, when ſhe ſaid, A husband of bloud in regard of circumciſion.

b *Pſal* 106. 30. *C.T.C. lib.* 3. *pag* 142. Seeing they onely are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments, which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the publike Miniſters haue onely this charge of the Word; and ſeeing that the adminiſtration of both theſe are linked together, that the deniall of licence to doe one, is a deniall to doe the other, as of the contrarie part, licence to one, is licence to the other: conſidering alſo, that to miniſter the Sacraments, is an honour in the Church, which none can take vnto him, but he which is called vnto it, as was *Aaron*: and further, for as much as the baptizing by priuate perſons, and by women eſpecially, confirmeth the dangerous errour of the condemnation of young children, which die without Baptiſme: laſt of all, ſeeing we haue the conſent of the godly-learned of all times againſt the Baptiſme by women, and of the reformed Churches now, againſt the Baptiſme by priuate men, we conclude that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by priuate perſons, and eſpecially by women, is meerly both vnlawfull and void.

defend,

defend, ſome others which doe not defend, tolerate; few, in compariſon, and they without any iuſt cauſe, doe vtterly diſanull and annihilate, ſurely, howſoeuer through defect on either ſide, the Sacrament may be without fruit, aſwell in ſome cales to him which receiueth, as to him which giueth it, yet no diſabilitie of either part can ſo farre make it fruſtrate and without effect, as to deprine it of the very nature of true Baptiſme, hauing all things elſe which the ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently inferre, that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by priuate perſons, be it lawfull or vnlawfull, appeareth not as yet to be meerely void.

Interrogatories in Baptiſme touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life

63 All that are of the race of Chriſt, the Scripture nameth them *children of the promiſe*, which God hath made. The promiſe of eternall Life is the ſeed of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainement of life, but through the onely begotten Sonne of God, nor by him otherwiſe then being ſuch as the Creed Apoſtolike deſcribeth, it followeth that the Articles thereof are principles; neceſſarie for all men to ſubſcribe vnto, whom by Baptiſme the Church receiueth into Chriſts Schoole. All points of Chriſtian doctrine are either demonſtrable Concluſions, or demonſtratiue Principles. Concluſions haue ſtrong and inuincible proofes, as well in the Schoole of Ieſus Chriſt as elſewhere. And Principles be grounds, which require no proofe in any kind of Science, becauſe it ſufficeth if either their certaintie be euident in it ſelfe, or euident by the light of ſome higher knowledge, and in it ſelfe ſuch as no mans knowledge is euer able to ouerthrow. Now the principles whereupon wee doe build our ſoules, haue their euidence where they had their originall, and as receiued from thence we adore them, we hold them in reuerend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute aboue them, we giue vnto them that aſſent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, becauſe miſcreants in ſcorne haue vpbraided vs, that the higheſt point of our wiſedome is [a] *Beliefe*. That which is true and neither can be diſcerned by ſenſe, nor concluded by meere naturall principles, muſt haue principles of reuealed Truth wherupon to build it ſelfe, and an habit of Faith in vs wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. [b] The myſteries of our Religion are aboue the reach of our vnderſtanding, aboue diſcourſe of mans reaſon, aboue all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him, which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſts Family, is beliefe. Which beliefe conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge, as in acknowledgement of all things that heauenly wiſdome reuealeth; the affection of Faith is aboue her reach, her loue to God-ward aboue the comprehenſion which ſhee hath of God. And becauſe onely for Beleeuers all things may bee done, he which is goodneſſe it ſelfe, loueth them aboue all. Deſerue we then the loue of God, becauſe we beleeue in the Sonne of God? What more oppoſite then Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked vpon them, and loued them, becauſe they were all as himſelfe had made them. So the true reaſon wherefore Chriſt doth loue Beleeuers, is, becauſe their beliefe is [c] the gift of God, a gift then which fleſh & bloud in this world cannot poſſibly receiue a greater. And as loue to them of whom we receiue good things is dutie, becauſe they ſatisfie our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want, ſo to loue them on whom

[a] *Apoſtata maledictum.* ἐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πίστευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶ σοφίας, Nazian. Orat. cont. Iulian.

[b] ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ καταλήψεως ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα, Iuſt. Mart. Expoſ. Fid.

[c] *Matth.* 16. 17 *John* 11. 11.

whom we beſtow is nature, becauſe in them we behold the effects of our owne vertue. Seeing therefore no Religion inioyeth Sacraments the ſignes of Gods loue, vnleſſe it haue alſo that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more conuenient then that our firſt admittance to the actuall receit of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, ſhould be[a] conſecrated with profeſſion of beliefe, which is to the Kingdome of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other ſauing grace? We find by experience, that although Faith be an intellectuall habit of the mind, and haue her ſeate in the vnderſtanding, yet an euill morall diſpoſition obſtinately wedded to the loue of darkeneſſe, dampeth the very light of heauenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are louers of pleaſure more then louers of God. Their aſſent to his ſauing Truth is many times with-held from it, not that the Truth is too weake to perſwade, but becauſe the ſtreame of corrupt affection carryeth them a cleane contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of Faith, there muſt abide in the will as conſtant a reſolution to haue no fellowſhip at all with the vanities and workes of darkneſſe. Two Couenants there are which Chriſtian men (ſaith [b] *Iſidore*) doe make in Baptiſme, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Chriſt. In like ſort [c] S. AMBROSE, *He which is baptized*, forſaketh the intellectuall *Pharaoh* the Prince of this world, ſaying, *Abrenuncio; Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy workes and thy mandats, I forſake vtterly.* [d] TERTVLLIAN hauing ſpeech of wicked ſpirits: (*Theſe* ſaith he) *are the Angels which we in Baptiſme renounce.* The declaration of [e] *Iuſtine* the *Martyr* cõcerning Baptiſme, ſheweth, how ſuch as the Church in thoſe daies did baptize, made profeſſion of Chriſtian beliefe, and vndertooke to liue accordingly. Neither doe I thinke it a matter eaſie for any man to prooue that euer Baptiſme did vſe to be adminiſtred without interrogatories of theſe two kinds. Whereunto [f] S. *Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding, hath ſaid, that the Baptiſme *which ſaueth* vs, is not (as Legall purification were) a clenſing of the fleſh from outward impuritie, but ἐπερώτημα, *an interrogatiue triall of a good conſcience towards God.*

[a] *Spiritus Sanctus habitator eius Templi non efficitur quod Antiſtitem non habet veram fidem*, Hieron. aduer. Lucifer. cap. 4.

[b] *Iſid. de Offic. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 24.*

[c] *Ambroſ. Hexam. l. 1. c. 4.*

[d] *Tertull. de Spectac.*

[e] Ὅσοι ἂν πίστευσιν καὶ πείθωσι ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν ἔτως ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται, Iuſtin. Apol.

[f] 1. *Pet.* 3. 21.

64. Now the fault which they finde with vs concerning interrogatories, is our mouing of theſe queſtions vnto Infants which cannot anſwer them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretences to ſcorne at the Baptiſme of children, firſt, becauſe the Scriptures, he ſaith, doe no where giue commandement to baptize Infants: ſecondly, for that as there is no commandement, ſo neither any manifeſt example ſhewing it to haue beene done either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles: thirdly, in as much as the Word preached and the Sacraments muſt goe together, they which are not capable of the one, are no fit receiuers of the other: laſt of all, ſith the order of Baptiſme continued from the firſt beginning, hath in it thoſe things which are

Interrogatories propoſed vnto Infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by godfathers. They prophane holy Baptiſme in toying fooliſhly, for that they aske queſtions of an Infant which cannot anſwer, and ſpeake vnto them as was wont to be ſpoken vnto men, and vnto ſuch as being conuerted anſwered for themſelues, and were baptized. Which is but a mockerie of God, and therefore againſt the holy Scriptures, *Gal.* 6. 7. Admon. to the Parlia. The ſame defended in *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 168.

vnfit

vnfit to be applied vnto ſucking children, it followeth in their conceit that the Baptiſme of ſuch is no Baptiſme, but plaine mockerie. They with whom wee contend are no enemies to the Baptiſme of Infants; it is not their deſire that the Church ſhould hazzard ſo many ſoules, by letting them run on till they come to ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding, that ſo they may be conuerted and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore haue beene; they beare not towards God ſo vnthankefull minds, as not to acknowledge it euen amongſt the greateſt of his endleſſe mercies, that by making vs his owne poſſeſſion ſo ſoone, many aduantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are preuented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happines) the firſt thing whereof we haue occaſion to take notice is, how much hath bin done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the Baptiſme of Infants they eſteeme as an ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted, euen in ſpeciall loue and fauour to his owne people; they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to haue beene kept, as deriued from the hands, and continued from the daies of the Apoſtles themſelues vnto this preſent. Only it pleaſeth them not, that to Infants there ſhould be interrogatories propoſed in Baptiſme. This they condemne as fooliſh, toyiſh, and prophane mockerie. But are they able to ſhew that euer the Church of Chriſt had any publique forme of Baptiſme without interrogatories; or that the Church did euer vſe at the ſolemne Baptiſme of Infants, to omit thoſe queſtions as needleſſe in this caſe? * *Boniface* a Biſhop in S. *Auguſtines* time, knowing that the Church did vniuerſally vſe this cuſtome of baptizing Infants with interrogatories, was deſirous to learne from S. *Auguſtine* the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſaith he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young infant, and ſhould aske of thee whether that Infant when he commeth vnto riper age, will bee honeſt and iuſt or no, thou wouldeſt anſwere (I know) that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſſe, is not in the power of a mortall man. If I ſhould aske what good or euill ſuch an Infant thinketh, thine anſwere hereunto muſt needs be againe with the like vncertainty. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe, how is it that when ſuch are brought vnto Baptiſme, their Parents there vndertake what the child ſhall afterwards doe, yea they are not doubtfull to ſay it doth that which is impoſſible to be done by Infants? At the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirme it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwer, ſuch as not onely may preſſe me with the bare authoritie of cuſtome, but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficultie, whether it may truely be ſaid for Infants at the time of their Baptiſme that they doe beleeue, the effect of S. *Auguſtines* anſwer is yea, but with this diſtinction, * a preſent *actuall habite of faith there is not* in them, there is deliuered vnto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſteth in anſwering to the Articles of faith, *becauſe* the habit of faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but *a farther* building vp of the ſame edifice, the *firſt foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament* of Baptiſme. For that which there we profeſſed without any vnderſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, doe we any thing elſe but only bring vnto ripeneſſe the very ſeed that was ſowne before? We are *then beleeuers*, becauſe *then we begin to be* that which proceſſe of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actuall beliefe, the very Sacrament of Faith is a ſhield

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* *Aug. Epiſt. 23.*

* *Sicut credere reſpondetur, ita etiam fideliter vocatur; non remiſſa mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei Sacramentum percipiendo.* Auguſt.

as ſtrong as after this the faith of the Sacrament againſt all contrarie infernall powers. Which whoſoeuer doth thinke impoſſible, is vndoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian beliefe, though hee be baptized, then are theſe innocents which at their Baptiſme albeit they haue no conceipt or cogitation of faith, are, notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any feare or ſcruple wee may accompt them and terme them beleeuers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from faith then Infants, why not Infants much more at the time of their ſolemne initiation by Baptiſme the ſacrament of faith, whereunto they not onely conceiue nothing oppoſite, but haue alſo that [a] grace giuen them which is the firſt and moſt effectuall cauſe out of which our beliefe groweth? In ſumme, the whole Church is a multitude of beleeuers, all honoured with that title, euen Hypocrites for their profeſſions ſake as well as Saints, becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *Infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actuall habit of Faith*; the firſt ſort are faithfull in the eye of the World, the ſecond faithfull in the ſight of God; the laſt in the readie direct way to become both, if all things after bee ſuteable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *would not happily content ſuch perſons as are vncapable or vnquiet, but to them which hauing knowledge are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice. Wherein I haue not for eaſe of my ſelfe obiected againſt you that cuſtome onely, then which nothing is more firme, but of a cuſtome moſt profitable I haue done that little which I could to yeeld you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were Saint *Auguſtine* now liuing, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction that to ſay [b] of a child *it is elect* and to ſay it doth beleeue are all one, for which cauſe ſith no man is able preciſely to affirme the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth that *preciſely* and *abſolutely* wee ought not to ſay the other. Which *preciſe* and *abſolute* termes are needleſſe in this caſe. We ſpeake of infants *as the rule of pietie* alloweth both to ſpeake and thinke. They that can take to themſelues in ordinarie talke a charitable kind of libertie to name men of their owne ſort *Gods deere Children* (notwithſtanding the large raigne of hypocriſie) ſhould not me thinks be ſo ſtrict & rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian innocent. For when wee know how Chriſt in generall hath ſaid that *of ſuch* is the kingdome of heauen, which kingdome is the inheritance of God elect, and doe withall behold how his prouidence hath called them vnto the firſt beginnings of eternall life, and preſented them at the welſpring of new birth wherein originall ſinne is purged, beſides which ſinne there is no hinderance of their ſaluation knowne to vs, as themſelues will grant, hard it were that hauing ſo many faire inducements whereupon to ground, we ſhould not be thought to vtter at the leaſt a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular infant an elect babe, as in preſuming [c] the like of others, whoſe ſafetie neuertheles we are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples bee onely for inſtructions ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon why interrogatories ſhould be miniſtred to infants in baptiſme, and be anſwered vnto by others as in their names, they may conſider that baptiſme implyeth a couenant or league betweene God and man, wherein as God doth beſtow preſently remiſſion

[a] *Multum mirabilis res eſt quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus & quorũdam cognoſcentium non ſit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoſcentes Deum non ſicut Deum glorificauerunt: & ad templum Dei pertinent paruuli ſanctificatiſacramento Chriſti regeneratiſpiritu Sancto, qui per ætatem nondum poſſunt cognoſcere Deũ. Vnde quem potuerũt illi noſſe nec habere iſti potuerunt habere antequam noſſe. Auguſt: Epiſt. 57.*

[b] *T. C. l. 1. p. 169* If children could haue faith, yet they that preſent the child cannot preciſely tell whether that particular child hath faith or no; we are to thinke charitably an to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no more preciſely ſaid that it hath faith, then it may be ſaid preciſely elected.

[c] 2. *John* 1.

remiſſion of ſinnes and the holy Ghoſt, binding alſo himſelfe to adde in proceſſe of time what grace ſoeuer ſhall bee farther neceſſarie for the attainement of euerlaſting life; ſo euery baptized ſoule receiuing the ſame grace at the hands of God tieth likewiſe it ſelfe for euer to the obſeruation of his Law no leſſe then the Iewes [a] by Circumciſion bound themſelues to the Law of *Moſes*. The Law of Chriſt requiring therefore Faith and newneſſe of life in all men by vertue of the Couenant which they make in Baptiſme, is it toyiſh that the Church in Baptiſme exacteth at euery mans hands an expreſſe profeſſion of faith and an irreuocable promiſe of obedience by way of [b] ſolemne ſtipulation? That Infants may contract and couenant with God, [c] the Law is plaine. Neither is the reaſon of the Law obſcure. For ſith it tendeth wee cannot ſufficiently expreſſe how much to their owne good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to beginne the race of their liues herewith, they are as equitie requireth admitted hereunto, and in fauour of their tender yeeres ſuch formall complements of ſtipulation as being requiſite are impoſſible by themſelues in their owne perſons, to be performed, leaue is giuen that they may [d] ſufficiently diſcharge by others. Albeit therefore neither deafe nor dumbe men, neither furious perſons, nor children can receiue any ciuill ſtipulation, yet this kinde of ghoſtly ſtipulation they may through his indulgence who reſpecting the ſingular benefit thereof accepteth children brought vnto him for that end, entreth into Articles of Couenant with them, and in tender commiſeration granteth that other mens profeſſions and promiſes in baptiſme made for them ſhall auaile no leſſe then if they had beene themſelues able to haue made their owne. None more fit to vndertake this office in their behalfe then ſuch as preſent them vnto Baptiſme. A wrong conceit that none may receiue the Sacrament of Baptiſme but they whoſe Parents at the leaſt the one of them are by the ſoundneſſe of their Religion and by their vertuous demeanour knowne to be men of God, hath cauſed [e] ſome to repell children whoſoeuer bring them if their Parents be miſperſwaded in Religion, or for other miſdeſerts excommunicated; ſome likewiſe for that cauſe to withhold Baptiſme, vnleſſe the Father, albeit no ſuch exception can iuſtly be taken againſt him, doe notwithſtanding make profeſſion of his Faith, and auouch the child to bee his owne. Thus whereas God hath appointed the Miniſters of holy things, they make themſelues inquiſitours of mens perſons a great deale farther then need is. They ſhould could conſider that God hath ordained baptiſme in fauour of mankinde. To reſtraine fauours is an odious thing, to enlarge them acceptable both to God and Man. Whereas therefore the Ciuill Law gaue diuers immunities to them which were fathers of three children and had them liuing, thoſe immunities they held although their children were all dead if warre had conſumed them, becauſe it ſeemed in that caſe not againſt reaſon to repute them by a courteous conſtruction of law as [f] liue-men in that the honour of their ſeruice done to the common-wealth would remaine alwayes. Can it hurt vs in exhibiting the graces which God doth beſtow on men, or can it preiudice his glorie if the ſelfe-ſame equitie guide and direct our hands? When God made his couenant with ſuch as had *Abraham* to their Father, was onely *Abrahams* immediate iſſue, or onely his lineall poſteritie ac-

a *Gal.5.3.*

b *Stipulatio eſt verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interogatur daturum faturumue ſe quod interrogatus eſt reſpondet, l.5.§. 1.ff. de oblig. & act. In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide iubes? Fide iubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Inſtit. de verb.obl.li.3. tit.15.*

c *Gen.17.14.*

d *Accommodat illis mater Eccleſia aliorum pedes vt veniãt, aliorum cor vt credant, aliorum linguã vt fateantur, vt quoniam quod egri ſunt alio peccante prægrauantur, ſic eum ſani fiant alio pro eis confitente ſaluãtur. Aug. Serm.10. de verb.Apoſt.*

e *T.C.l.1.p.172*

f *Hi enim qui pro reb. ceciderunt in perpetuum per gloriam viuere intelliguntur. Inſtit.lib.2.tit. 15.§ 1.*

according to the fleſh included in that couenant? Were not Proſelites as well as Iewes alwayes taken for the ſonnes of *Abraham?* Yea becauſe the very heads of Families are Fathers in ſome ſort as touching prouidence and care for the meaneſt that belong vnto them, the ſeruants which *Abraham* had bought with money were as capable of Circumciſion being newly borne as any naturall child that *Abraham* himſelfe begat. Be it then that Baptiſme belongeth to none but ſuch as either beleeue preſently, or elſe being Infants are the children of *beleeuing parents.* In caſe the Church doe bring children to the holy Font whoſe naturall parents are either vnknowne, or knowne to be ſuch as the Church accurſeth, but yet forgetteth not in that ſeueritie to take compaſſion vpon their off-ſpring (for [a] it is the Church which doth offer them to Baptiſme by the Miniſterie of preſenters) were it not againſt both equitie and dutie to refuſe the mother of beleeuers her ſelfe, & not to take her in this caſe for a faithfull parent? It is not the vertue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other that can giue vs the true holines which we haue by vertue of our new birth. Yet euen through the common faith and ſpirit of Gods Church (a thing which no qualitie of parents can preiudice) I ſay through the faith of the Church of God vndertaking the motherly care of our ſoules, ſo farre forth wee may be, and are in our infancie ſanctified as to be thereby made ſufficiently capable of Baptiſme, & to be intereſſed in the rites of our new birth for their pieties ſake that offer vs thereunto. *It commeth ſometime to paſſe* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *that the children of bond ſlaues are brought to Baptiſme by their Lord; ſometime the Parents being dead, the friends aliue vndertake that office; ſometime ſtrangers or Virgins conſecrated vnto God, which neither haue nor can haue children of their owne, take vp Infants in the open ſtreets and ſo offer them vnto Baptiſme, whom the crueltie of vnnaturall parents caſteth out and leaueth to the aduenture of vncertaine pitie.* As therefore he which did the part of a Neighbour, was a Neighbour to that wounded man whom the parable of the Goſpell deſcribeth: ſo they are fathers although ſtrangers, that bring Infants to him which maketh them the ſonnes of God. In the phraſe of ſome kind of men they vſe to be termed *witneſſes*, as if they came but to ſee and teſtifie what is done. It ſauoureth more of pietie to giue them their old accuſtomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to bear towards thoſe Innocents, for whoſe religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their owne dutie. But becauſe the anſwere which they make to the vſuall demands of ſtipulation propoſed in Baptiſme is not their owne, the Church doth beſt to receiue it of them in that forme which beſt ſheweth whoſe the act is. That which a Gardian doth in the name of his Guard or Pupill ſtandeth by naturall equitie forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And ſhall we iudge it a thing vnreaſonable, or in any reſpect vnfit, that infants by words which others vtter ſhould though vnwittingly yet truely and forcibly binde themſelues to that whereby their eſtate is ſo aſſuredly bettered? Herewith [b] Ne-

[a] *Offeruntur quippe paruuli ad percipiendam ſpiritualem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum geſtantur manibus, quamuis & ab ipſis ſi & ipſi boni fideles ſint, quam ab vniuerſa ſocietate ſanctorum atque fidelium.* Auguſt. in Epiſt 23.

Αξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τὸ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Iuſtin reſp. ad Orthod.

[b] *Si Arrianæ aut Sabellianæ hæreſeos aduerſor eſſet & non tuo ipſius ſymbolo tecum vterer, conuincerem te tamen teſtimoniorum ſacrorum auctoritate, quid tandem ſic apud teagerem, quid dicerem? quid reſponderes? annone obſecro illud in eo te baptizatum, in eote renatum*

eſſe? Et vere in negotio quamuis improbo non importuna defenſio, & quæ non abſurdè cauſam erroris diceres, ſi pertinaciam non ſociares errori. Nunc autem cùm in Catholica vrbe natus, Catholica fide inſtitutus, Catholico baptiſmate regeneratus ſis, nunquid agere tecum quaſi cum Arriano aut Sabelliano poſſum? quod vtinam fuiſſes. Minus dolerem in malis editum quàm de bonis lapſum, minus fidem non habitam quàm amiſſam. Non iniquum autem, hæretice, non iniquum aut graue aliquid poſtulo. Hoc fac in Catholica fide editus quod fueras properuerſitate facturus. Caſſia de incarn. lib. 6 cap. 5.

ſtorius the Heretique was charged as hauing fallen from his firſt profeſſion and broken the promiſe which he made to God in the armes of others. Of ſuch as prophaned themſelues being Chriſtians with irreligious delight in the Enſignes of Idolatrie, heatheniſh ſpectacles, ſhowes, and ſtage-playes, * *Tertullian* to ſtrike them the more deepe claymeth the promiſe which they made in Baptiſme. Why were they dumbe being thus challenged? Wherefore ſtood they not vp to anſwere in their owne defence, that ſuch profeſſions and promiſes made in their names were friuolous, that all which others vndertooke for them was but mockerie and profanation? That which no heretique, no wicked liuer, no impious deſpiſer of God, no miſcreant or malefactor, which had himſelfe beene baptized was euer ſo deſperate as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfully receiued cuſtomes, is now their voice that reſtore, as they ſay, the ancient puritie of Religion.

* *Tertull. lib. de ſpectac.*

Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.

65 In Baptiſme many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and cleane aboliſht, for that the vertue and grace of this Sacrament had beene therewith ouer-ſhadowed as fruit with too great abundance of leaues. Notwithſtanding to them which thinke it alwayes imperfect reformation that doth but ſheare and not flea, our retaining certaine of thoſe former Rites, eſpecially the *dangerous* ſigne of the Croſſe hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable ouer-ſight. *The Croſſe* (they ſay) *ſith it is but a meere inuention of man, ſhould not therefore at all haue beene added to the Sacrament of Baptiſme. To ſigne childrens foreheads with a Croſſe, in token that hereafter they ſhall not be aſhamed to make profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Sauiour Chriſt. That reaſon which moued the Fathers to vſe ſhould moue vs not to vſe the ſigne of the Croſſe. They liued with Heathens which had the Croſſe of Chriſt in contempt, we with ſuch as adore the Croſſe, and therefore we ought to abandon it euen as in like conſideration* Ezechias *did of old the brazen Serpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the Croſſe, a Ceremonie the vſe whereof hath beene profitable although wee obſerue it not as the Ordinance of God but of man. For, ſaith [a] *Tertullian*, *If of this and the like cuſtomes thou ſhouldeſt require ſome commandement to be ſhewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to iuſtifie tradition, vſe or cuſtome in this behalfe, *either thou mayſt of thy ſelfe perceiue, or elſe learne of ſome other that doth.* Leſt therefore the name of rradition ſhould be offenſiue to any, conſidering how farre by ſome it hath beene and is abuſed, we meane by [b] traditions, ordinances made in the prime of Chriſtian religion, eſtabliſhed with that authority which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerued, till like authority ſee iuſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that traditions Eccleſiaſticall are not rudely and in groſſe to be ſhaken off, becauſe the Inuentors of them were men. Such as ſay they allow no [c] inuention of man to be mingled with the outward adminiſtration of Sacraments, and vnder that pretence condemne our vſing the ſigne of the Croſſe, haue belike ſome ſpeciall diſpenſation themſelues to violate their

a *Tertull. de Coro. Militis.*

b *Traditiones non ſcriptas ſi doctrinam reſpiciant cum doctrina ſcripta conuenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales & Eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis & ædificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habenda ratio eſt; inutiles autem & noxias nempe ineptas & ſuperſtitioſas patronis ſuis relinquamus.* Goulart, Geneuenſ. annot. in Epiſt. Cypr. 74.

c *T. C. l. 1. p. 171.* They ſhould not haue beene ſo bold as to haue brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme; and ſo mingle the ceremonies and inuentions of men with the Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.

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owne rules. For neither can they indeed decently nor do they euer baptize any without manifeſt breach of this their profound axiome, that *Mens inuentions ſhould not be mingled with Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.* They ſeeme to like very well in Baptiſme the cuſtome of Godfathers, [a] *becauſe ſo generally all Churches haue receiued it.* Which cuſtome being of God no more inſtituted then the other (howſoeuer they pretend the other hurtfull, and this profitable) it followeth that euen in their owne opinion, if their words doe ſhew their mindes, there is no neceſſitie of ſtripping Sacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies as mans wiſdome hath at any time clothed them withall, and conſequently that either they muſt reforme their ſpeech as ouer-generall, or elſe condemne their owne practice as vnlawfull. Ceremonies haue more in weight then in ſight, they worke by commonneſſe of vſe much, although in the ſeuerall acts of their vſage we ſcarcely diſcerne any good they doe. And becauſe the vſe which they haue for the moſt part is not perfectly vnderſtood, Superſtition is apt to impute vnto them greater vertue then indeed they haue. For preuention whereof, when we vſe this Ceremonie we alwayes plainly expreſſe the end whereunto it ſerueth, namely, for a ſigne of remembrance to put vs in mind of our dutie. But by this meane they ſay we make it a great deale [b] worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the dutie which wee owe to Chriſt, our practice with this expoſition publiſheth a new *Goſpell*, and cauſeth an other *Word* to haue place in the Church of Chriſt, where no voice out to be heard but his. By which good reaſon the authors of thoſe graue admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen vp, which held that *ſitting* at Communions *betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of legall Ceremonies in our Sauiour Chriſt.* For although it be the Word of God that ſuch Ceremonies are expired, yet ſeeing it is not the Word of God that men to ſignifie ſo much ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord, theſe haue their doome as well as others, *Guiltie of a new deuiſed Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpeciall diſlike they haue to heare, that Ceremonies now in vſe ſhould be thought ſignificant, whereas in truth ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needs be vaine. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification are no better then the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not maſters of that they doe. For if we looke but into ſeculat and ciuill complements, what other cauſe can there poſſibly be giuen why to omit them where of courſe they are looked for, for where they are not ſo due to vſe them bringeth mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great iealouſie, I would know I ſay what reaſon wee are able to yeeld why things ſo light in their owne nature ſhould weigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſauing onely in regard of that which they vſe to ſignifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt [c] himſelfe impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies euen in domeſticall intertainement to a colder degree of louing affection, and take the contrarie in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſſe done as what was ſignified leſſe by the one then by the other? For to that very end hee referreth in part thoſe gracious expoſtulations, *Simon, ſeeſt thou this woman? ſince I entred into thine houſe thou gaueſt me no water for my feet, but ſhe hath waſhed my feet with teares, and wiped them with the haires of her head; thou gaueſt mee no kiſſe, but this woman ſince the time I*

[a] *T.C.l.1.p.176.*

[b] *T.C.l.1.p.170.* The profitable ſignification of the Croſſe maketh the thing a great deale worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but onely our Sauiour Chriſt For although it be the Word of God that wee ſhould not be aſhamed of the Croſſe of Chriſt, yet is it not the Word of God that wee ſhould be kept in remembrance of that by two lines drawn a croſſe one ouer another in the childs forehead.

[c] *Luke 7.44.*

same in hath not ceased to kisse my feet; mine head with oyle thou didst not anoynt, but this woman hath anoynted my feet with oyntment. Wherefore as the vsuall dumbe Ceremonies of common life are in request or dislike according to that they import, euen so Religion hauing likewise her silent Rites, the chiefest rule whereby to iudge of their qualitie is that which they meane or betoken. For if they signifie good things (as somewhat they must of necessitie signifie because it is of their very nature to bee signes of imitation presenting both themselues vnto outward sense and besides themselues some other thing to the vnderstanding of beholders) vnlesse they be either greatly mischosen to signifie the same, or else applied where that which they signifie agreeth not, there is no cause of exception against them as against euill and vnlawfull Ceremonies, much lesse of excepting against them onely in that they are not without sense. And if euery religious Ceremonie which hath beene inuented of men to signifie any thing that God himselfe alloweth were the publication of another Gospell in the Church of Christ, seeing that no Christian Church in the World is or can bee without continuall vse of some Ceremonies which men haue instituted, and that to signifie good things (vnlesse they bee vaine and friuolous Ceremonies (it would follow that the World hath no Christian Church which doth not daily proclaime new Gospels, a sequell the manifest absurditie whereof argueth the rawnesse of that suppositall out of which it groweth. Now the [a] cause why antiquitie did the more *in actions of common life* honour the Ceremonie of the Crosse might bee for that they liued with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptisme was for the selfe-same good of Beleeuers which is thereby intended still. The Crosse is for vs an admonition no lesse necessarie then for them to glorie in the seruice of Iesus Christ, and not to hang downe our heads as men ashamed thereof although it procure vs reproch and obliquie at the hands of this wretched World. Shame is a kind of feare to incurre disgrace and ignominie. Now whereas some things are worthy of reproch, some things ignominious onely through a false opinion which men haue cõceiued of them, nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension must by reason and Religion be [b] taught what it should be ashamed of, and what not. But be we neuer so well instructed what our dutie is in this behalfe, without some present admonition at the very instant of practice, what wee know is many times not called to minde till that bee done whereupon our iust confusion ensueth. To supply the absence of such as that way might doe vs good when they see vs in

[a] *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 170.* It is knowne to all that haue read the Ecclesiasticall stories, that the Heathen did obiect to Christians in times past in reproch that the God which they beleeued on was hanged vpon a Crosse. And they thought good to testifie that they were not ashamed therefore of the Sonne of God, by the often vsing of the signe of the Crosse. Which carefulnesse and good mind to keepe amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified although it bee to be commended, yet is not this meanes so. For they might otherwise haue kept it and with lesse danger then by this vse of crossing. And as it was brought in vpon no good ground, so the Lord left a marke of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceiued to come out of the forge of mans braine, in that it began forthwith while it was yet in the swadling clouts to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a superstition in it, that they would doe nothing without Crossing. But if it were granted that vpon this consideration which I haue before mentioned, the ancient Christians did well, yet it followeth not that we should so doe. For we liue not amongst those Nations which doe cast vs in the teeth or reproch vs with the Crosse of Christ. Now that we liue amongst Papists that doe not contemne the Crosse of Christ, but which esteeme more of the wooden Crosse then of the true Crosse which is his sufferings, we ought now to doe cleane contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all vse of these Crosses. For contrary diseases must haue contrary remedies. If therefore the old Christians to deliuer the Crosse of Christ from contempt did often vse the Crosse, the Christians now to take away the superstitious estimation of it ought to take away the vse of it.

[b] *Ephes. 5. 12. Rom. 6. 21.*

in danger of ſliding, there are [a] iudicious and wiſe men which thinke wee may greatly relieue our ſelues by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe authoritie we feare and would be loath to offend, if indeed they were preſent with vs. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle vnto many offences. Let the minde haue alwayes ſome whom it feareth, ſome whoſe authoritie may keepe euen ſecret thoughts vnder awe. Take *Cato*, or if he be too harſh and rugged, chuſe ſome other of a ſofter mettle, whoſe grauitie of life and ſpeech thou loueſt, his mind and countenance carrie with thee, ſet him alwayes before thine eyes either as a watch or as a patterne. That which is crooked we cannot ſtreighten but by ſome ſuch leuell. If men of ſo good experience and inſight in the maimes of our weake fleſh, haue thought theſe fancied remembrances auaileable to awaken ſhamefaſtneſſe, that ſo the boldneſſe of ſinne may be ſtayed ere it looke abroad, ſurely the wiſedome of the Church of Chriſt which hath to that vſe conuerted the Ceremonie of the Croſſe in Baptiſme, it is no Chriſtian mans part to deſpiſe, eſpecially ſeeing that by this meane, where nature doth earneſtly import aide, Religion yeeldeth her that readie aſſiſtance then which there can be no helpe more forcible, ſeruing onely to relieue memory, and to bring to our cogitation that which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſinne. The minde while we are in this preſent life [b] whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howſoeuer exerciſe it ſelfe, worketh nothing without continuall recourſe vnto imagination the onely ſtore-houſe of wit, and peculiar chaire of memorie. On this anuile it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by meanes whereof, as the pulſe declareth how the heart doth work, ſo the very [c] thoughts and cogitations of mans mind be they good or bad doe no where ſooner bewray themſelues, then through the creueſſes of that wall wherewith nature hath compaſſed the Cells and Cloſets of fancie. In the forehead nothing more plaine to be ſeene then the feare of contumelie and diſgrace. For which cauſe the Scripture (as with great probabilitie it may bee thought) deſcribeth them [d] marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercie hath vndertaken to keepe from finall confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporall marke on his choſen, but to note that he giueth his elect ſecuritie of preſeruation from reproch, the feare whereof doth vſe to ſhew it ſelfe [e] in that part. Shall I ſay that the ſigne of the Croſſe (as we vſeit) is in ſome ſort a meane to worke our [f] preſeruation from reproch? Surely the minde which as yet hath not hardned it ſelfe in ſin is ſeldome prouoked thereunto in any groſſe and grieuous manner, but natures ſecret ſuggeſtion obiected againſt it ignominie as a barre. Which conceit being entred into that Palace of mans fancie, the gates whereof haue imprinted in them that holy ſigne which bringeth forthwith to mind whatſoeuer Chriſt hath wrought and wee vowed againſt ſinne, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that Chriſtian men neuer want a moſt effectuall though a ſilent teacher to auoid whatſoeuer may deſeruedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould be aſhamed of we are by the croſſe admoniſhed faithfully of our dutie at the very moment when admonition doth moſt need. Other things there are which deſerue honour and yet doe purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent World, as of old the very truth of Religion it ſelfe, till God by his owne out-ſtretched arme made the glorie thereof to ſhine ouer all the earth.

[a] *Sen. Epiſt.* 11. *lib.* 1.

[b] Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τίς ἢ ἐκ τούτου φαντασίας. *Ariſt. de anim. li.* 1. *c.* 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. *lib.* 3. *c.* 10. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδωλα τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι ποιεῖ. ἢ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀριθμεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ φευκτὸν, ἢ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὅν, ὅταν ἐνῇ τὰ νοήματα μάλιστα ἢ, κινεῖται. *lib.* 3. *c.* 8.

[c] *From homini triſtitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, ſeueritatis index eſt Plin. lib.* 11.

[d] *Ezech.* 9. 4. *Apoc.* 7. 3. 9. 4.

[e] Ἐρυθριάσεται γὰρ ὁ αἰσχυνόμενος. *Ariſt. Eth.* 4. *c.* 9.

[f] *Caro ſignatur vt & anima muniatur. Tert. de reſur. car.*

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Whereupon [a] Saint *Cyprian* exhorting to martyrdome in times of heathenish persecution and crueltie, thought it not vaine to alleage vnto them with other arguments the very Ceremonie of that Crosse whereof wee speake. Neuer let that hand offer sacrifice to Idols which hath alreadie receiued the bodie of our Sauiour Christ and shall hereafter the Crowne of his glorie; *arme your foreheads* vnto all boldnesse that *the signe of God* may be kept safe. Againe, when it pleased God that the fury of their enemies being bridled the Church had some little rest and quietnesse, (if so small a libertie but onely to breath betweene troubles may be termed quietnesse and rest) to such as fell not away from Christ through former persecutions, hee giueth due and deserued prayse in the selfe-same manner, [b] *You that were readie to indure imprisonment, and were resolute to suffer death; you that haue courageously withstood the World, yee haue made your selues both a glorious spectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the rest of your brethren to follow. Those mouthes which had sanctified themselues with food comming downe from Heauen, loathed after Christs owne bodie and bloud to taste the poysoned and contagious scraps of Idols; those foreheads which the signe of God had purified, kept themselues so bee crowned by him, the touch of the* [c] *garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memorie of that signe which they had in Baptisme a kind of barre or preuention to keepe them euen from apostasie, whereunto the frailtie of flesh and bloud ouermuch fearing to indure shame, might peraduenture the more easily otherwise haue drawne them. Wee haue not now through the gracious goodnesse of Almightie God, those extreme conflicts which our fathers had with blasphemous contumelies euery-where offered to the Name of Christ, by such as professed themselues infidels and vnbeleeuers. Howbeit, vnlesse wee be strangers to the age wherein we liue, or else in some partiall respect dissemblers of that we hourely both heare and see, there is not the simplest of vs but knoweth with what disdaine and scorne Christ is honoured farre and wide. Is there any burden in the World more heauie to beare then contempt? Is there any contempt that grieueth as theirs doth, whose qualitie no way making them lesse worthy then others are of reputation, only the seruice which they doe to Christ in the daily exercise of Religion treadeth them downe? Doth any contumely which wee sustaine for Religions sake pierce so deeply as that which would seeme euen of meere conscience religiously spitefull? when they that honour God are despised; when the chiefest seruice of honour that man can doe vnto him is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greatest sinceritie, doe with more then heathenish petulancie trample vnder foot almost whatsoeuer either wee or the whole Church of God by the space of so many ages haue beene accustomed vnto for the comelier and better exercise of our Religion, according to the soundest rules that wisedome, directed by the Word of God and by long experience confirmed, hath beene able with common aduice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence to comprehend; when no man fighting vnder Christs banner can bee alwayes exempted from seeing or sustayning those indignities, the sting whereof not to feele, or feeling, not to be moued thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and bloud: if this bee any obiect for patience to worke on,

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[a] *Cypr. Epist. 56 ad Thibaritanos*

[b] *Cypr. de lapsis.*

[c] *Erant enim supplices coronarij. Tertul. li. de coro. mil.* In the seruice of Idols the doores of their Temples, the sacrifices, the Altars, the Priests and the Supplicants that were present wore Garlands.

the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tyeth vs is our vowed obedience to Chriſt; the ſolemneſt vow that wee euer made to obey Chriſt and to ſuffer willingly all reproches for his ſake was made in Baptiſme; and amongſt other memorials to keepe vs mindfull of that vow wee cannot thinke that the ſigne which our new baptized foreheads did there receiue is either vnfit or vnforcible, the reaſons hitherto alleaged being weighed with indifferent ballance. It is not (you will ſay) the Croſſe in our fore-heads, but in our hearts the faith of Chriſt that armeth vs with patience, conſtancie and courage. Which as wee grant to be moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe no not the meaneſt helps that ſerue though it be but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance towards the higheſt ſeruices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that ſuch Ceremonies are auaileable at the leaſt as memorials of dutie, or doe thinke that himſelfe hath no neede to bee ſo put in minde what our duties are, it is but reaſonable that in the one the publique experience of the World ouerweigh ſome few mens perſwaſion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few condiſcend vnto common imbecillitie. Seeing therefore that to feare ſhame which doth worthily follow ſinne, and to beare vndeſerued reproch conſtantly is the generall dutie of all men profeſſing Chriſtianitie ſeeing alſo that our weakneſſe while wee are in this preſent World doth need towards ſpirituall duties the helpe euen of corporall furtherances, and that by reaſon of naturall intercourſe betweene the higheſt and the loweſt powers of mans minde in all actions, his fancie or imagination carrying in it that ſpeciall note of remembrance then which there is nothing more forcible where either too weake or too ſtrong a conceit of infamie and diſgrace might doe great harme, ſtandeth alwayes readie to put forth a kind of neceſſary helping hand, wee are in that reſpect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable vſe of this Ceremonie, and not to thinke it ſuperfluous that Chriſt hath his marke applyed [b] vnto that part where baſhfulneſſe appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould bee at no time aſhamed of his ignominie. But to preuent ſome inconueniences which might enſue if the ouer ordinarie vſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch rites when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to be of leſſe obſeruation or regard where it moſt auaileth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar as the cuſtome heretofore hath beene: although to condemne the whole Church of God when it moſt flouriſhed in zeale and pietie, to marke that age with the brand of errour and ſuperſtition only, becauſe they had this Ceremonie more in vſe then we now thinke needfull, boldly to affirme that this their practice grew ſo ſoone through a fearefull malediction of God vpon the Ceremonie of the Croſſe as if we knew that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight which haue proceeded from humane inuention, is as we take it a cenſure of greater zeale then knowledge. Men whoſe iudgements in theſe caſes are growne more moderate, although they retaine not as we doe the vſe of this Ceremonie, perceiue notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to bee out of ſquare, and do therefore not only [c] acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo thinke it ſufficient to anſwere in excuſe of themſelues, [d] *This Ceremonie which was but a thing indifferent euen of old wee iudge not at this day a matter*

[a] Ἔτι δὲ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ θαρσικά. Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 6.

[b] Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino vbi ſignantur qui Dominũ prouocentur. Cypr. de vnit. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

[c] Goulart. *Annot. in* Cypr. *lib. ad* Demetr. ca. 19.

Quamuis veteres Chriſtiani externo ſigno crucis vſi ſunt id tamen fuit ſine ſuperſtitione, & doctrina de Chriſti merito ab errore qui poſtea irrepſit pios ſeruauit immunes.

[d] *Idem annot. in* Cypr. Ep. 76 cap. 7.

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neceſſarie for all Chriſtian men to obſerue. As for their laſt vpſhot of a wards this marke, they are of opinion that if the auncient Chriſtians to deliuer the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt did well and with good conſideration vſe often the ſigne of the Croſſe in teſtimonie of their faith and profeſſion before infidels which vpbraided them with Chriſts ſufferings, now that wee liue with ſuch as contrariwiſe adore the ſigne of the Croſſe (becauſe contrarie diſeaſes ſhould alwayes haue contrarie remedies) we ought to take away all vſe thereof. In which conceipt they both wayes greatly ſeduce themſelues, firſt for that they imagine the Fathers to haue had no vſe of the Croſſe, but with reference vnto infidels, which miſperſwaſion we haue before diſcouered at large; and ſecondly by reaſon that they thinke there is not any other way beſides vniuerſall extirpation to reforme ſuperſtitious abuſes of the Croſſe. Wherein becauſe there are that ſtand very much vpon the example of *Ezechias*, as if his a 1.Reg.18,3. *breaking to peeces that Serpent* of braſſe whereunto the children of Iſrael had *burnt incenſe*, did enforce the vtter abolition of this Ceremonie, the fact of that vertuous prince is by ſo much the more attentiuely to be conſidered. Our liues in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of generall rules and axiomes by diſcourſe of wit our duties in euery particular action is both troubleſome and many times ſo full of difficultie, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerue examples, to marke what others haue done before vs, and in the fauour of our owne eaſe rather to follow them then to enter into new conſultation, if in regard of their vertue and wiſedome we may but probably thinke they haue waded without errour. So that the willingneſſe of men to be led by example of others both diſcouereth and helpeth the imbecillitie of our iudgement. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud wits would alwayes ſeeme to bee their owne guides; and becauſe it doth the other, we ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawne vnto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reaſons alleaged. Reaſons prouing that which is more particular by things more generall and farther from ſenſe are with the ſimpler ſort of men leſſe truſted, for that they doubt of their owne iudgement in thoſe things; but of examples which prooue vnto them one doubtfull particular by an other more familiarly and ſenſibly knowne, they eaſily perceiue in themſelues ſome better abilitie to iudge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtfull what to doe wee are informed what others haue commendably done whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoeuer doth perſwade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitneſſe as the goodneſſe of that he alleageth. To *Ezechias* God himſelfe in this fact giueth teſtimonie of wel-doing. So that nothing is heere queſtionable but onely whether the example alleaged be pertinent, pregnant and ſtrong. The Serpent ſpoken of was firſt erected for the extraordinarie and *miraculous cure* of the Iſraelites in the Deſart. This vſe hauing preſently an end when the cauſe for which God ordained it was once remoued, the thing it ſelfe they notwithſtanding kept for a *monument of Gods mercie*, as in like conſideration they did the pot of Manna, the rod of *Aaron*, and the Sword which *Dauid* tooke from *Goliah*. In proceſſe of time they made a monument of diuine

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power a plaine Idoll, they burnt incenſe before it contrarie to the Law of God, and did it the ſeruices of honour due vnto God onely. Which groſſe and grieuous abuſe continued till *Ezechias* reſtoring the puritie of ſound Religion, deſtroyed vtterly that which had been ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare vnto them. It is not amiſſe which the [a] Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, that *if our Predeceſſors haue done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward bee turned to Errour and Superſtition, wee are taught by* Ezechias *breaking the brazen Serpent that Poſteritie may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great authoritie.* But may it be ſimply and without exception hereby gathered, that Poſteritie *is bound to deſtroy* whatſoeuer hath beene either at the firſt inuented, or but afterwards turned to like ſuperſtition and errour? No it cannot be. The Serpent therefore and the ſigne of the Croſſe although ſeeming equall in this point that ſuperſtition hath abuſed both, yet being herein alſo vnequall, that neither they haue beene both ſubiect to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardneſſe of redreſſe alike, it may bee that euen as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now, when Religion hath taken away abuſe from the other, we ſhould by vtter abolition thereof deſerue hardly his commendation, whoſe example there is offered vs no ſuch neceſſary cauſe to follow. For by the wordes of *Ezechias* in terming the Serpent but *a lumpe of braſſe*, to ſhew that the beſt thing in it now was the metall or matter whereof it conſiſted, we may probably coniecture, that the people whoſe errour is therein controld had the ſelfe-ſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of Idols, they thought that the power of Deitie was with it, and when they ſaw it diſſolued happily they might to comfort themſelues imagine as *Olimpius* the Sophiſter did beholding the diſſipation of Idols, [b] *Shapes and counterfeits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubiect vnto corruption, therefore to grind them to duſt was eaſie, but thoſe celeſtiall powers which dwelt and reſided in them are aſcended into Heauen.* Some difference there is betweene theſe opinions of palpable Idolatrie, and that which the Schooles in ſpeculation haue boulted out concerning the Croſſe. Notwithſtanding for as much as the Church of *Rome* hath hitherto practiſed and doth profeſſe the ſame adoration to the ſigne of the Croſſe, and neither leſſe nor other then is due vnto Chriſt himſelfe, howſoeuer they varniſh and qualifie their ſentence, pretending that the Croſſe, which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſible it ſelfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceit a reference to the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſo that the honour which they ioyntly doe to both, reſpecteth principally his perſon, and the Croſſe but onely for his perſons ſake, the people not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtle differences in the exerciſe of religion are apparently no leſſe inſnared by adoring the Croſſe, then the Iewes by burning incenſe to the brazen Serpent. It is by [c] *Thomas* ingeniouſly granted, that becauſe vnto reaſonable creatures a kind of reuerence is due for the excellencie which is in them, and whereby they reſemble God, therefore if reaſonable Creatures, Angels or Men ſhould receiue at our hands holy and diuine honour as the ſigne of the Croſſe doth at theirs, to pretend that wee honour not them alone, but we honour God with them, would not ſerue the turne, neither would

a *Diſt. 6. 3. c. Quia.*

b *Sozom. lib. 7. ca. 15.*

c *Th. p. 3. q. 25. art. 3. reſp. ad tert.*

would this be able to preuent the errour of men or cause them alwayes to respect God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents in the obiect next before them. But vnto this hee addeth that no such errour can grow by adoring in that sort a dead Image, which euery man knoweth to bee void of excellencie in it selfe, and therefore will easily conceiue that the honour done vnto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, seeing that we haue by ouer true experience beene taught how often, especially in these cases, the light euen of common vnderstanding faileth, surely their vsuall adoration of the Crosse is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kinde we are more to respect what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceiue, then what some few mens wits may deuise in construction of their owne particular meanings. Plaine it is, that a false opinion of some personall diuine excellencie to be in those things which either Nature or Art hath framed, causeth alwayes religious adoration. And as plaine that the like adoration applyed vnto things sensible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaueth imprinted in them the very same opinion of Deitie from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea the meaner and baser a thing worshipped is in it selfe, the more they incline to thinke that euery man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it or with it a presence of diuine power. Be it therefore true that Crosses purposely framed or vsed for receipt of diuine honour, bee euen as scandalous as the brazen Serpent it selfe, where they are in such sort adored. Should we hereupon thinke our selues in the sight of God and in conscience charged to abolish vtterly the very *Ceremonie* of the Crosse, neither meant at the first, nor now conuerted vnto any such offensiue purpose? Did the Iewes which could neuer bee perswaded to admit in the Citie of Ierusalem that [a] Image of *Cæsar* which the Romanes were accustomed [b] to adore, make any scruple of [c] *Cæsars* Image in the Coine which they knew very well that men were not woont to worship? Betweene the Crosse which Superstition honoureth as Christ, and that Ceremonie of the Crosse which serueth onely for a signe of remembrance, there is as plaine and as great a difference as betweene those [d] brazen Images which *Salomon* made to beare vp the Cesterne of the Temple, and (sith both were of like shape but of vnlike vse) [e] that which the Israelites in the Wildernesse did adore; or betweene the [f] Altars which *Iosias* destroyed because they were instruments of meere Idolatrie, and [g] that which the Tribe of *Reuben* with others erected neere to the Riuer Iordan, for which also they grew at the first into some dislike, and were by the rest of their brethren suspected, yea hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accused of backwardnesse in Religion, vpbraided bitterly with the fact of *Peor*, and the odious example of *Achan*, as if the building of their Altar in that place had giuen manifest shew of no better then intended Apostasie, till by a true declaration made in their owne defence, it appeared that such as misliked misunderstood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any Altar for Sacrifice which God would haue no where offered sauing in Ierusalem onely, but to a farre other end and purpose, which being opened satisfied all parts, and so deliuered them from causeless blame. In this particular suppose the worst, imagine

a *Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 17. c. 8. & li. 18. c. 3. & de bell. lib. 2. c. 8.*
b Their Eagles their Ensignes, and the Images of their Princes they carried with them in all their armies, and had alwayes a kind of Chappell wherein they placed and adored them as their Gods. *Dio. lib. 40. Herodia. l. 4.*
c *Mat. 22. 20.*
d *2. Chron. 4. 3.*
e *Exod. 32. 4.*
f *2. Chron. 34. 7*
g *Ios. 22. 10.*

imagine that the immateriall Ceremonie of the Crosse had beene the subiect of as grosse pollution as any Heathenish or prophane Idoll. If wee thinke the example of *Ezechias* a proofe, that things which Errour and Superstition hath abused, may in no consideration be tolerated, although wee presently finde them not subiect to so vile abuse, the plaine Example of *Ezechias* proueth the contrarie. The Temples and Idols which vnder *Salomon* * had beene of verie purpose framed for the honour of forraine Gods, *Ezechias* destroyed not, because they stood as forlorne things and did now no harme, although formerly they had done harme. [a] *Iosias*, for some inconuenience afterwards, razed them vp. Yet to both there is one commendation giuen euen from God himselfe, that touching [b] matter of Religion they walked in the steps of *Dauid*, and did no way displease God. Perhaps it seemeth that by force and vertue of this Example, although it bare detestation and hatred of Idolatrie, all things which haue beene at any time worshipped are not necessarily to bee taken out of the World, neuertheless for remedie and preuention of so great offences, wisdome should iudge it the safest course to remoone altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of euill. Some kinds of euill, no doubt, there are very quicke in working on those affections that most easily take fire, which euils should in that respect no oftner then need requireth bee brought in presence of weak minds. But neither is the Crosse any such euill, nor yet the brazen Serpent it selfe so strongly poysoned, that our eyes, eares and thoughts ought to shun them both, for feare of some deadly harme to ensue the onely representation thereof by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant meanes. And for mine owne part I most assuredly perswade my selfe, that had *Ezechias* (till the dayes of whose most vertuous Reigne they ceased not continually to burne Incense to the brazen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though sometime adored; yet at that time recouered from the euill of so grosse abuse, and reduced to the same that was before in the time of *Dauid*, at which time they esteemed it onely as a memoriall, signe, or monument of Gods miraculous goodnesse towards them, euen as we in no other sort esteeme the Ceremonie of the Crosse, the due consideration of an vse so harmelesse, common to both, might no lesse haue wrought their equall preseruation, then different occasions haue procured, notwithstanding the ones extinguishment, the others lawfull continuance. In all perswasions, which ground themselues vpon Example, we are not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements leading thereunto. The question being therefore, whether this Ceremonie supposed to haue beene *sometimes* scandalous and offensiue, ought for that cause to bee *now* remoued, there is no reason wee should forthwith yeeld our selues to bee carried away with Example, no not of them whose acts the highest iudgement approueth for hauing reformed in that manner any publike euill: but before wee either attempt any thing or resolue, the state and condition as well of our owne affaires as theirs whose Example presseth vs, is aduisedly to be examined, because some things are of their owne nature scandalous, and cannot choose but breed offence, as those [c] Sinkes of execrable filth which *Iosias* did ouerwhelme; some things, albeit not by nature and of themselues,

* 1. Reg. 11. 17.

a 2 Reg. 23. 13.

b 2. Reg. 18. 3, 6. 2. Reg. 22. 2.

c 2. Reg. 23. 7.

are notwithstanding so generally turned to euill, by reason of an euill corrupt habit growne, and through long continuance incurably setled in the mindes of the greatest part, that no redresse can be well hoped for, without removall of that wherein they haue ruined themselues, which plainly was the state of the Iewish people and the cause why *Ezechias* did with such suddaine indignation destroy what hee saw worshipped; finally, some things are as the signe of the Crosse, though subiect either almost or altogether to as great abuse, yet curable with more facilitie and ease. And to speake as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yeeld to destroy that which may bee fruitfully kept, and without any great difficultie cleane scowred from the rust of euill, which by some accident hath growne into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this question vpon the Example of *Ezechias*, let this suffice. When Heathens despised Christian Religion, because of the sufferings of Iesus Christ, the Fathers, to testifie how little such contumelies and contempts preuailed with them, chose rather the signe of the Crosse, then any other outward marke, whereby the World might most easily discerne alwayes what they were. On the contrarie side now, whereas they which doe all professe the Christian Religion are diuided amongst themselues, and the fault of the one part is, that the zeale to the Sufferings of Christ they admire too much, and ouer-superstitiously adore the Visible signe of his Crosse, if you aske, what we that mislike them, should doe, wee are here aduised to cure one contrary by another. Which Arte or Method is not yet so currant as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the most part sheweth, it bee their meaning that the scope and drift of Reformation, when things are faultie, should bee to *settle* the Church in the contrarie, it standeth them vpon to beware of this rule, because seeing Vices haue not onely Vertues, but other Vices also in nature, opposite vnto them, it may be dangerous in these cases to seeke but that which wee finde contrary to present euils. For in sores and sicknesses of the minde wee are not simply to measure good by distance from euill, because one Vice may in some respect be more opposite to another, then either of them to that Vertue which holdeth the meane betweene them both. Liberalitie and Couetousnesse, the one a Vertue and the other a Vice, are not so contrarie as the vices of Couetousnesse and Prodigalitie; Religion and Superstition haue more affiance, though the one be Light and the other Darknesse, then Superstition and Prophanenesse, which both are vicious extremities. By meanes whereof it commeth also to passe, that the meane, which is Vertue, seemeth in the eyes of each extreme and extremitie; the liberall hearted man is by the opinion of the Prodigall miserable, and by the iudgement of the Miserable lauish; Impietie for the most part vpbraideth Religion as superstitious, which Superstition often accuseth as impious, both so conceiuing thereof because it doth seeme more to participate each extreame, then one extreame doth another, and is by consequent lesse contrarie to either of them, then they mutually betweene themselues. Now, if hee that seeketh to reforme Couetousnesse or Superstition, should but labour to induce the contrarie, it were but to draw men out of Lime into Cole-dust. So that their course which will remedie

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the ſuperſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church is not ſtill to aboliſh vtterly the vſe thereof, becauſe not vſing at all is moſt oppoſite to ill vſing, but rather if it may bee, to bring them backe to a right perfect and religious vſage, which albeit leſſe contrarie to the preſent ſore, is notwithſtanding the better and by many degrees the ſounder way of recouerie. And vnto this effect that verie precedent it ſelfe which they propoſe may bee beſt followed. For as the Fathers, when the Croſſe of Chriſt was in vtter contempt, did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame, but rather declare that they ſo eſteemed it as was meet: in like manner where we find the Croſſe to haue that honour which is due to Chriſt, is it not as lawfull for vs to retaine it in that eſtimation which it ought to haue, and in that vſe which it had of old without offence, as by taking it cleane away to ſeeme followers of their Example, which cure wilfully by abſciſion that which they might both preſerue and heale? Touching therefore the Signe and Ceremonie of the Croſſe, wee no way find our ſelues bound to relinquiſh it, neither becauſe the firſt Inuentors thereof were but mortall men, nor leſt the ſenſe and ſignification we giue vnto it ſhould burthen vs as Authours of a new Goſpell in the Houſe of God, nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more then we haue to vſe the ſame, nor finally for any ſuch offence or ſcandall as heretofore it hath beene ſubiect vnto by errour now reformed in the minds of men.

Of Confirmation after Baptiſme.

66 The ancient cuſtome of the Church was, after they had baptized to adde thereunto Impoſition of hands, with effectuall Prayer for the * illumination of Gods moſt holy Spirit, to confirme and perfect that which the grace of the ſame Spirit had alreadie begun in Baptiſme. For our meanes to obtaine the graces which God doth beſtow, are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent are anayleable as well for others as for our ſelues. To pray for others, is *to bleſſe* them for whom we pray, becauſe Prayer procureth the bleſſing of God vpon them, eſpecially the Prayer of ſuch as God either moſt reſpecteth for their Pietie and Zeale that way, or elſe regardeth, for that their place & calling bindeth them aboue others vnto this duty, as it doth both naturall and ſpirituall Fathers. With Prayers of ſpirituall and perſonall Benediction, the manner hath beene in all Ages to vſe *Impoſition of hands*, as a Ceremonie betokening our *reſtrained deſires* to the partie, whom we preſent vnto God by Prayer. Thus when [a] *Iſrael bleſſed Ephraim* and *Manaſſes Ioſephs* Sonnes, hee *impoſed* vpon them his hands and prayed, *God in whoſe ſight my Fathers* Abraham *and* Iſaac *did walke, God which hath fed me all my life long vnto this day, and the Angel which hath deliuered me from all euill, bleſſe theſe children.* The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by Prayer, vſed therein the ſelfe-ſame Ceremonie. And therefore [b] when *Elizeus* willed *Naaman* to waſh himſelfe ſeuen times in *Iordan* for cure of his foule diſeaſe, it much offended him: *I thought* (ſaith he) *with my ſelfe, Surely the man will come forth and ſtand and call vpon the Name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may ſo heale the Leproſie.* In [c] Conſecrations and Ordinations of men vnto roomes of diuine calling, the like was vſually done from the time of *Moſes* to Chriſt. Their ſutes that came vnto Chriſt for helpe were alſo tendred oftentimes, and are expreſſed in ſuch [d] formes or phraſes of ſpeech, as ſhew that he was himſelfe an obſeruer of the ſame cuſtome. He which

* *Caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, vt & anima ſpiritu illuminetur.* Tertull. de Reſurrect. car.

a Gen. 48. 14.

b 2. Reg. 5. 11.

c Numb. 27. 18.

d Mat. 9. 18. Mar. 5. 23, 8. 22.

with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer did ſo great Workes of Mercie for reſtauration of bodily health, was worthily iudged as able to effect the infuſiõn of heauenly grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraued with that malice which might be ſuppoſed a barre to the goodneſſe of God towardes them.

* *Mat.*19.13. *Marke* 10.13. *Luke* 18.15. They * brought him therefore young Children to put *his hands* vpon them and *pray*. After the Aſcenſion of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, that which hee had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apoſtles, whoſe Prayer and Impoſition of hands, were a meane whereby thouſands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God; The Church had receiued from Chriſt

l *Mark.*16.17. a promiſe, that ſuch as beleeued in him, theſe ſignes and tokens ſhould follow them, *To caſt out Deuils, to ſpeake with tongues, to driue away Serpents, to be free from the harme which any deadly poyſon could worke, and to cure diſeaſes by Impoſition of hands.* Which power, common at the firſt in a manner vnto *all Beleeuers*, all Beleeuers had not power to deriue or communicate vnto all other men, but whoſoeuer was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, conuert and baptize them,

m *Acts* 19.6. m the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghoſt they had

n *Acts* 8.17,18. not, but onely at the Apoſtles owne hands. For which cauſe n *Simon Magus* perceiuing that power to be in none but them, and preſuming that they which had it might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And as miracu-

o *Iren. l.*2.*c.*57. lous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apoſtles times (for ſaith o *Irenaus*) *They which are truly his Diſciples, do in his Name and through grace receiued from him, ſuch workes for the benefit of other men, as euery of them is by him inabled to worke; Some caſt out Deuils, in ſo much as they which are deliuered from wicked ſpirits haue beene thereby wonne vnto Chriſt, and doe conſtantly perſeuere in the Church and ſocietie of faithfull men; Some excell in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of Viſions from God and the gift of Propheticall Predictions; Some by laying on their hands, reſtore them to health which are grieuouſly afflicted with ſickneſſe; yea there are that of dead haue been made aliue, and haue afterwards many yeeres conuerſed with vs; What ſhould I ſay? the gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath inriched his Church throughout the World, and by vertue whereof in the Name of Chriſt crucified vnder* Pontius Pilate, *the Church euery day doth many Wonders for the good of Nations, neither fraudulently nor in any reſpect of lucre and gaine to her ſelfe, but as freely beſtowing as God on her hath beſtowed his diuine graces:* ſo it no where appeareth, that euer any did by Praier & Impoſitiõ of hands ſithence the Apoſtles times, make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but

p *Aug. de vera Relig. cap.*25. onely Biſhops the Apoſtles Succeſſors for a time, euen in that power. p S. *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth, that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt alwayes, leſt men ſhould waxe cold with the commonneſſe of that, the ſtrangeneſſe whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which words of Saint *Auguſtine* declaring how the vulgar vſe of thoſe Miracles was then expired, are no preiudice to the like extraordinarie graces more rarely obſerued in ſome, either then or of later dayes. Now whereas the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles had but onely for a time ſuch power as by Prayer and Impoſition of hands to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt; The reaſon wherefore Confirmation, neuertheleſſe by Prayer and Laying on of hands hath hitherto alwayes continued, is for other very ſpeciall benefits

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which the Church thereby inioyeth. The Fathers euery where impute vnto it that giſt of grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not which maketh vs firſt Chriſtian men, but when we are made ſuch, aſſiſteth vs in all vertue, armeth vs againſt temptation and ſinne. For after Baptiſme adminiſtred, *there followeth* (ſaith [a] TERTVLLIAN) *Impoſition of hands with inuocation and inuitation of the Holy Ghoſt, which willingly commeth downe from the Father to reſt vpon the purified and bleſſed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptiſme a fit ſeat.* S. [b] CYPRIAN in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit which here eſpecially was reſpected, *How great* (ſaith he) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (hee meaneth in Baptiſme) *inabled, being not onely withdrawne from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor onely ſo purified and made cleane that no ſtaine or blemiſh of the Enemies inuaſion doth remayne, but ouer and beſides* (namely, through Prayer and Impoſition of Hands) *becommeth yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo farre as to raigne with a kind of Imperiall dominion ouer the whole Band of that roming and ſpoyling Aduerſary.* As much is ſignified by [c] EVSEBIVS EMISSENVS, ſaying, *The Holy Ghoſt which deſcendeth with ſauing influence vpon the waters of Baptiſme, doth there giue that fulnes which ſufficeth for innocencie, and afterwards exhibiteth in confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſwaded held Confirmation as [d] an Ordinance Apoſtolike *alwayes profitable* in Gods Church, although not alwaies accompanied with equall largeneſſe of thoſe externall effects which gaue it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſeuering Confirmation from Baptiſme (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometime in the Miniſter, which being of inferiour degree might Baptize but not confirme, as in [e] their caſe it come to paſſe whom *Peter* and *Iohn* did confirme. whereas *Philip* had before baptized them; and in theirs of whom [f] Saint *Ierome* hath ſaid, *I denie not but the cuſtome of the Churches is that the Biſhop ſhould goe abroad, and impoſing his hands pray for the gift of the Holy Ghoſt on them whom Presbyters and Deacons farre off in leſſer Cities haue alreadie baptized.* Which ancient cuſtome of the Church Saint *Cyprian* groundeth vpon the Example of *Peter* and *Iohn* in the eight of the *Acts* before alleaged. The [g] faithfull in Samaria (ſaith he) *Had alreadie obtayned Baptiſme: Onely that which was wanting,* PETER *and* IOHN *ſupplyed by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, to the end the Holy Ghoſt might bee powred vpon them. Which alſo is done amongſt our ſelues, when they which bee alreadie Baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church, to obtaine by our Prayer and Impoſition of Hands the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth that when the Miniſters of Baptiſme were perſons of inferiour degree, the Biſhops did after confirme whō ſuch had before baptized. Somtimes they which by force of their Eccleſiaſticall calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding men whom Hereſie had diſioyned from the fellowſhip of true Beleeuers. Whereupon when any man by them baptized and confirmed, came afterwards to ſee and renounce their errour, there grew in ſome Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting ſuch into the boſome of the true Church, as hath beene declared alreadie in the queſtion of Rebaptization. But the generall receiued cuſtome was onely to admit them with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. Of which cuſtome while ſome imagined the reaſon to bee

a *Tertull. de Baptiſ.*

b *Cyp. Epiſt. 2. ad Donat. c. 2.*

c *Euſeb. Emiſ. Ser. de Penti.*

d *Aug. de Trin. l. 15. c. 26. Heb. 6 2.*

e *Acts 8. 12. 15.*

f *Hieron. aduerſ. Lucif. cap. 4.*

g *Cyp. Epiſt. 73. ad Iubaianum.*

for that Heretikes might giue remiſſion of ſinnes by Baptiſme, but not the Spirit by Impoſition of Hands, becauſe themſelues had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſme might ſtand, but Confirmation muſt bee giuen againe: the imbecillitie of this ground gaue *Cyprian* occaſion to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the practice of the Church herein, labouring many wayes to prooue that Heretikes could doe neither, and conſequently, that their Baptiſme in all reſpects, was as fruſtrate as their Chriſme, for the manner of thoſe times was in confirming to vſe anoynting. On the other ſide, againſt Luciferians which ratified onely the Baptiſme of Heretikes, but diſanulled their Confirmations and Conſecrations, vnder pretence of the reaſon which hath beene before ſpecified, *Heretikes cannot giue the Holy Ghoſt*, Saint *Ierome* proueth at large, that if Baptiſme by Heretikes be granted auaileable to remiſſion of ſinnes, which no man receiueth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow that the reaſon taken from diſabilitie of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt, was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Conuerts with any new Impoſition of Hands. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it might bee obiected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghoſt doe alwayes ioyne it ſelfe with true Baptiſme, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops Confirmation after other mens Baptiſme needfull for the obtayning of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an errour, Saint *Ierome* herunto maketh anſwere, that the cauſe of this obſeruation is not any abſolute impoſſibilitie of receiuing the Holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, vnleſſe a Biſhop adde after it the Impoſition of Hands, but rather a certaine congruitie and fitneſſe to honour Prelacie with ſuch preeminences, becauſe the ſafetie of the Church dependeth vpon the dignitie of her chiefe Superiours, to whom if ſome eminent Offices of power aboue others ſhould not be giuen, there would be in the Church as many Schiſmes as Prieſts. By which anſwere it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghoſt is receiued in Baptiſme; that Confirmation is onely a Sacramentall complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirme, was not becauſe the benefit, grace and dignitie thereof is greater then of Baptiſme, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſme men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reaſonable and conuenient that if hee baptize them not vnto whom the chiefeſt authoritie and charge of their ſoules belongeth, yet for honours ſake, and in token of his ſpirituall ſuperioritie ouer them, becauſe to *bleſſe is an Act of authoritie, the performance of this annexed Ceremonie ſhould bee ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their Impoſition of hands hath, eyther after Baptiſme adminiſtred by Heretikes or otherwiſe, Saint *Ierome* in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men vnderſtood that in Conuerts it tendeth to the fruits of Repentance, and craueth in behalfe of the Penitent, ſuch grace as *Dauid* after his Fall deſired at the hands of God; in others the fruit and beneſit therof is that which hath beene before ſhewed. Finally, ſometime the cauſe of ſeuering Confirmation from Baptiſme, was in the parties that receiued Baptiſme being Infants, at which age they might bee very well admitted to liue in the Family; but becauſe to fight in the Armie of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to doe the Workes of the Holy Ghoſt, their time of abilitie was not yet come (ſo that

*Heb. 6. 3.

*Pſal. 51. 10. 11. 12.

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Baptiſme were not deferd) there could by ſtay of their Confirmation no harme enſue but rather good. For by this meanes it came to paſſe that Children in expectation thereof, were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraued their mindes, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole liues, the ſeede of the Church of God was preſerued ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and Fathers of Gods Family, to whom the cure of their ſoules belonged, ſaw by triall and examination of them a part of their owne heauie burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſſe in tender yeares, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the mouthes of Infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunitie of giuing euerie one Fatherly incouragement and exhortation. Whereunto impoſition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame which Patriarkes, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and men of God haue had for ſuch their particular Iuuocations and Benedictions, as no man, I ſuppoſe, profeſſing truth of Religion, will eaſily thinke to haue beene without fruit. No, there is no cauſe wee ſhould doubt of the benefit, but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deepe neglect of this Chriſtian dutie, almoſt with all them to whom by right of their place and calling the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in euill part, the thing is true, their ſmall regard hereunto hath done harme to the Church of God. That which *error raſhly vttereth in diſgrace of good things may peraduenture bee ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe euills which are growne through neglect will remaine behinde. Thus much therefore generally ſpoken, may ſerue for anſwer vnto their demands that require vs to tell them, *Why there ſhould bee any ſuch Confirmation* in the Church, ſeeing wee are not ignorant how earneſtly they haue proteſted againſt it, and how directly (although vntruly, for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of them beene ſaid, to be *firſt brought in by the fained decretal Epiſtles of the Popes*; or why it ſhould not be *vtterly aboliſhed, ſeeing that no one title thereof can be once found in the whole ſcripture*, except the Epiſtle to the [a]Hebrewes be Scripture, and againe, ſeeing that how free ſoeuer it be now from abuſe, if we looke backe to the times paſt, which wiſe men doe alwayes more reſpect then the preſent, it *hath beene* abuſed; and is found at the length *no* ſuch *profitable*

T.C.lib.1.p. 199. Tellmee why there ſhould be any ſuch confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the fained Decretall Epiſtles of the Popes (this is retracted by the ſame, T.C.lib.3.p.232. That it is ancienter then the fained Decretall Epiſtles, I yeeld vnto) and no one title thereof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath beene ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſarie why ought it not to be vtterly aboliſhed? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Poperie in this Confirmation, is in the laying of hands vpon the head of the Child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, eſpecially when as the Prayer doth ſay, that it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt vntruth, and taken indeed from the Popiſh Confirmation. The ſecond is, for that the Biſhop, as hee is called, muſt bee the onely Miniſter of it, whereby the Popiſh opinion, which eſteemeth it aboue Baptiſme, is confirmed. For whileſt Baptiſme may bee miniſtred of the Miniſter, and not Confirmation but onely of the Biſhop, there is great cauſe of ſuſpition giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principall reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Poperie. I doe not here ſpeake of the inconuenience, that men are conſtrained with charges to bring their Children often-times halfe a ſcore miles for that which if it were needfull might be as well done at home in their owne Pariſhes. The third is, for that the Booke ſaith, a cauſe of vſing Confirmation is, that by impoſition of hands and Prayer, the Children may receiue ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations, whereas there is no promiſe, that by the laying on of hands vpon Children any ſuch gift ſhall be giuen, and it maintaineth the Popiſh diſtinction, that the Spirit of God is giuen at Baptiſme, vnto remiſſion of ſinne, and in Confirmation, vnto ſtrength. [a] *Heb.6.3.*

Ceremonie

Ceremonie as the wholle ſilly Church of Chriſt for the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeeres hath through want of experience imagined: laſt of all, *ſeeing* alſo beſides the cruelty which is ſhewed towards poore Country people, who are faine ſometimes to let their Ploughs ſtand ſtill, and with incredible wearieſome toyle of their feeble bodyes to wander ouer Mountaines and thorough Woods; it may be now and then little leſſe then a whole *halfe ſcore of miles* for a Biſhops bleſſing, *which if it were needfull, might as well be done at home in their owne Pariſhes*, rather then they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſſe and ſo intolerable paine: there are they ſay in Confirmation beſides this, *three* terrible *points*. The firſt is, *laying on of hands with pretence that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not onely as they ſuppoſe *a manifeſt vntruth* (for all the world doth know that the Apoſtles did neuer after Baptiſme lay hands on any, and therefore [a] S. *Luke* which ſaith they did was much deceiued) but farther alſo we thereby teach men to thinke *impoſition of hands a Sacrament*, belike becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of Nature in the minds of men, that all things done by Apoſtolike example muſt needs bee Sacraments: the ſecond high point of danger is, that by *tying Confirmation to the Biſhop alone, there is great cauſe of ſuſpicion giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation*, for will any man thinke that a veluet Cote is of more price then a linnen Coyſe, knowing the one to be an ordinarie garment, the other an ornament which onely Sergeants at Law doe weare? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the laſt and the waighticſt hazzard is, where the Booke it ſelfe doth ſay that Children by *impoſition* of hands and prayer may receiue *ſtrength* againſt all temptation; which ſpeech as a two-edged ſword doth both wayes dangerouſly wound, partly, becauſe it aſcribeth grace to impoſition of hands whereby we are able no more to aſſure our ſelues in the warrant of *any promiſe from God* that his heauenly grace ſhall be giuen, then the Apoſtle was that himſelfe ſhould obtaine grace by the [b] bowing of his knees to God; and partly, becauſe by vſing the verie word *ſtrength* in this matter, a word ſo apt to ſpread infection, we *maintaine* with Popiſh Euangeliſts, an old forlorne *diſtinction* of the Holy Ghoſt, [c] beſtowed vpon Chriſts Apoſtles before his Aſcenſion into heauen, and [d] *augmented* vpon them afterwards, a diſtinction of *grace* infuſed into Chriſtian men by degrees, planted in them *at the firſt* by Baptiſme, *after* cheriſhed, watred, and (be it ſpoken without offence) *ſtrengthened* as by other vertuous offices which Pietie and true Religion teacheth, euen ſo by this very ſpecial Benediction wherof we ſpeake, the Rite or Cermony of Confirmation.

a *Act.* 8, 15. 17.

b *Epheſ.* 3, 14.

c *Iohn* 20, 22.

d *Act.* 1, 8.

Of the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt,

67 The grace which wee haue by the holy Euchariſt, doth not beginne but continue life. No man therefore receiueth this Sacrament before Baptiſme, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth muſt of neceſſitie firſt liue. If our bodies did not daily waſte, food to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may bee that the grace of Baptiſme would ſerue to eternall life, were it not that the ſtate of our ſpirituall being is daily ſo much hindered and impaired after Baptiſme. In that life therefore where neither body nor ſoule can decay, our ſoules ſhall as little require this Sacrament as our bodies corporall nouriſhment. But as long as the dayes of our warfare laſt, during the time that wee are both ſubiect to diminution and capable of augmen-

augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt will remaine forceable, [a] *Except ye eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blond; ye haue no life in you.* Life being therefore propoſed vnto all men as their end, they which by Baptiſme haue laid the foundation and attained the firſt beginning of a new life, haue here their nouriſhment and food preſcribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will liue the life of God, muſt eate the fleſh, and drinke the bloud of the Sonne of man, becauſe this is a part of that dyet, which if we want, we cannot liue. Whereas therefore in our Infancie wee are incorporated into Chriſt, and by Baptiſme receiue the grace of his Spirit without any ſenſe or feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth, in the Euchariſt we ſo receiue the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giueth vs, the degrees of our owne increaſe in holineſſe and vertue we ſee and can iudge of them, we vnderſtand that the ſtrength of our life begunne in Chriſt is Chriſt, that his Fleſh is meat, and his Bloud drinke, not by ſurmiſed imagination, but truely, euen ſo truely that through Faith we perceiue in the Body and Bloud ſacramentally preſented the very taſte of eternall life, the grace of the Sacrament is heere as the food which we eate and drinke. This was it that ſome did exceedingly feare, leaſt *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius* would bring to paſſe, that men ſhould account of this Sacrament but onely as of a ſhadow, deſtitute, emptie, and void of Chriſt. But ſeeing that by opening the ſeuerall opinions which haue beene held, they are growne, for ought I can ſee, on all ſides at the length to a generall agreement, concerning that which alone is materiall, namely, the *reall participation* of Chriſt, and of life in his Body and Bloud *by meanes of this Sacrament*, wherefore ſhould the world continue ſtill diſtracted and rent with ſo manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no Controuerſie ſauing onely about the ſubiect *where* Chriſt is? Yea, euen in this point no ſide denieth, but that *the ſoule of man* is the receptacle of Chriſts preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driuen to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtfull but this, whether when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, Chriſt bee whole *within man onely*, or elſe his Bodie and Bloud be alſo externally ſeated in the very conſecrated Elements themſelues: which opinion they that defend, are driuen either to *Conſubſtantiate* and incorporate Chriſt with Elements Sacramentall, or to *Tranſubſtantiate* and change their ſubſtance into his, and ſo the one to hold him really but inuiſibly moulded vp with the ſubſtance of thoſe Elements, the other to hide him vnder the onely viſible ſhow of Bread and Wine, the ſubſtance whereof, as they imagine, is aboliſhed, and his ſucceeded in the ſame roome. All things conſidered and compared with that ſucceſſe, which truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter conflicts with errours in this point, ſhall I wiſh that men would more giue themſelues to meditate with ſilence what we haue by the Sacrament, and leſſe to diſpute of the manner how? If any man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupiditie and dulneſſe, let vs ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelues haue not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their owne diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitiue, yea, in other Caſes of leſſe importance and leſſe difficultie alwayes apt to mooue queſtions. How commeth it to paſſe that ſo few words of ſo high a myſterie being vttered, they

[a] *Ioh.* 6. 52.

receiue

receiue with gladneſſe the gift of Chriſt, and make no ſhew of doubt, or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not darke to them which haue any thing at all obſerued how the powers of the mind are wont to ſtirre, when that which wee infinitely long for, preſenteth it ſelfe aboue and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations doe hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and ioy, as diuine graces vſe to raiſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The mind therefore feeling preſent ioy, is alwayes marueilous vnwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectuall part at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may be noted, if wee compare with our Lords Diſciples in the twentieth of *Iohn*, the people that are ſaid in the ſixt of *Iohn* to haue gone after him to Capernaum. Theſe leauing him on the one ſide the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him againe as ſoone as themſelues by ſhip were arriued on the contrarie ſide, whether they knew that by ſhip he came not, and by Land the iourney was longer then according to the time he could haue to
Iohn 6.26. trauaile, as they wondred, ſo they asked alſo, *Rabbi, when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples, when Chriſt appeared to them in farre more ſtrange and miraculous manner, mooued no queſtion, but reioyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſort beheld onely that in Chriſt which they knew was more then naturall, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinarie gladneſſe; the other when they looked on Chriſt, were not ignorant that they ſaw the Well-ſpring of their owne euerlaſting felicitie; the one, becauſe they inioyed not, diſputed; the other diſputed not, becauſe they enioyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much mooue, iudge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt, not before their eyes, but within their ſoules. They had learned before, that his fleſh and bloud are the true cauſe of eternall life, that this they are not by the bare force of their owne ſubſtance, but through the dignitie and worth of his Perſon, which offered them vp by way of Sacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them ſtill effectuall thereunto; finally, that to vs they are life in particular, by being particularly receiued. Thus much they knew, although as yet they vnderſtood not perfectly to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine, but to haue eaten the Paſſeouer onely that *Moſes* appointeth, when they ſaw their Lord and Maſter with hands and eyes lifted vp to heauen firſt bleſſe and conſecrate for the endleſſe good of all generations till the worlds end, the choſen Elements of Bread and Wine, which Elements made for euer the inſtruments of life by vertue of his diuine Benediction, they being the firſt that were commanded to receiue from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe, that not onely vnto them at the preſent time, but to whomſoeuer they and their Succeſſors after them did duely adminiſter the ſame, thoſe myſteries ſhould ſerue as conducts of life and conueyances of his body and bloud vnto them, was it poſſible they ſhould heare that voyce, *Take, eate, this is my body, drinke yee all of this, this is my bloud*; poſſible that doing what was required, and beleeuing what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould haue preſent effect in them, and not fill them with a

kind

a kinde of fearefull admiration at the Heauen which they ſaw in themſelues? They had at that time a Sea of comfort and ioy to wade in, and wee by that which they did are taught, that this heauenly Food is giuen for the ſatisfying of our emptie ſoules, and not for the exerciſing of our curious and ſubtle wits. If we doubt what thoſe admirable words may import, let him be our Teacher for the meaning of Chriſt, to whom Chriſt was himſelfe a Schoolemaſter, let our Lords Apoſtle bee his Interpreter, content we our ſelues with his explication, My Body, *The Communion of my Body*; My Bloud, *The Communion of my Bloud.* Is there any thing more expedite, cleere, and eaſie, then that as Chriſt is termed our life, becauſe through him wee obtaine life, ſo the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Bloud, for that they are ſo to vs, who receiuing them, receiue that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Bloud, becauſe they are cauſes inſtrumentall, vpon the receit whereof the *participation* of his Bodie and Bloud enſueth. For that which produceth any certaine effect, is not vainly nor improperly ſaid to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Euery cauſe is in the effect which groweth from it. Our ſoules and bodies quickned to eternall Life are effects, the cauſe whereof is the Perſon of Chriſt, his Body and his Bloud are the true Well-ſpring out of which this life floweth. So that his Body and his Bloud are in that very ſubiect whereunto they miniſter life, not onely by effect or operation, euen as the influence of the Heauens is in Plants, Beaſts, Men, and in euery thing which they quicken, but alſo by a farre more diuine and myſticall kind of Vnion, which maketh vs one with him, euen as He and the Father are one. The reall preſence of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Body and Bloud, is not therefore to be ſought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiuer of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Sauiours words agreeth, firſt, *Take and eate*; then, *This is my Bodie which was broken for you*: firſt, *Drinke yee all of this*; then followeth, *This is my bloud of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinne.* I ſee not which way it ſhould bee gathered by the words of Chriſt, when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup his Bloud, but onely in the very heart and ſoule of him which receiueth them. As for the Sacraments they really exhibit, but for ought wee can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor doe really containe in themſelues that grace which with them or by them it pleaſeth God to beſtow. If on all ſides it be confeſt, that the grace of Baptiſme is powred into the ſoule of man, that by Water we receiue it, although it be neither ſeated in the water, nor the water changed into it, what ſhould induce men to thinke that the grace of the Euchariſt muſt needs bee in the Euchariſt, before it can be in vs that receiue it? The fruit of the Euchariſt is the participation of the Bodie and Bloud of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holy Scripture which ſaith, that we cannot by this Sacrament be made partakers of his Body and Bloud, except they be firſt contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament conuerted into them. *This is my Body*, and, *This is my Bloud*, being words of promiſe, ſith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Chriſt doth really and truely in vs performe his promiſe, why doe wee vainely trouble our ſelues with ſo fierce contentions, whether by Conſubſtantiation, or elſe by Tranſubſtantiation the Sacra-

Marke 14.22.

ments

ment it ſelfe be firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder vs howſoeuer it ſtand, becauſe our participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the cooperation of his Omnipotent Power, which maketh it his Body and Bloud to vs, whether with change or without alteration of the Element ſuch as they imagine, we need not greatly to care nor inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by it ſelfe what cauſe why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous then vrged as neceſſarie. It is on all ſides plainly confeſt, firſt, That this Sacrament is a true and a reall participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelfe euen his whole intire Perſon, *as a myſticall head*, vnto euery ſoule that receiueth him, and that euery ſuch Receiuer doth thereby incorporate or vnite himſelfe vnto Chriſt as *a myſticall member* of him, yea of them alſo whom he acknowledgeth to be his owne: Secondly, That to whom *the Perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them hee giueth by the ſame Sacrament his holy Spirit to ſanctifie them, as it ſanctifieth him which is their Head: thirdly, That what *merit, force, or vertue ſoeuer there is in his ſacrificed body and bloud*, we freely, fully, and wholly haue it by this Sacrament: fourthly, That *the effect thereof in vs is a reall tranſmutation of our ſoules and bodies* from ſinne to righteouſneſſe, from death and corruption to immortalitie and life: fiftly, That becauſe the Sacrament being of it ſelfe but a corruptible and earthly Creature, muſt needs be thought an vnlikely inſtrument to worke ſo admirable effects in Man, wee are therefore to reſt our ſelues altogether vpon *the ſtrength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to paſſe that the Bread & Cup which he giueth vs ſhall be truly the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſſe, that againſt them whom they terme Sacramentaries, ſo many inuectiue Diſcourſes are made, all running vpon two points, that the Euchariſt is not a bare ſigne or figure onely, and that the efficacie of his Body and Bloud is not all we receiue in this Sacrament. For no man, hauing read their Bookes and Writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both theſe Aſſertions they plainely confeſſe to bee moſt true. They doe not ſo interpret the words of Chriſt as if the name of his Body did import but the figure of his Bodie, and to be, were onely to ſignifie his Bloud. They grant that theſe holy myſteries receiued in due manner, doe inſtrumentally both make vs partakers of the grace of that Body and Bloud which were giuen for the life of the World, and beſides alſo impart vnto vs euen in true and reall, though myſticall manner, the very Perſon of our Lord himſelfe whole, perfect, and intire, as hath beene ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions doe thus farre accord in one, that ſtrong conceit which two of the three haue imbraced as touching a Literall, Corporall, and Orall manducation of the very ſubſtance of his Fleſh and Bloud, is ſurely an opinion no where deliuered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould thinke themſelues bound to beleeue it, and (to ſpeake with the ſofteſt termes wee can vſe) greatly preiudiced in that when ſome others did ſo conceiue of eating his Fleſh, our Sauiour to abate that errour in them, gaue them directly to vnderſtand how his Fleſh ſo eaten could profit them nothing, becauſe the words which hee ſpake were Spirit, that is to ſay, they had a reference to a myſticall participation, which myſticall participation

giueth

giueth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihood, that his meaning ſhould be onely to make them Marcionites by inuerſion, and to teach them that as *Marcion* did thinke, Chriſt ſeemed to bee man, but was not, ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould beleeue that Chriſt in truth would ſo giue them as they thought his fleſh to eate, but yet leſt the horrour thereof ſhould offend them, hee would not ſeeme to doe that hee did. When they which haue this opinion of Chriſt in that bleſſed Sacrament goe about to explaine themſelues, and to open after what manner things are brought to paſſe, the one ſort lay the Vnion of Chriſts Deitie with his Manhood, as their firſt foundation and ground; from thence they inferre a power which the Bodie of Chriſt hath thereby to preſent it ſelfe in all places; out of which vbiquitie of his Bodie they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified Bread and Wine of our Lords Table; the coniunction of his Bodie and Bloud with thoſe Elements they vſe as an Argument, to ſhew how the Bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his Bodie, becauſe his Bodie is therewith ioyned, as the Sonne of God may be named man, by reaſon that God and man in the perſon of Chriſt are vnited; to this they adde, how the words of Chriſt commanding vs to eate, muſt needs import that as he hath coupled the ſubſtance of his fleſh, and the ſubſtance of Bread together, ſo wee together ſhould receiue both; Which Labyrinth as the other ſort doth iuſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inne is ſomewhat more ſhort, but no whit more certaine. For through Gods Omnipotent Power they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth vpon the words of Conſecration, and vpon Tranſubſtantiation the participation of Chriſts both Bodie and Bloud, in the onely ſhape of Sacramentall Elements. So that they all three doe plead Gods Omnipotencie, Sacramentaries to that alteration, which the reſt confeſſe he accompliſheth; the Patrones of Tranſubſtantiation ouer and beſides that to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the followers of Conſubſtantiation, to the kneading vp of both ſubſtances, as it were into one lumpe. Touching the ſentence of Antiquitie in this cauſe: Firſt, for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the Veritie of Chriſts both Bodie and Bloud, they vſed oftentimes the ſame as an Argument to prooue that Chriſt hath as truly the ſubſtance of Man as of God, becauſe heere wee receiue Chriſt and thoſe graces which flow from him in that he is Man. So that if he haue no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament haue any ſuch meaning as wee all confeſſe it hath. Thus [a] *Tertullian*, thus [b] *Ireney*, thus [c] *Theodoret* diſputeth. Againe, as euident it is how they teach that Chriſt is *perſonally* there preſent, yea, preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt be *corporally* abſent from thence, that [d] Chriſt aſſiſting this Heauenly Banquet with his perſonall and true preſence, [e] doth by his owne Diuine Power adde to the naturall ſubſtance thereof ſupernaturall efficacie which [f] addition to the nature of thoſe con-

a *Acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis corpus ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma figuram capere non poſſet* Tertul contra Marc. lib. 4. cap. 40. b *Secundum hæc* (that is to ſay, if it ſhould be true which Heretickes haue taught, denying that Chriſt tooke vpon him the very nature of man) *nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neque calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis eius erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt, niſi à venis & carnibus & à reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia.* Irenæus lib. 5. cap. 1. c Εἰ τοίνυν τῦ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπα ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τὸ δεσποτικὸν τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἐστὶ θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν, ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθὲν. Theodor. Dialog. Ἀσύγχυτος.

 ſecrated

d *Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec vllo modo ſe abſentat maieſtas myſterijs.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 7.
e *Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter diuina ſe infudit eſſentia vt eſſet Religioni circa Sacramenta deuotio.* Idem cap. 6. *Inuiſibilis Sacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate conuertit. In ſpiritualibus Sacramentis verbi præcipit virtus & ſeruit effectus.* Euſ. Emiſſen hom. 5. de Paſch.
f Τὰ σύμβολα τῦ δεσποτικῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν ἐσὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Αλλ' ἐκ οἰκείας ἐξίσαται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐσίας καὶ τῦ σχήματος καὶ τῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐσὶ καὶ ἁπτὰ οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πισεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πισεύεται. Theodor. *Ex quo à Domino dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, hoc eſt caro mea, & hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunque his verbis & hac fide actum eſt, panis iſte ſuperſubſtantialis, & calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus, ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 3. *Immortalitatis alimonia datur, à communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantiæ retinens ſpeciem, ſed virtutis diuinæ inuiſibili efficientia probans adeſſe præſentiam.* Ibidem cap. 2.
g *Sen ſibilibus Sacramentis ineſt vitæ æternæ effectus, & non tam corporali quàm ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto vnimur. Ipſe enim & panis & caro & ſanguis, idem cibus & ſubſtantia & vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus.* Ibidem cap. 5. *Noſtra & ipſius coniunctio nec miſcet perſonas, nec vnit ſubſtantias, ſed effectus conſociat & conſœderat voluntates,* cap. 6. *Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio & potus quaſi quædam incorporatio,* cap. 9. *Ille eſt in patre per naturam diuinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem eius Natiuitatem, ille rurſus in nobis per Sacramentorum myſterium.* Hilar. de Trinit lib. 8.
h *Panis hic azymus cibus verus & ſincerus* per ſpeciem & Sacramentum *nos tactu ſanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Chriſto conformat.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 6. *Non aliud agit participatio corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, quàm vt in id quod ſumimus tranſeamus, & in quo mortui & ſepulti & correſuſcitati ſumus, ipſum per omnia & ſpiritu & carne geſtemus.* Leo de Paſ. Serm. 14. *Quemadmodum qui eſt à terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem* (id eſt, facta inuocatione diuini numinis) *iam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena & cœleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam, iam non ſunt corruptibilia ſpem reſurrectionis habentia,* Irenæus lib. 4. c. 34. *Quoniam ſalutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita eſt coniuncta, viuifica effecta eſt, quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis illi carni coniuncti, quæ vita effecta eſt.* Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4 cap. 14.

ſecrated Elements, changeth them and maketh them that vnto vs, which otherwiſe they could not bee; that to vs they are thereby made ſuch inſtruments, as g myſtically, yet truly; inuiſibly, yet really worke our cõmunion or fellowſhip with the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, as well in that he is man as God, our participation alſo in the fruit, grace and efficacie of his body & bloud; whereupon there enſueth a kinde of Tranſubſtantiation in vs, a true h change both of ſoule and bodie, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, any one did euer conceiue or imagine other then onely a myſticall participation of Chriſts both body and bloud in the Sacrament, neither are their ſpeeches concerning the change of the Elements themſelues into the bodie and bloud of CHRIST ſuch, that a man can therby in conſcience aſſure himſelfe. it was their meaning to perſwade the World either of a Corporall Conſubſtantiation of CHRIST with thoſe ſanctified and bleſſed Elements before wee receiue them, or of the like Tranſubſtantiation of them into the Body and Bloud of Chriſt. Which both to our myſticall Communion with Chriſt are ſo vnneceſſarie, that the Fathers, who plainly hold but this myſticall Communion, cannot eaſily bee thought to haue meant any other change of Sacramentall Elements, then that which the ſame Spirituall Communion did require them to hold. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that minde which louing Truth and ſeeking comfort out of holy Myſteries hath not perhaps the leiſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacitie to tread out ſo endleſſe Mazes, as the intricate Diſputes of this cauſe haue led men into, how ſhould a vertuouſly diſpoſed minde better reſolue with it ſelfe then thus?

"Varietie of iudgements and opinions argueth obſcuritie in thoſe things "whereabout they differ. But that which al parts receiue for Truth, that which "euery one hauing ſifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, muſt needs bee "matter of infallible certaintie. Whereas therefore there are but three Expo"ſitions made of, *This is my Bodie*, the firſt, This is in it ſelfe before parti"cipation *really and truely the naturall ſubſtance of my bodie, by reaſon of the*

co-

" *coexiſtence which my Omnipotent Bodie hath with the ſanctified Element of Bread*
" *which is the Lutherans interpretation:* the ſecond, This in it ſelfe and before
" participation *the very true and naturall ſubſtance of my body, by force of that Deity*
" *which with the words of conſecration aboliſheth the ſubſtance of bread, and ſub-*
" *ſtituteth in the place thereof my body which is the Popiſh conſtruction:* the laſt, *This*
" *hallowed food through concurrence of diuine power, is in veritie and truth, vnto*
" *faithfull Receiuers, inſtrumentally a cauſe of that myſticall participation, where-*
" *by as I make my ſelfe wholy theirs, ſo I giue them in hand an actuall poſſeſſion of all*
" *ſuch ſauing grace as my ſacrificed body can yeeld, and as their ſoules doe preſently*
" *need: this is* to them, and in them *my body:* of theſe three reherſed Interpretati-
" ons, the laſt hath in it nothing but what the reſt doe all approue and acknow-
" ledge to be moſt true, nothing but that which the words of Chriſt are on all
" ſides confeſt to inforce, nothing but that which the Church of God hath al-
" wayes thought neceſſarie, nothing but that which alone is ſufficient for euery
" Chriſtian man to beleeue concerning the vſe & force of this Sacrament, final-
" ly, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all Antiquitie are conſonant,
" and all Chriſtian confeſſions agreeable. And as truth in what kind ſoeuer is by
" no kind of truth gain-ſaid, ſo the mind which reſteth it ſelfe on this, is neuer
" troubled with thoſe perplexities which the other do both finde, by meanes of
" ſo great contradiction betweene their opinions, and true principles of Reaſon
" grounded vpon Experience, Nature and Senſe. Which albeit with boyſterous
" courage & breath they ſeem oftentimes to blow away, yet who ſo obſerueth,
" how againe they labour and ſweate by ſubtiltie of wit to make ſome ſhew of
" agreement betweene their peculiar conceits, and the generall Edicts of Na-
" ture, muſt needs perceiue they ſtruggle with that which they cannot fully
" maſter. Beſides, fith of that which is proper to themſelues, their Diſcourſes are
" hungry and vnpleaſant, full of tedious and irkeſome labour, hartleſſe and hi-
" therto without fruit, on the otherſide reade we them, or heare we others, be
" they of our owne or of ancienter times, to what part ſoeuer they be thought
" to incline touching that whereof there is controuerſie, yet in this where they
" all ſpeake but one thing, their Diſcourſes are heauenly, their words ſweet as
" the Honey-Combe, their Tongues melodiouſly tuned Inſtruments, their ſen-
" tences meere conſolation and ioy: are we not hereby almoſt euen with voice
" from Heauen admoniſhed which we may ſafelieſt cleaue vnto? He which
" hath ſaid of the one Sacrament, *Waſh and be cleane*, hath ſaid concerning the o-
" ther likewiſe, *Eate and liue.* If therefore without any ſuch particular and ſo-
" lemne warrant as this is, that poore diſtreſſed Woman comming vnto Chriſt
" for health, could ſo conſtantly reſolue her ſelfe, *May I but touch the skirt of his*
" *garment, I ſhall be whole*, what moueth vs to argue of the manner how life
" ſhould come by bread, our dutie being heere but to take what is offered, and
" moſt aſſuredly to reſt perſwaded of this, that can wee but eate we are ſafe?
" when I behold with mine eyes ſome ſmall and ſcarce diſcernable Graine or
" Seed whereof Nature maketh a promiſe that a tree ſhall come, & when after-
" wards of that tree any skilfull Artificer vndertaketh to frame ſome exquiſite
" and curious Worke, I looke for the euent, I moue no queſtion about perfor-
" mance either of the one or of the other. Shall I ſimply credit Nature in things

" naturall, ſhall I in things artificiall relye my ſelfe on Arte, neuer offering to
" make doubt, and in that which is aboue both Art & Nature refuſe to beleeue
" the Authour of both, except he acquaint me with his wayes, and lay the ſe-
" cret of his skill before me? Where God himſelfe doth ſpeake thoſe things
" which either for height and ſublimitie of matter, or elſe for ſecrecie of per-
" formance wee are not able to reach vnto, as wee may be ignorant without
" danger, ſo it can be no diſgrace to confeſſe wee are ignorant. Such as loue
" Pietie will as much as in them lyeth, know all things that God commandeth,
" but eſpecially, the duties of ſeruice which they owe to God. As for his darke
" and hidden workes, they preferre, as becommeth them in ſuch caſes ſimpli-
" citie of Faith before that knowledge, which curiouſly ſifting what it ſhould
" adore, and diſputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot ſearch,
" chilleth for the moſt part all warmth of zeale, and bringeth foundeſſe of be-
" liefe many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be ſufficient for mee pre-
" ſenting my ſelfe at the Lords Table, to know what there I receiue from him,
" without ſearching or inquiring of the maner how Chriſt performeth his pro-
" miſe; let diſputes and queſtions, enemies to Piety, abatements of true Deuoti-
" on and hitherto in this cauſe but ouer-patiently heard, let them take their reſt;
" let curious and ſharp-witted men beate their heads about what Queſtions
" themſelues will, the very letter of the Word of Chriſt giueth plaine ſecurity,
" that theſe Myſteries doe as nayles faſten vs to his very Croſſe, that by them
" we draw out, as touching efficacie, force and vertue, euen the bloud of his
" gored ſide, in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, wee
" are died red both within and without, our hunger is ſatisfied and our thirſt
" for euer quenched, they are things wonderfull which he feeleth, great which
" he ſeeth, and vnheard of which he vttered, whoſe ſoule is poſſeſt of this Paſ-
" call Lambe, and made ioyfull in the ſtrength of this new Wine, this Bread
" hath in it more then the ſubſtance which our eyes behold, this Cup hallowed
" with ſolemne Benediction, auaileth to the endleſſe life and welfare both of
" Soule and Bodie, in that it ſerueth as well for a Medicine to heale our infirmi-
" ties and purge our ſinnes, as for a Sacrifice of Thankſgiuing, with touching it
" ſanctifieth, it enlightneth with beliefe, it truly conformeth vs vnto the Image
" of Ieſus Chriſt; what theſe Elements are in themſelues it skilleth not, it is e-
" nough that to me which take them, they are the Bodie and Bloud of Chriſt,
" his promiſe in witneſſe hereof ſufficeth, his Word he knoweth which way to
accompliſh, why ſhould any cogitation poſſeſſe the minde of a faithfull Com-
municant but this, *O my God thou art true, O my ſoule thou art happy.* Thus there-
fore we ſee, that howſoeuer mens opinions doe otherwiſe varie, neuertheleſſe
touching Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord, wee may with conſent of the
whole Chriſtian World conclude, they are neceſſary, the one to initiate or be-
gin, the other to conſummate or make perfect our life in Chriſt.

Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring the holy Communion.

68 In adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Bodie and Bloud of Chriſt, the
ſuppoſed faults of the Church of *England* are not greatly materiall, and there-
fore it ſhall ſuffice to touch them in few wordes. *The firſt is that wee doe not
vſe in a generalitie once for all to ſay to Communicants,* Take, eate, and drinke, *but
vnto euery particular perſon,* Eate thou, drinke thou, *which is according to the*

Popiſh

Popish manner, and not the forme that our Sauiour did vse. Our second ouersight is by gesture. For in kneeling there hath bin Superstition; sitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Sauiour vsing that which was most fit did himselfe not kneele. A third accusation is for not examining all Communicants, whose knowledge in the mysterie of the Gospell should that way be made manifest, a thing euerywhere they say vsed in the Apostles times, because all things necessarie were vsed, and this in their opinion, is necessary, yea, it is commanded, in as much as the [a] *Leuites are commanded to prepare the people for the Passeouer, and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lords Supper in place of the Passeouer. The fourth thing misliked is, that against the Apostles* [b] *prohibition to haue any familiaritie at all with notorious offenders, Papists being not of the Church are admitted to our very Communion, before they haue by their Religious and Gospel-like behauiour purged themselues of that suspition of Poperie which their former life hath caused. They are Dogges, Swine, vncleane beasts, forrainers and strangers from the Church of God, and therefore ought not to be admitted though they offer themselues. Wee are* [c] *iustly condemned, in as much as when there haue been store of people to heare Sermons and Seruice in the Church, we suffer the Communion to be ministred to a few. It is not enough that our Booke of Common Prayer hath godly Exhortations to moue all thereunto which are present. For it should not suffer a few to communicate, it should by Ecclesiasticall Discipline and Ciuill punishment prouide, that such as would withdraw themselues, might be brought to Communicate according both to the* [c] *Law of God and the ancient Church Canons. In the sixt and last place commeth the enormitie of imparting this Sacrament priuately vnto the sicke.* Thus farre accused, we answere briefly to the [d] first, that seeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular vnto euery mans person the grace which himselfe hath prouided for the benefit of all Mankind, there is no cause, why administring the Sacraments we should forbeare to expresse that in our formes of speech, which he by his Word and Gospell teacheth all to beleeue. In the one Sacrament, *I baptize thee* displeaseth them not. If *Eate thou* in the other offend them, their fancies are no Rules for Churches to follow. Whether Christ at his last Supper did speake generally once to all, or to euery one in particular, is a thing vncertaine. His words are recorded in that forme which serueth best for the setting downe with Historicall breuitie what was spoken, they are no manifest proofe that hee spake but once vnto all which did then Communicate, much lesse that we in speaking vnto euery Communicant seuerally doe amisse, although it were cleere that wee herein doe otherwise then Christ did. Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously our selues vnto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the heauenly direction of that inspired Diuine Wisdome, which teacheth diuers wayes to one end, and doth therein controule their boldnesse, by whom any profitable way is censured as reproueable, onely vnder colour of some small difference from great Examples going before, to doe throughout euery the like Circumstance, the same which Christ did in this action, were by following his footsteps in that sort to erre more from the purpose he aymed at, then we now do by not following them with so nice & seuere strictnes. They little weigh with themselues how dull, how heauie, and almost how without sense the greatest part of the common multitude euery-where is, who thinke it either

a 2. Chro. 35. 6.

b 1. Cor. 5. 11.

c Num. 9. 13. Can. 9. Apost. Concil. 2. Braca. cap. 83

d T. Cal. 3 p. 166 Besides that it is good to leaue the Popish forme in those things which we may so conueniently doe, it is best to come as neere the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Sauiour Christ vsed as may bee. And if it be a good Argument to proone that therefore wee must rather say Take thou, then Take ye, because the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Christ it behooueth that the Preacher should direct his Admonitions particularly one after another vnto all those which heare his Sermon, which is a thing absurd

either vnmeet or vnneceſſary to put them euen man by man, eſpecially at that time in mind whereabout they are. It is true that in Sermons we doe not vſe to repeat our ſentences ſeuerally to euery particular hearer, a ſtrange madneſſe it were if we ſhould. The ſoftneſſe of wax may induce a wiſeman to ſet his ſtampe or image therein; it perſwadeth no man, that becauſe Wooll hath the like qualitie, it may therefore receiue the like impreſſion. So the reaſon taken from the vſe of Sacraments in that they are inſtruments of grace vnto euery particular man, may with good congruitie lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in adminiſtration of Sacraments, becauſe they eaſily admit this forme, whichbeing in Sermons a thing impoſſible, without apparent ridiculous abſurditie, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is alleaged as a reaſonable proofe of conueniencie; for the one proueth not the ſame allegation impertinent, becauſe it doth not inforce the other to be adminiſtred in like ſort. For equall principles doe then auaile vnto equall concluſions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equall and not elſe. [l] Our kneeling at Communions is the geſture of Pietie. If wee did there preſent our ſelues but to make ſome ſhew or dumbe reſemblance of a Spirituall Feaſt, it may bee that ſitting were the fitter Ceremonie; but comming as Receiuers of ineſtimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beſeeme our bodies at that houre, then to be ſenſible Witneſſes of mindes vnfainedly humbled? Our Lord himſelfe did that which cuſtome and long vſage had made fit; we, that which fitneſſe and great decencie hath made vſuall. The triall of our ſelues before we eat of this Bread and drinke of this Cup, is by expreſſe Commandement euery mans preciſe dutie. As for neceſſitie of calling others vnto account beſides our ſelues, albeit wee bee not thereunto drawne by any great ſtrength which is in their Arguments, who firſt preſſe vs with it as a thing neceſſarie, by affirming that the Apoſtles did vſe it, and then proue [m] the Apoſtles to haue vſed it, by affirming it to be neceſſary; againe, albeit we greatly muſe how they can auouch, that God did command the Leuites to prepare their Brethren againſt the Feaſt of Paſſeouer, and that the Examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleaged to this purpoſe doth but charge the Leuit, ſaying, *Make ready Laahhechem for your Brethren*, to the end they may do according to the Word of the Lord by *Moſes*. Wherefore in the ſelfeſame place it followeth how Lambes, and Kids, and Sheepe, and Bullocks were deliuered vnto the Leuits, and that thus *the ſeruice was made readie*: it followeth likewiſe how the Leuites hauing in ſuch ſort prouided for the people, they made prouiſion for *themſelues, and for the Prieſts, the Sonnes of Aaron*, ſo that confidently from hence to conclude the neceſſitie of examination, argueth their wonderfull great forwardneſſe in framing all things to ſerue their turne, neuertheleſſe the Examination of Communicants when need requireth, for the profitable vſe it may haue in ſuch caſes wee reiect not. Our fault in admitting Popiſh Communicants, is it in that wee are [n] forbidden to eate and therefore much more to communicate with notorious Malefactors? The name of a Papiſt is not giuen vnto any man for being a notorious Malefactor. And the crime wherewith wee are charged, is ſuffering of Papiſts to communicate, ſo that bee their life and conuerſation whatſoeuer in the ſight of men, their Popiſh opinions

[l] *T.C.l.1.p.165* Kneeling carrieth a ſhew of worſhip, ſitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper. Chriſt and his Apoſtles kneeled not.

[m] *T.C.l.1.p.164* All things neceſſary were vſed in the Churches of God in the Apoſtles times, but examination was a neceſſary thing, therefore vſed. In the Booke of *Chronicles*, 2.*Chron* 35.6. the Leuites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiuing of the Paſſeouer, in place whereof wee haue the Lords Supper. Now Examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandement of the Examination.

[n] 1.*Cor.*5.11. *T.C.l.1.p.167.*

nions are in this caſe laid as barres and exceptions againſt them, yea thoſe opinions which they haue held in former times, *although they now both profeſſe by word, and offer to ſhew by fact the contrarie. All this doth not iuſtifie vs which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till their Goſpel-like behauiour haue remooued all ſuſpition of Poperie from them, becauſe Papiſts are *Dogs, Swine, Beaſts, Forrainers and Strangers* from the houſe of God, in a word, they are *not of the Church*. What the termes of Goſpel-like behauiour may include, is obſcure and doubtfull. But of the *viſible Church* of Chriſt in this preſent world, from which they ſeparate all Papiſts, we are thus perſwaded: *Church* is a word which Art hath deuiſed, thereby to ſeuer and diſtinguiſh that ſocietie of men, which profeſſeth the true Religion from the reſt which profeſſe it not. There haue beene in the world from the very firſt foundation thereof, but three Religions, *Paganiſme*, which liued in the blindneſſe of corrupt and depraued nature; *Iudaiſme*, imbracing the Law which reformed Heatheniſh impietie, and taught ſaluation to be looked for through One, whom God in the laſt dayes would ſend and exalt to be Lord of all; finally, *Chriſtian beliefe*, which yeeldeth obedience to the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Sauiour whom God did promiſe. Seeing then that *the Church* is a name, which Art hath giuen to *Profeſſors of true Religion*, as they which will define a man, are to paſſe by thoſe qualities wherein one man doth excell another, and to take onely thoſe eſſentiall properties, whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds: ſo he that will teach what *the Church* is, ſhall neuer rightly performe the worke whereabout hee goeth, till *in matter of Religion* hee touch that difference which ſeuereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs, who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation*, partly of *action*, wee muſt define the Church, which is a religious ſocietie, by ſuch differences as doe properly explaine the eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the obiect or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conuerſant. For ſo all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon, becauſe the *onely obiect* which ſeparateth ours from other Religions, is *Ieſus Chriſt*, in whom none but the Church doth beleeue, and whom none but the Church doth worſhip, wee find that accordingly the Apoſtles doe euery-where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Iewes, accounting *them which call vpon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to bee his Church*. If we goe lower, we ſhall but adde vnto this certaine caſuall and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make onely for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either indeed, or in mens opinions and conceits. This is the errour of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto haue beene brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their owne more perfect then the reſt are. Touching parts of eminencie and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences, no way poſſible to be drawne vnto any certaine account. There is not the leaſt contention and variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the Vnitie that ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may haue not onely without offence or breach

* Although they would receiue the communion, yet they ought to be kept backe vntil ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpell-like behauiour, they haue purged themſelues of that ſuſpition of Poperie, which their former life and conuerſation hath cauſed to be conceiued, *T.C.l.1 p.167.*

Rom.17.5.
1.Cor.1.10.

breach of concord her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but alſo her ſtrifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no ſmall importance, yea, her ſchiſmes, factions, and ſuch other euils whereunto the bodie of the Church is ſubiect, ſound and ſicke remaining both of the ſame body, as long as both parts retaine by outward profeſſion that vitall ſubſtance of truth, which maketh Chriſtian Religion to differ from theirs, which acknowledge not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the bleſſed Sauiour of mankind, giue no credit to his glorious Goſpel, and haue his Sacraments the ſeales of eternall life in deriſion. Now the priuiledge of the viſible Church of God (for of that wee ſpeake) is to bee herein like the Arke of *Noah*, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are loſt ſheepe; yet in this was the Arke of *Noah* priuiledged aboue the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other are caſt away, becauſe to eternall life our profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdome of God, although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church there ariſe ſundrie grieuous ſtormes, by meanes whereof whole Kingdomes and Nations profeſſing Chriſt, both haue beene heretofore, and are at this preſent day diuided about Chriſt. During which diuiſions and contentions amongſt men, albeit each part doe iuſtifie it ſelfe, yet the one of neceſſitie muſt needs erre, if there bee any contradiction betweene them, be it great or little, and what ſide ſoeuer it bee that hath the truth, the ſame we muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and conſequently, reiect the other as an enemie, *in that caſe fallen away from the true Church*. Wherefore of Hypocrites and Diſſemblers whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but onely from the teeth outward, when they afterwards tooke occaſion to oppugne certaine principle Articles of Faith, the Apoſtles which defended the truth againſt them, pronounce them *gone out* from the fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere Beleeuers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not vtterly caſt off. In like ſenſe and meaning throughout all ages, *Heretickes* haue iuſtly beene hated, as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet onely ſo farre forth cut off as their Hereſies haue extended. Both Hereſie, *and many other crimes*, which *wholly ſeuer from God*, doe ſeuer from the Church of God in *part onely*. The Myſterie of Pietie, ſaith the Apoſtle, is without peraduenture great, *God hath beene manifeſted in the Fleſh, hath beene iuſtified in the Spirit, hath beene ſeene of Angels, hath beene preached to Nations, hath beene beleeued on in the World, hath beene taken vp into Glory*. The Church a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is knowne or profeſt, but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that profeſſe it. In the meane while it cannot be denied, that many profeſſe this, who are not therefore cleered ſimply from all either faults or errors, which make ſeparation betweene vs and the Wel-ſpring of our happineſſe. Idolatrie ſeuered of old the Iſraelites; Iniquity, thoſe Scribes and Phariſies from God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeed of *Abraham*, a part of that very ſeed which God did himſelfe acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore containe both them which indeed are not his, yet muſt be reputed his by vs that know not their inward thoughts, and them whoſe apparent wickedneſſe teſtifieth euen in the ſight

1. Iohn 2. 19.

1. Tim. 3. 14.

ſight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe, are meant thoſe Parables, which our Sauiour in the Goſpel hath concerning mixture of Vice with Vertue, Light with Darkeneſſe, Truth with Error, as well and openly knowen and ſeene as a cunningly cloked mixture. That which ſeparateth therefore *vtterly*, that which cutteth off *cleane* from the viſible Church of Chriſt, is plaine Apoſtaſie, *direct* denyall, vtter reiection of the whole Chriſtian Faith, as farre as the ſame is profeſſedly different from Infidelitie. Heretikes, as touching thoſe points of doctrine wherein they faile: Schiſmatikes, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they diuide themſelues from their Brethren: Looſe, licentious and wicked perſons, as touching their ſeuerall offences or crimes, haue all forſaken the true Church of God, the Church which is ſound and ſincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the bond of Vnitie, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the Lawes of righteouſneſſe, which they tranſgreſſe; this very true Church of Chriſt they haue lift, howbeit not altogether left, nor forſaken ſimply the Church vpon the maine foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* aſunder. Now becauſe for redreſſe of profeſſed errours and open Schiſmes it is, and muſt be the Churches care that all may in outward conformitie bee one, as the laudable Politie of former Ages, euen ſo our owne to that end and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed diuers Lawes, the moderate ſeueritie whereof is a meane both to ſtay the reſt, and to reclaime ſuch as heretofore haue beene led awry. But ſeeing that the offices which Lawes require, are alwayes definite, and when that they require is done, they goe no farther, whereupon ſundry ill affected perſons, to ſaue themſelues from danger of Lawes, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before, by meanes whereof it falleth out, that receiuing vnworthily the bleſſed Sacrament at our hands, they eate and drinke their owne damnation; it is for remedie of this miſchiefe *heare determined, that whom the Law of the Realme doth puniſh vnleſſe they communicate, ſuch if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their Goſpel-like behauiour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time how long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; againe, they nominate no certaine iudgement, the verdict whereof ſhall approoue mens behauiour to be Goſpel-like; and that which is moſt materiall, whereas they ſeeke to make it more hard for diſſemblers to be receiued into the Church, then Law & Politie as yet

Matt. 13. 24 47

**T. C. l. 1. p. 167.* If the place of the fift to the Corinthians, doe forbid that we ſhould haue any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they ſhould be receiued to the Communion. And therefore Papiſts being ſuch as which are notoriouſly knowne to hold hereticall opinios, ought not to be admitted, much leſſe compelled to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Sauiour Chriſt did inſtitute his Supper amongſt his Diſciples, and thoſe only which were, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, within, it is euident, that the Papiſts being without, & Forraines and Strangers from the Church of God, ought not to be receiued if they would offer themſelues:

and that Miniſter that ſhall giue the Supper of the Lord to him, which is knowne to be a Papiſt, and which hath neuer made any cleere renouncing of Poperie, with which he hath beene defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth giue the meate that is prepared for the Ghildren, vnto Dogs, and he bringeth into the paſture, which is prouided for the Sheepe, Swine and vncleane beaſts, contrarie to the faith and truth that ought to be in a Steward of the Lords houſe, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of thoſe which are now Papiſts, pertaine to the election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be vnto the Miniſter and vnto the Church, touching the miniſtring of Sacraments, as ſtrangers and as vncleane beaſts. The miniſtring of the holy Sacraments vnto them, is a declaration and ſeale of Gods fauour and reconciliation with them, and a plaine preaching, partly, that they be waſhed alreadie from their ſinne, partly, that they are of the houſhold of God, and ſuch as the Lord will feed to eternall life, which is not lawfull to bee done vnto thoſe which are not of the houſhold of Faith. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of Papiſts vnto the Communion, and the diſmiſſing and letting of them goe, when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubbornneſſe in Poperie (with this condition, if they will receiue the Communion) is very vnlawfull, when as although they would receiue it, yet they ought to be kept backe till ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpel-like behauiour, &c.

hath

hath done, they make it in truth more easie for such kinde of persons, to wind themselues out of the Law, and to continue the same they were. The Law requireth at their hands that dutie which in conscience doth touch them neerest, because the greatest difference betweene vs and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ, whose name in the seruice of our Communion wee celebrate with due honour, which they in the errour of their Masse prophane. As therefore on our part to heare Masse, were an open departure from that sincere profession wherein we stand, so if they on the other side receiue our Communion, they giue vs the strongest pledge of fidelitie that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind trechery to God and Man, shall once apprehend this aduantage giuen them, whereby they may satisfie Law, in pretending themselues conformable (for what can Law with Reason or Iustice require more?) And yet bee sure the Church will accept no such offer, till their Gospel-like behauiour be allowed, after that our owne simplicitie hath once thus farely eased them from sting of Law; it is to bee thought they will learne the mysterie of Gospel-like behauiour when leisure serueth them. And so while without any cause we feare to prophane Sacraments, we shall not only defeat the purpose of most wholsome Lawes, but lose or wilfully hazzard those soules, from which the likeliest meanes of full and perfect recouery, are by our indiscretion withheld. For neither doth God thus bind vs to diue into mens consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themselues. To him they seeme such as they are, but of vs they must bee taken for such as they seeme. In the eye of God they are against Christ, that are not truely and sincerely with him; in our eyes they must bee receiued as with Christ, that are not to outward show against him. The case of impenitent and notorious sinners is not like vnto theirs, whose only imperfection is errour, seuered from pertinacie, Errour in appearance content to submit it selfe to better instruction, Errour so far already cured, as to craue at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and vtter refusall whereof was the waightiest point wherein heretofore they swarued and went astray. In this case therefore they cannot reasonably charge vs with remisse dealing, or with carelessnesse to whom wee impart the mysteries of Christ, but they haue giuen vs manifest occasion to thinke it requisite, that we earnestly aduise rather and exhort them to consider as they ought, their sundry ouer-sights, first, in equalling vndistinctly crimes with errours, as touching force to make vncapable of this Sacrament: secondly, in suffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome, to blind and with-hold their iudgements, from seeing that which withall they should acknowledge, concerning so much neuertheless still due to the same Church, as to bee held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limme of the visible Church of Christ: thirdly, in imposing vpon the Church a burthen to enter farther into mens hearts, and to make a deeper search of their consciences, then any Law of God or reason of Man inforceth: fourthly and lastly, in repelling vnder colour of longer triall such from the mysteries of heauenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the Lawes of God, for any thing we heare to the contrarie, and should in diuers considerations bee cherished according to the mercifull ex-

amples

amples and Precepts whereby the Goſpell of Chriſt hath taught vs towards ſuch to ſhew compaſſion, to receiue them with lenitie and all meekeneſſe, if any thing be ſhaken in them to ſtrengthen it, not to quench with delayes and ielouſies that feeble ſmoke of conformitie which ſeemeth to breathe from them, but to build whereſoeuer there is any foundation, to adde perfection vnto ſlender beginnings, and that as by other offices of pietie, euen ſo by this very food of Life, which Chriſt hath left in his Church, not onely for preſeruation of ſtrength, but alſo for reliefe of weakeneſſe: but to returne to our owne ſelues, in whom the next thing ſeuerely reproued is the pauci- *T.C.l.1.p.147.*
tie of Communicants, if they require at Communions frequencie, wee wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable vnto God ſuch ſeruice is, when multi- *2.Chron 30.23.*
tudes cheerefully concurre vnto it; if they incourage men thereunto, wee al- *Pſal. 122.1.*
ſo (themſelues acknowledge it) are not vtterly forgetfull to doe the like; if they require ſome publike coaction for remedie of that, wherein by milder and ſofter meanes little good is done, they know our Lawes and Statutes prouided in that behalfe, whereunto whatſoeuer conuenient helpe may bee added more by the wiſedome of man, what cauſe haue wee giuen the world to *Luke 14.23.*
thinke that we are not readie to hearken to it, and to vſe any good meane of ſweet compulſion, to haue this high and heauenly Banquet largely furniſhed? Onely we cannot ſo farre yeeld as to iudge it conuenient, that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould be vnſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſſe and vndiſpoſed to ioyne with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelues to communicate, when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our coniunction with our Brethren, and therefore by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction. I aske then on which ſide Vnitie is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behind doe communicate? Firſt, in the one it is not denyed, but that they may haue reaſonable cauſes of departure, and that then euen they are deliuered from iuſt blame. Of ſuch kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely, danger of impayring health, and neceſſarie buſineſſe requiring our preſence otherwhere. And may not a third cauſe, which is *vnfitneſſe*, at the preſent time detaine vs as lawfully backe as either of theſe two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuſe our ſelues, for that we ought to preuent this and doe not. But if wee haue committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, ſhall wee therefore aggrauate the ſame with a worſe, the crime of vnworthy participation? He that abſtaineth, doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious Communicants haue, but he that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, receiueth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer bee the cauſe for which men abſtaine, were it reaſon that the fault of one part ſhould any way abridge their benefit that are not faultie? There is in all the Scripture of God no one ſyllable which doth condemne communicating amongſt a few, when the reſt are departed from them. As for the laſt thing, *T.C.l.1.p.146.*
which is our imparting this Sacrament priuately vnto the ſicke, whereas there haue beene of old (they grant) two kinds of neceſſity, wherin this Sacrament might be priuately adminiſtred, of which two, the one being erroniouſly imagined,

imagined, and the other (they ſay) continuing no longer in vſe, there remaineth vnto vs no neceſſitie at all, for which that cuſtome ſhould bee retained. The falſly ſurmiſed neceſſitie is that, whereby ſome haue thought all ſuch excluded from poſſibilitie of ſaluation, as did depart this life, and neuer were made partakers of the holy Euchariſt. The other caſe of neceſſitie was, when men, which had fallen in time of perſecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet receiued againe vnto the fellowſhip of this Communion, did at the houre of their death requeſt it, that ſo they might reſt with greater quietneſſe and comfort of mind, being thereby aſſured of departure in vnitie of Chriſts Church, which vertuous deſire the Fathers did thinke it great impietie not to ſatisfie. This was *Serapions* caſe of neceſſitie. *Serapion* a faithfull aged perſon, and alwayes of very vpright life, till feare of perſecution in the end cauſed him to ſhrinke backe, after long ſorrow for the ſcandalous offence, and ſute oftentimes made to bee pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grieuous ſickneſſe, and being readie to yeeld vp the Ghoſt, was then more inſtant then euer before to receiue the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was neceſſarie in this caſe, not that *Serapion* had beene depriued of euerlaſting Life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we thinke that all caſes of *ſuch neceſſitie* are cleane vaniſhed? Suppoſe that ſome haue by miſperſwaſion liued in Schiſme, withdrawne themſelues from holy and publike Aſſemblies, hated the Prayers, and lothed the Sacraments of the Church, falſly preſuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichriſtian corruptions, which errour the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to ſee, they doe not onely repent them of the euill which they haue done, but alſo in token thereof deſire to receiue comfort by that whereunto they haue offered diſgrace (which may bee the caſe of many poore ſeduced ſoules euen at this day) God forbid wee ſhould thinke that the Church doth ſinne, in permitting the wounds of ſuch to be ſupplied with that Oile, which this gracious Sacrament doth yeeld, and their bruſed minds not onely need but begge. There is nothing which the ſoule of man doth deſire in that laſt houre ſo much, as comfort againſt the naturall terrors of death, and other ſcruples of conſcience, which commonly doe then moſt trouble and perplexe the weake, towards whom the verie Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Chriſtian lenitie and indulgence can affoord. Our generall conſolation departing this life, is the hope of that * glorious and bleſſed Reſurrection, which the Apoſtle [a] S. *Paul* nameth ἐξανάστασιν, [b] to note that as all men ſhall haue their ἀνάστασιν, & be rayſed againe from the dead, ſo the iuſt ſhall bee taken vp and exalted aboue the reſt, whom the power of God doth but raiſe and not exalt. This Life and this Reſurrection our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is for all men, as touching the ſufficiencie of that he hath done; but that which maketh vs partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Chriſt, and this Sacrament a principall meane, as well to ſtrengthen the bond, as to multiply in vs the fruits of the ſame Communion, for which cauſe [c] Sant *Cyprian* termeth it a ioyfull ſolemnitie of expedite and ſpeedie Reſurrection; [d] *Ignatius*, a medicine which procureth immortalitie and preuenteth death; [e] *Irenæus*, the nouriſhment of our bodies

to

* 1. *Cor.* 15.
a *Phil.* 3. 11.
b Διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔπαρσιν, Theophil. πάντες οἱ ἀναστάντας, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἀξιωθήσονται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, Ammon. vide. 1. *Theſ.* 4. 17.
c *Maturatæ reſurrectionis lætabunda ſolemnia* Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.
d φάρμακον ἀθανασίας ἀντίδοτον μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, Ignat. Epiſt. ad Ephe.
Iren. l. 4. c. 34.
e *Et ſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolẽnibus, tamen vbi æquitas euidẽs poſcit ſubueniendum eſt*, Lib. 183. ff. de Reg. Iur.

to eternall life and their preſeruatiue from corruption. Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at all times we may receiue vnto this effect, is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitfull, when any ſpeciall extraordinarie occaſion neerely, and preſently vrging, kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeueritie, who cleaue vnto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and ſo make all mens conditions alike, may adde much affliction to diuers troubled and grieued mindes, of whoſe particular eſtate, particular reſpect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein we liue, there inſueth vnto God that glorie, which his righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes doe yeeld, and vnto them which haue their reaſonable Petitions ſatisfied, the ſame contentment, tranquillitie and ioy, that others before them by meanes of like ſatisfaction haue reaped, and wherein we all are or ſhould be deſirous finally to take our leaue of the World, whenſoeuer our owne vncertaine time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our vſuall and receiued forme of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of *England*, let thus much ſuffice.

Of Feſtiuall Daies, and the naturall cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.

69 As the ſubſtance of God alone is infinite, and hath *no kind* of limitation, ſo likewiſe his continuance is from euerlaſting to euerlaſting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonſtrable concluſion, being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that beſides him, all things are finite, both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in ſubſtance all things bee finite, it cannot be, but that there are bounds without the compaſſe whereof their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in continuance alſo limited, they all haue, it cannot be denied, their ſet and their certaine termes, before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon, why firſt we doe moſt admire thoſe things which are greateſt, and ſecondly, thoſe things which are ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that onely God hath true immortalitie or eternitie, that is to ſay, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter vnto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides, haue continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthened, ſo that they could not heretofore bee ſaid to haue continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. Gods owne Eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their Perpetuitie; their Perpetuitie, the hand that draweth out celeſtiall Motion, the Line of which Motion and the Threed of Time are ſpunne together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, ſo wee by Motion haue learned how to diuide Time, and by the ſmaller parts of Time, both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe indure. For Time conſidered in it ſelfe, is but the flux of that very inſtant, wherein the Motion of the Heauen began, being coupled with other things, it is the quantitie of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants: As the time of a man is a mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath, till the inſtant of his laſt gaſpe. Hereupon, ſome haue defined Time to bee the Meaſure of the Motion of Heauen, becauſe the firſt thing which Time doth meaſure, is that Motion wherewith it began, and by the helpe whereof it meaſureth other things, as when the Pro-

p het *Dauid* ſaith, that a mans continuance doth not commonly exceed three-ſcore and tenne yeeres, hee vſeth the helpe both of Motion and Number to meaſure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to be in Nature before Time, ought to haue conſidered with themſelues, that albeit we ſhould deny as *Meliſſus* did all Motion, we might notwithſtanding acknowledge Time, becauſe Time doth but ſignifie the quantitie of continuance, which continuance may be in things that reſt and are neuer mooued. Beſides, wee may alſo conſider in reſt both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future, yea, farther euen length and ſhortneſſe in euery of theſe, although we neuer had conceit of Motion. But to *define* without Motion, *how* long or *how* ſhort ſuch continuance is, were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſſitie vſe the benefit of Yeeres, Dayes, Houres, Minutes, which all grow from Celeſtiall Motion. Againe, for as much as that Motion is Circular, whereby we make our diuiſions of Time, and the Compaſſe of that Circuit ſuch, that the Heauens which are therein continually moued, and keepe in their Motions vniforme celeritie, muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chooſe but bring vnto vs by equall diſtances frequent returnes of the ſame times. Furthermore whereas Time is nothing but the meere quantitie of that continuance which all things haue that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper vnto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kind, ſo that Time doth but meaſure other things, and neither worketh in them any reall effect, nor is it ſelfe euer capable of any. And therefore when commonly wee vſe to ſay, that Time doth eate or fret out all things, that Time is the wiſeſt thing in the World, becauſe it bringeth forth all Knowledge, and that nothing is more fooliſh then Time, which neuer holdeth any thing long, but whatſoeuer one Day learneth, the ſame another Day forgetteth againe, that ſome men ſee proſperous and happy Dayes, and that ſome mens Dayes are miſerable, in all theſe and the like ſpeeches that which is vttered of the Time is not verified of Time it ſelfe, but agreeth vnto thoſe things which are in Time, and doe by meanes of ſo neere coniunction either lay their burthen vpon the backe, or ſet their Crowne vpon the head of time. Yea the very * opportunities which we aſcribe to Time doe in truth cleaue to the things themſelues wherewith time is ioyned, as for Time it neither cauſeth things nor oportunities of things, although it comprize and containe both. All things whatſoeuer hauing their time, the Workes of God haue alwayes that time which is ſeaſonableſt and fitteſt for them. His Workes are ſome ordinary, ſome more rare, all worthy of obſeruation, but not all of like neceſſitie to bee often remembred, they all haue their times, but they all doe not adde the ſame eſtimation and glorie to the times wherein they are. For as God by being euery where, yet doth not giue vnto all places one and the ſame degree of holineſſe, ſo neither one and the ſame dignitie to all times by working in all. For if all either places or times, were in reſpect of God alike, wherefore was it ſaid vnto *Moſes* by particular deſignation, *This very place wherein thou ſtandeſt is holy ground?* Why doth the Prophet *Dauid* chooſe out of all the dayes of the yeere but one, wherof he ſpeaketh by way of principall admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, as Gods extraordinary preſence hath hallowed and ſan-

* ὁ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ὁκαιρῷ, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος ὁ πολύς. Hippo. lib qui Præceptiones inſcribitur.

Exod. 3. 5.

Pſal. 118. 24.

sanctified certaine places, so they are his extraordinary workes that haue truly and worthily aduanced certaine times, for which cause they ought to be with all men that honour God more holy then other dayes. The Wiseman therefore compareth herein not vnfitly the times of God with the persons of men. If any should aske how it commeth to passe, that one day doth excell another, seeing the light of all the dayes in the yeere proceedeth from one Sunne, to this he answereth, that; *The knowledge of the Lord hath parted them asunder, he hath by them disposed the times and solemne Feasts, some hee hath chosen out and sanctified, some he hath put among the dayes, to number:* euen as *Adam* and all other men are of one substance, all created of the Earth: *but the Lord hath diuided them by great knowledge and made their wayes diuers, some he hath blessed and exalted, some he hath sanctified and appropriated to himselfe, some hee hath cursed, humbled and put them out of their dignitie.* So that the cause being naturall and necessarie, for which there should be a difference in dayes, the solemne obseruation whereof declareth Religions thankefulnesse towards him whose works of principall reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it commeth next to be considered what kinds of duties and seruices they are wherewith such times should be kept holy. Psal. 118. 24. Eccles. 33. 7.

70 The sanctification of dayes and times is a token of that thankefulnesse, and a part of that publike honour which wee owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that we keepe a secret Kalender, taking thereby our priuate occasions as wee list our selues to thinke how much God hath done for all men, but the dayes which are chosen out to serue as publike Memorials of such his mercies, ought to be clothed with those outward Robes of holinesse, whereby their difference from other dayes may be made sensible. But because time in it selfe, as hath beene alreadie proued, can receiue no alteration, the hallowing of Festiuall Dayes must consist in the shape or countenance which we put vpon the affaires that are incident into those Dayes. This is the day which the Lord hath made, saith the Prophet *Dauid*, *Let vs reioyce and be glad* in it. So that generally offices and duties of [b] religions *ioy* are that wherein the hallowing of Festiuall times consisteth. The most naturall testimonies of our reioycing in God, are first his Prayses set forth with cheerefull alacritie of mind, secondly, our comfort and delight expressed by a [c] charitable largenesse of somewhat more then common bountie, thirdly, sequestration from ordinary labours, the toyles and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of such gladnesse. Festiuall solemnitie therefore is nothing but the due mixture as it were of these three Elements, praise and bountie, and rest. Touching prayse, for as much as the Iewes, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked liues) more of custome and for fashion sake execute the seruices of their Religion, then with heartie and true deuotion (which God especially requireth) he therefore protesteth against their Sabbaths and solemne Dayes, as being there with much offended. Plentifull and liberall expence is required in them that abound, partly,

The māner of celebrating festiuall Dayes.

b *Grande videlicet officium socos & choros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, ciuitatem taberna halitu obolefatere, vino lutum cogere, cateruatim cursitare ad iniurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus.* Ter. Apol. c. 35

Dies festos Maiestati altissimæ dedicatos nullis voluimus voluptatibus occupari. C. l. 12. tit. 12. l. 1.

Ἀντὶ τῆς πάλαι πομπείας καὶ ἀσωτίας καὶ ἀχρειολογίας καὶ αἰσχροῤῥημοσύνης σώφρονες ἑορτάζουσαι πανηγύρεις,

ἐμέθων ἔχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θείους καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὰς ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην διαιτήσεις, Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. Ser. 9.

c Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεως ἐστιν εὐσεβεῖ τε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, Philolib. de Abraha.

as a ſigne of their owne ioy in the goodneſſe of God towards them, and partly as a meane whereby to refreſh thoſe poore and needy, who being eſpecially at theſe times made partakers of relaxation and ioy with others doe the more religiouſly bleſſe God, whoſe great mercies were a cauſe thereof, & the more contentedly indure the burthen of that hard eſtate wherein they continue. Reſt is the end of all Motion, and the laſt perfection of all things that labour. Labours in vs are iourneyes, and euen in them which feele no wearineſſe by any worke, yet they are but wayes whereby to come vnto that which bringeth not happineſſe till it do bring reſt. For as long as any thing which we deſire is vnattained, we reſt not. Let vs not here take reſt for idlenes. They are idle, whom the painfulneſſe of action cauſeth to auoid thoſe labours, whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them: they reſt, which either ceaſe from their worke when they haue brought it vnto perfection, or elſe giue ouer a meaner labour, becauſe a worthier and better is to be vndertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill imployed. As therefore, man doth conſiſt of different and diſtinct parts, euery part indued with manifold abilities, which all haue their ſeuerall ends and actions thereunto referred; ſo there is in this great varietie of duties which belong to men, that dependencie and order, by meanes whereof the lower ſuſtaining alwayes the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more baſe, they are in their times and ſeaſons continued with moſt exquiſite correſpondence, labours of bodily and daily toile purchaſe freedome for actions of religious ioy, which benefit theſe actions requite with the gift of deſired reſt: a thing moſt naturall and fit to accompany the Solemne Feſtiuall duties of honour which are done to God. For if thoſe principall workes of God, the memorie whereof we vſe to celebrate at ſuch times, be but certaine taſtes and ſayes, as it were of that finall benefit, wherein our perfect felicitie and bliſſe lieth folded vp, ſeeing that the preſence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and deſires towards the other, it giueth ſurely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no ſmall delight to thoſe ſo comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we preſently doe, repreſenteth after a ſort that alſo whereunto wee tend, as Feſtiuall reſt doth that Celeſtiall eſtate whereof the very * Heathens themſelues which had not the meanes whereby to apprehend much, did notwithſtanding imagine that it needs muſt conſiſt in reſt, and haue therefore taught, that aboue the higheſt moueable Sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, vnſubiect to paſſion, bleſt with eternall continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection, and of that complete abundant ſufficiencie within it ſelfe, which no poſſibilitie of want, maime or defect can touch. Beſides, whereas ordinarie labours are both in themſelues painfull, and baſe in compariſon of Feſtiuall Seruices done to God, doth not the naturall difference betweene them ſhew that the one as it were by way of ſubmiſſion and homage ſhould ſurrender themſelues to the other wherewith they can neither eaſily concurre, becauſe painefulneſſe and ioy are oppoſite, nor decently, becauſe while the minde hath iuſt occaſion to make her abode in the Houſe of gladneſſe, the Weed of ordinarie toyle and trauell becommeth her not? Wherefore euen Nature hath taught the

Deut.16.14. Nehem.8.9.

* Οὐδ' ἔστιν ὑδενὸς ὑδεμία μέλας λλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξωλάτω φερομένην φορὰν ἀλλ' ἀναλλόιωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ πλὴ ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ πλὴ αὐταρκεςάτην διαμένει τε ἀϊδια ἀϊῶνα. *Ariſt.*

the Heathens, and God the Iewes, and Chriſt vs, firſt, that Feſtiuall Solemnities are a part of the publike exerciſe of Religion; ſecondly, that Praiſe, Liberalitie, and Reſt are as naturall Elements whereof Solemnities conſiſt. But theſe things the Heathens conuerted to the honour of their [illegible]lſe gods, and as they failed in the end it ſelfe, ſo neither could they di[illegible]e rightly what forme and meaſure Religion therein ſhould obſerue. Whe[illegible]pon, when the Iſraelites impiouſly followed ſo corrupt example, they are in euery degreed noted to haue done amiſſe, their Hymnes or Songs of praiſe were Idolatrie, their bountie exceſſe, and their reſt wantonneſſe. Therefore the Law of God which appointed them dayes of Solemnitie, taught them likewiſe in what manner the ſame ſhould be celebrated. According to the patterne of which Inſtitution, *Dauid* eſtabliſhing the ſtate of Religion, ordained prayſe to be giuen vnto God in the Sabbaths, Moneths and appointed times, as their cuſtome had beene alwayes before the Lord. Now, beſides the times which God himſelfe in the Law of *Moſes* particularly ſpecified, there were, through the wiſedome of the Church, certaine other deuiſed by occaſion of like occurrents to thoſe, whereupon the former had riſen, as namely, that which *Mardocheus* and *Eſter* did firſt celebrate in memory of the Lords moſt wonderfull protection, when *Haman* had laid his inuitable plot, to mans thinking, for the vtter extirpation of the Iewes euen in one day. This they call the Feaſt of *Lots*, becauſe *Haman* had caſt their life and their death, as it were vpon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added, that other alſo of *Dedication*, mentioned in the tenth of Saint *Iohns* Goſpell, the inſtitution whereof is declared in the Hiſtorie of the *Maccabees*. But for as much as their Law by the comming of Chriſt is changed, and wee thereunto no way bound, Saint *Paul*, although it were not his purpoſe to fauour inuectiues againſt the ſpeciall ſanctification of dayes and times to the ſeruice of God, and to the honour of Ieſus Chriſt, doth notwithſtanding bend his forces againſt that opinion, which impoſed on the Gentiles the yoke of Iewiſh Legall obſeruations, as if the whole world ought for euer, & that vpon paine of condemnation, to keepe and obſerue the ſame. Such as in this perſwaſion hallowed thoſe Iewiſh Sabbaths, the Apoſtle ſharply reproueth, ſaying, [a] *Yee obſerue dayes and moneths, and times and yeeres, I am in feare of you, leſt I haue beſtowed vpon you labour in vaine.* Howbeit ſo farre off was [b] *Tertullian* from imagining how any man could poſſible hereupon call in queſtion ſuch dayes as the Church of Chriſt doth obſerue, that the obſeruation of theſe dayes hee vſeth for an Argument whereby to proue, it could not bee the Apoſtles intent and meaning to condemne ſimply all obſeruing of ſuch times. Generally therefore touching Feaſts in the Church of Chriſt, they haue that profitable vſe whereof Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh, *By Feſtiuall Solemnities and ſet-dayes, we dedicate and ſanctifie to God the memory of his benefits, leſt vnthankfull forgetfulneſſe thereof ſhould creepe vpon vs in courſe of time.* And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lords Day, that is, the one did continually bring to mind the former world finiſhed by creation, ſo the other might keepe vs in perpetuall remembrance of a far better World, begun by him which came to reſtore all things to make both Heauen & Earth new. For which cauſe they

1 *Chron.* 23.30.

Heſt. 9.27.

Ioh. 10.22. 1. *Mac.* 4.53.

a *Gal.* 4.10.

b *Si omnem in totum deuotionem temporum & dierum & menſium & annorum eraſit Apoſtolus, cur Paſcha celebramus annuo circulo in menſe primo? Cur quinquagintadexinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus?* Lib. aduerſ. Pſych. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib.* 10. *c.* 4.

they honoured the laſt day, we the firſt in euery ſeuen throughout the yeere. The reſt of the dayes and times which we celebrate, haue relation all vnto one head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſticall yeere with the glorious [c] Annuntiation of his birth by Angelicall Embaſſage. There being hereunto added his bleſſed Natiuitie it ſelf, the myſterie of his legall [d] Circumciſion; the teſtification of his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which brought him into the World, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion into Heauen, the admirable ſending downe of his Spirit vpon his choſen and (which conſequently enſued) the notice of that incomprehenſible Trinitie thereby giuen to the Church of God; againe, for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not only been manifeſted great in himſelfe, but great in other his Saints alſo, the dayes of whoſe departure out of the World are to the Church of Chriſt, as the Birth and Coronation dayes of Kings or Emperors, therefore eſpeciall choice being made of the very flowre of all occaſions in this kinde, there are annuall ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them which had the honour to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and abilitie to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as *Stephen* had the ſight of that before death, whereinto ſo acceptable death did lead; glorified in thoſe Sages of the Eaſt, that came from farre to adore him, and were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond *Elias* of the world, ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in euery of thoſe Apoſtles, whom it pleaſed him to vſe as Founders of his Kingdome here; glorified in the Angels as in *Michael*; glorified in all thoſe happie ſoules that are already poſſeſſed of Heauen. Ouer and beſides which number not great, the reſt bee but foure other dayes heretofore annexed to the Feaſt of Eaſter and Pentecoſt, by reaſon of generall Baptiſme vſuall at thoſe two Feaſts, which alſo is the cauſe why they had not as other dayes any proper name giuen them. Their firſt inſtitution was therefore through neceſſitie, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals, whereupon they ſtill attend. If it be then demanded, whether we obſerue theſe times as being thereunto bound by force of Diuine Law, or elſe by the only Poſitiue Ordinances of the Church, I anſwere to this, that the very Law of Nature it ſelfe, which all men confeſſe to be Gods Law, requireth in generall no leſſe the ſanctification of times then of places, perſons and things vnto Gods honour. For which cauſe it hath pleaſed him heretofore as of the reſt, ſo of time likewiſe to exact ſome parts by way of perpetuall homage, neuer to be diſpenſed withall nor remitted, againe, to require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction but for leſſe continuance, and of the reſt which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily vnto like Religious vſes. Of the firſt kind amongſt the Iewes was the Sabbath day; of the ſecond, thoſe Feaſts which are appointed by the Law of *Moſes*; the Feaſt of Dedication inuented by the Church, ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kind. The Morall Law requiring therefore a ſeuenth part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way imployed, although with vs the day be changed in regard of a new reuolution begun by our Sauior Chriſt, yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of Creation, and now much more

c *Luke* 1.26.

d *Luke* 2.21.

more of Renouation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to accompt the ſanctification of one day in ſeuen, a dutie which Gods immutable Law doth exact for euer. The reſt, they ſay, wee ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continuance of them doth nouriſh wicked ſuperſtition in the minds of men, beſides, they are all abuſed by Papiſts, the enemies of God, yea, certaine of them, as Eaſter and Pentecoſt, euen by the Iewes.

71 Touching Iewes, their Eaſter and Pentecoſt haue with ours as much affinitie, as *Philip* the Apoſtle with *Philip* the Macedonian King. As for *imitation of Papiſts*, and the *breeding of ſuperſtition*, they are now become ſuch common gheſts, that no man can thinke it diſcourteous to let them goe as they came. The next is a rare obſeruation and ſtrange. You ſhall find if you marke it (as it doth deſerue to bee noted well) that many thouſands there are, who if they haue vertuouſly during thoſe times behaued themſelues, if their deuotion and zeale in prayer haue beene feruent, their attention to the Word of God, ſuch as all Chriſtian men ſhould yeeld, imagine that herein they haue performed a good dutie, which notwithſtanding to thinke is a very dangerous errour, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught, that wee ought not to keepe our Eaſter as the Iewes did for certaine dayes, but in the vnleauened bread of ſinceritie and of truth to feaſt continually, whereas this reſtraint of Eaſter to a certaine number of dayes cauſeth vs to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that neere conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole liues, and ſo pulleth out of our minds the Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpell ere we bee aware. The Doctrine of the Goſpell which here they meane or ſhould meane, is, that Chriſt hauing finiſhed the Law, there is no Iewiſh Paſchall Solemnitie, nor abſtinence from ſowre Bread now required at our hands, there is no Leauen which we are bound to caſt out, but malice, ſin and wickedneſſe, no Bread but the food of ſincere Truth, wherwith we are tied to celebrate our Paſſeouer. And ſeeing no time of ſinne is granted vs, neither any intermiſſion of ſound beliefe, it followeth that this kind of feaſting ought to endure alwaies. But how are ſtanding Feſtiuall Solemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpell of Chriſt requireth, is the perpetuitie of vertuous duties: not perpetuity of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetuall, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Iuſt, valiant, liberall, temperate and holy men are they, which can whenſoeuer they will, and will whenſoeuer they ought, execute what their ſeuerall perfections import. If vertues did alwayes ceaſe to be when they ceaſe to worke, there ſhould bee nothing more pernicious to Vertue then ſleepe

Exceptions againſt our keeping of other feſtiuall dayes beſides the Sabbath. *T. C. l. 1. p. 151.*

If they had been neuer abuſed, neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Iewes, as they haue beene, and are daily, yet ſuch making of Holy dayes is neuer without ſome great danger of bringing in ſome euill and corrupt opinions into the minds of men. I will vſe an example in one, and that the chiefe of Holy dayes, and moſt generally, and of longeſt time obſerued in the Church, which is the feaſt of Eaſter, which was kept of ſome more dayes, of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſſe the Goſpell which when they haue celebrated thoſe dayes with diligent heed taken vnto their life, and with ſome earneſt deuotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, doe not by and by thinke that they haue well celebrated the Feaſt of Eaſter, and yet haue they thus notably deceiued themſelues. For Saint *Paul* teacheth, 1. *Cor.* 5. 8. that the celebrating of the Feaſt of the Chriſtians Eaſter, is not as the Iewes was for certaine dayes, but ſheweth that wee muſt keepe this Feaſt all the dayes of our life in the vnleauened bread of ſinceritie and of truth. By which wee ſee that the obſeruing of the Feaſt of Eaſter for certaine dayes in the yeere doth pull out of our mindes, ere euer we be aware, the Doctrine of the Goſpell, and cauſeth vs to reſt in that neere conſideration of our duties, for the ſpace of a few dayes, which ſhould bee extended to all our life.

ſleepe: neither were it poſſible that men, as *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* ſhould in all the Commandements of God walke vnreproueable, or that the Chaine of our conuerſation ſhould containe ſo many linkes of diuine vertues, as the Apoſtles in diuers places haue reckoned vp, if in the exerciſe of each vertue perpetuall continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to bee diſcharged, duties of all ſorts muſt haue neceſſarily their ſeuerall ſucceſſions and ſeaſons, in which reſpect the Schoole-men haue well and ſoundly determined, that Gods affirmatiue Lawes and Precepts, the Lawes that inioyne any actuall dutie, as Prayer, Almes, and the like, doe bind vs *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*, we are tyed to iterate and reſume them when neede is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſts, whether God himſelfe haue ordayned them, or the Church by that authoritie which God hath giuen, they are of Religion ſuch publique ſeruices, as neither can, nor ought to bee continued otherwiſe then onely by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectuall meane to bring vnto full maturitie and growth thoſe ſeedes of godlineſſe, that theſe very men themſelues doe grant to bee ſowne in the hearts of many thouſands, during the while that ſuch feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habite of well doing is not gotten without the cuſtome of doing well, neither can vertue bee made perfect, but by the manifold workes of vertue often practiſed. Before the powers of our minds be brought vnto ſome perfection, our firſt aſſayes and offers towards vertue muſt needs bee raw, yet commendable, becauſe they tend vnto ripeneſſe. For which cauſe the wiſdome of God hath commended eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemne feaſts, that to Children and Nouices in Religion, they miniſter the firſt occaſion to aske and inquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but ſo much pietie as hath beene mentioned, let the Church learne to further imbecillitie with prayer, *Preſerue, Lord theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly drie not vp like the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the trees which riuers of waters keepe alwaies flouriſhing*; let all mens acclamations be, *Grace, Grace vnto it*, as to that firſt layd corner ſtone in *Zerubbabels* building. For who hath deſpiſed the day of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or how dare we take vpon vs to condemne that very thing which voluntarily wee grant, maketh vs of nothing ſomewhat, ſeeing all wee pretend againſt it is onely that as yet this ſomewhat is not much? The dayes of ſolemnitie which are but few, cannot chooſe but ſoone finiſh that outward exerciſe of godlineſſe, which properly appertayneth to ſuch times, howbeit mens inward diſpoſition to vertue, they both augment for the preſent, and by their often returnes bring alſo the ſame at the length vnto that perfection which wee moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſarie ſhort continuance, they abridge the preſent exerciſe of pietie in ſome kinde, yet becauſe by reperition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirme the habites of all vertue, it remayneth that wee honour, obſerue and keepe them as ordinances, many wayes ſingularly profitable in Gods Church. This exception being taken againſt Holy dayes, for that they reſtraine the praiſes of God vnto certaine

taine times, another followeth condemning reſtraint of men from their ordinarie Trades and labours at thoſe times [a] It is not they ſay in the power of the Church to command reſt, becauſe God hath left it to all men at libertie, that if they thinke good to beſtow ſixe whole dayes in labour they may, neyther is it more lawfull for the Church to abridge any man of that libertie which God hath granted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laid vpon them, and to countermand what he doth expreſly inioyne. They denie not but in times of publike calamitie, that men may the better aſſemble themſelues to faſt and pray, the Church, *becauſe it hath receiued Commandemẽt* from God to proclaime a Prohibition from ordinarie works, ſtandeth bound to doe it, as the Iewes afflicted did in Babylon. But without ſome expreſſe Commandement from God, there is no power they ſay vnder Heauen which may preſume by any Decree to reſtraine the libertie that GOD hath giuen. Which opinion, albeit applyed here no farther then to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh vniuerſally the Fabricke of Gouernement, tendeth to Anarchie and meere confuſion, diſſolueth Families, diſſipateth Colledges, Corporations, Armies, ouerthroweth Kingdomes, Churches, and whatſoeuer is now, through the prouidence of God, by authoritie and power vpheld. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greateſt weight, and hath therein preciſely defined, as well that which euery man muſt performe, as that which no man may attempt, leauing all ſorts of men in the reſt, either to be guided by their owne good diſcretion, if they bee free from ſubiection to others, or elſe to be ordered by ſuch Commandements and Lawes as proceed from thoſe Superiours vnder whom they liue; the Patrones of Libertie haue heere made Solemne Proclamation, that all ſuch Lawes and Commandements are void, in as much as euery man is left to the freedome of his owne minde, in ſuch things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God; and becauſe onely in theſe things the Poſitiue Precepts of men haue place, which Precepts cannot poſſibly

[a] *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 152. I confeſſe that it is in the power of the Church ſo appoint to many dayes in the Weeke, or in the Yeere (in the which the Congregation ſhall aſſemble to heare the Word of God, and receiue the Sacraments, and offer vp Prayers vnto God) as it ſhall thinke good, according to thoſe rules which are before alleaged. But that it hath power to make ſo many *Holy-daies* as we haue, wherein men are commanded to ceaſe from their daily vocations of ploughing and exerciſing their handy-crafts, that I deny to be in the power of the Church For proofe whereof, I will take the fourth commandement, and no other interpretation of it then M. Doct. alloweth of, which is, that God licenſeth and leaueth it at the libertie, of euery man, to worke ſixe dayes in the Weeke, ſo that he reſt the Seuenth Day. Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at libertie, that they might labour if they thinke good ſixe dayes, I ſay the Church, nor no man can take this libertie away from them, and driue them to a neceſſarie reſt of the body. And if it be lawfull to abridge the libertie of the Church in this point, and inſtead, that the Lord ſayth, ſixe daies thou mayſt labour if thou wilt, to ſay, thou ſhalt not labour ſixe dayes: I do not ſee why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord ſayth, thou ſhalt reſt the Seuenth Day, command that thou ſhalt not reſt the Seuenth Day. For if the Church may reſtraine the libertie which God hath giuen them, it may take away the yoke alſo which God hath put vpon them. And whereas you ſay, that notwithſtanding this fourth Commandement, the Iewes had certaine other Feaſts which they obſerued, indeed the Lord which gaue this generall Law, might make as many exceptions as hee thought good, and ſo long as he thought good. But it followeth not, becauſe the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may doe it, vnleſſe it hath Commandement and Authoritie from God ſo to doe. As when there is any generall Plague or Iudgement of God either vpon the Church or comming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe, *Ioel* 2. 15 that they ſhould ſanctifie a generall Faſt and proclaime *Ghnatſarah*, which ſignifieth a Prohibition, or forbidding of ordinarie workes, and is the ſame Hebrew word wherewith thoſe Feaſt-dayes are noted in the Law wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which Commandement of the Lord was, that they abſtained that day as much as might bee conueniently from meate, ſo they might abſtaine from their daily workes, to the end they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the Word of God, & humbling themſelues in the Congregation, confeſſing their faults, and deſiring the Lord to turne away from his fierce wrath. In this caſe, the Church hauing Commandement to make a Holy day, may and ought to doe it, as the Church which was in Babylon, did during the time of their Captiuitie: but where it is deſtitute of a Commandement, it may not preſume by any Decree to reſtraine that libertie which the Lord hath giuen.

possibly be giuen without some abridgement of their libertie, to whom they are giuen: therefore if the Father command the Sonne or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord the Seruant, or the Leader the Souldier, or the Prince the Subiect, to goe or stand, sleepe or wake, at such times a God himselfe in particular commandeth, neither they are to stand in defence of the freedome which God hath granted, and to doe as themselues list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things vtterly forbidden by the Law of God as tie them to any thing which the Law of God leaueth free. The plaine contradictory whereunto is vnfallibly certaine. Those things which the law of God, leaueth arbitrarie and at libertie, are all subiect vnto positiue Lawes of men, which Lawes for the common benefit abridge particular mens libertie in such things, as farre as the rules of equitie will suffer. This we must either maintaine, or else ouer-turne the world, and make euery man his owne Commander. Seeing then that labour and rest vpon any one day of the sixe throughout the yeere, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Ecclesiasticall Law, except we depriue the world of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not only allow, but command concurrencie of rest, with extraordinary occasions of dolefull euents, befalling peraduenture some one certaine Church, or not extending vnto many, and not as much as permit or license the like, when pietie triumphant with ioy and gladnesse, maketh solemne commemoration of Gods most rare and vnwonted mercies, *such especially as the whole race of Mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow, the onely cause is, for that the generall publique prayers of the whole Church, and our owne priuate businesses, cannot both bee followed at once; whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of publique ioy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of naturall repugnancie, which maketh labours (as hath beene prooued) much more vnfit to accompanie Festiuall praises of God, then offices of humiliation and griefe. Againe, if wee sift what they bring for proofe and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant, and as strictly command rest, whensoeuer the Church hath equal reason by feasts, and gladsome solemnities to testifie publique thankefulnesse towards God? I would know some cause, why those words of the Prophet IOEL, *Sanctifie a fast, call a solemne assembly*, which words were vttered to the Iewes, in miserie and great distresse, should more bind the Church to doe at all times after the like, in their like perplexites, then the words of *Moses*, to the same people in a time of ioyfull deliuerance from miserie, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annuall celebration of benefits, no lesse importing the good of men; and also iustifie as touching the manner and forme thereof, what circumstance soeuer we imitate onely in respect of naturall fitnesse or decencie, without any Iewish regard to Ceremonies, such as were properly theirs, and are not by vs expedient to bee continued. According to the rule of which generall directions, taken from the Law of God, no lesse in the one then the other, the practice of the Church commended vnto vs in holy Scripture, doth not onely make for the iustification of blacke and dismall dayes (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainely offereth

Ioel 2.15.

Exod. 13.3.

Pfal. 9.

offereth it ſelfe to be followed by ſuch ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which *Mardocheus* did ſometime deuiſe, *Heſter* what lay in her power helpe forward, and the reſt of the Iewes eſtabliſh for perpetuitie, namely, that the fourteenth and fifteenth dayes of the moneth *Adar*, ſhould be euery yeere kept throughout all Generations, as dayes of feaſting and ioy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charitie beſtowed vpon the poore; what by other liberall ſignes of amitie and loue, all teſtifie their thankefull minds towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibilitie had deliuered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree, they * ſay, was Diuine not Eccleſiaſticall, as may appeare in that there is another decree in another Booke of Scripture, which decree is plaine, not to haue proceeded from the Churches authoritie, but from the mouth of the Prophet onely, and as a poore ſimple man ſometime was fully perſwaded, that if *Pontius Pilate* had not beene a Saint, the Apoſtles would neuer haue ſuffered his name to ſtand in the Creede, ſo theſe men haue a ſtrong opinion, that becauſe the Booke of *Heſter* is Canonicall, the decree of *Heſter* cannot bee poſſibly Eccleſiaſticall, If it were, they aske how the Iewes could binde themſelues alwayes to keepe it; ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical Lawes are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might neuer intend conſtancie in that, the nature whereof is ſubiect to alteration. Doth the Scripture it ſelfe make mention of any diuine Commandement? Is the Scripture witneſſe of more, then onely that *Mardocheus* was the Author of this cuſtome, that by Letters written to his brethren the Iewes, throughout all Prouinces, vnder *Darius* the King of Perſia, hee gaue them charge to celebrate yeerely thoſe two dayes, for perpetuall remembrance of Gods miraculous deliuerance and mercie, that the Iewes hereupon vnder-tooke to doe it, and made it with generall conſent an order for perpetuitie, that *Heſter*, ſecondly, by her Letters confirmed the ſame, which *Mardocheus* had before decreed, and that finally, the ordinance was written to remaine for euer vpon record? Did not the Iewes in Prouinces abroad obſerue at the firſt the fourteenth day, the Iewes in Suſis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an vniforme order by meanes of thoſe two decrees, and ſo euery-where three dayes kept, the firſt with faſting, in memorie of danger; the reſt, in token of deliuerance, as feſtiuall and ioyfull dayes? Was not the firſt of theſe three, afterwards the day of ſorrow and heauineſſe abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meete that

* *T.C. l. 3. p. 193.* The example out of *Heſter* is no ſufficient warrant for theſe feaſts in queſtion. For firſt, as in other caſes, ſo In this caſe of dayes, the eſtate of Chriſtians, vnder the Goſpel, ought not to bee ſo ceremonious, as was theirs vnder the Law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a ſpeciall direction of the Spirit of God, either through the miniſterie of the Prophets, which they had, or by ſome other extraordinarie meanes, which is not to be followed by vs. This may appeare by another place, *Zach. 8.* Where the Iewes changed their faſts into feaſts, onely by the mouth of the Lord, through the miniſterie of the Prophet. For further proofe whereof, firſt I take the 28. *verſe*, where it appeareth, that this was an order, to indure alwayes, euen as long as the other Feaſt dayes, which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelfe. So that what abuſes ſoeuer were of that Feaſt, yet as a perpetuall decree of God, it ought to haue remained; whereas our Churches can make no ſuch decree, which may not vpon change of times, and other circumſtances be altered. For the other proofe hereof, I take the laſt *verſe*. For the Prophet contenteth not himſelfe with that, that hee had rehearſed the decree, as he doth ſometimes the decree of profane Kings, but addeth preciſely, that as ſoone as euer the decree was made, it was regiſtred in this Booke of *Heſter*, which is one of the Bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteeme they had it. If it had beene of no further authoritie then our decrees, or then a Canon of one of the Councels, it had beene preſumption to haue brought it into the Librarie of the holy Ghoſt. The ſumme of my anſwer is, that this decree was Diuine and not Eccleſiaſticall onely.

that a better day, a day in memorie of like deliuerance, out of the bloudy hands of *Nicanor*, ſhould ſucceed in the roome thereof? But for as much as there is no end of anſwering fruitleſſe oppoſitions, let it ſuffice men of ſober minds, to know that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally, dayes of reſt and feſtiuall ſolemnitie, to be obſerued by way of thankefull and ioyfull remembrance, if ſuch miraculous fauours bee ſhewed towards mankind as require the ſame; that ſuch graces God hath beſtowed vpon his Church, as well in latter as in former times, that in ſome particulars, when they haue fallen out, himſelfe hath demanded his owne honour, and in the reſt hath left it to the wiſedome of the Church, directed by thoſe precedents, and inlightned by other means, alwayes to iudge when the like is requiſite. Abour queſtions therefore concerning Dayes and Times, our manner is not to ſtand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memorie of [a] *Paul* ſhould bee rather kept then the memorie of [b] *Daniel*; wee are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true that the leaſt in the Kingdome of Chriſt, is greater then the greateſt of all the Prophets of God that haue gone before; we neuer yet ſaw cauſe to deſpaire, but that the [c] ſimpleſt of the people might bee taught the right conſtruction of as great myſteries, as the [d] name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the yeere goe on in their wonted courſe; we had rather glorifie and bleſſe God, for the fruit we daily behold, reaped by ſuch ordinances as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wiſdome of this Nationall Church to bring forth, then vainely boaſt of our owne peculiar and priuate inuentions, as if the skill of [e] profitable Regiment had left her publike habitation, to dwell in retired manner with ſome few men of one liuerie; we make not our childiſh [f] appeales ſometimes from our owne to forraine Churches, ſometime from both vnto Churches ancienter then both are, in effect alwayes from all others to our owne ſelues, but as becommeth them that follow with all humilitie the wayes of peace, wee honour, reuerence and obey, in the very next degree vnto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein wee liue. They, whoſe wits are too glorious to fall to ſo low an ebbe, they which haue riſen and ſwollen ſo high, that the walls of ordinarie Riuers are vnable to keepe them in, they whoſe wanton contentions in the cauſe whereof wee haue ſpoken, doe make all where they goe, a Sea, euen they at their higheſt flote are conſtrained both to ſee and [g] grant, that what their fancie will not yeeld to like, their iudgement cannot with reaſon condemne. Such is euer-more the finall victorie of all truth, that they which haue not the hearts to loue her, acknowledge, that to hate her they haue no cauſe.

Touching thoſe feſtiuall Dayes therefore which wee now obſerue, their number

2. *Mac.* 15. 36.

1. *Mac.* 4. 55. a *Commemoratio Apoſtolicæ paſſionis totius Chriſtianitatis magiſtrà à cunctis iure celebratur*, Cod. l. 3. tit. 12. l. 7.

b *T. C. l. 1. p.* 153. For ſo much as the old people did neuer keepe any Feaſt or Holy day for remembrances either of *Moſes*, &c. c *T. C. l. 1. p* 153. The people, when it is called S. *Pauls* day, or the bleſſed Virgin *Maries* day, can vnderſtand nothing thereby, but that they are inſtituted to the honour of Saint *Paul*, or the Virgin *Marie*, vnleſſe they be otherwiſe taught. And if you ſay, let them ſo be taught, I haue anſwered, that the teaching in this land, cannot by any order which is yet taken, come to the moſt part of thoſe, which haue drunke this poyſon, &c. d *Scilicet ignorant nos nec Chriſtum vnquam relinquere, qui pro totius ſeruandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quempiam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam filium Dei adoramus, martyres verò tanquam Diſcipulos & imitatores Domini dignè propter inſuperabilem in Regem ipſorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum & nos conſortes & diſcipulos fieri optamus.* Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 15.

e *T. C. l. 1. p* 153. As for all the commodities, &c.

f *T. C. l. 1. p.* 154.

g *T. C. l. 1. pag.* 154. Wee condemne not the Church of England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meete to bee reformed. For it is one thing to miſ-like, another thing to condemne; and it is one thing to condemne ſomething in the Church, and another thing to condemne the Church for it.

number being no way felt [a] diſcommodious to the Common-wealth, and their grounds ſuch as hitherto hath beene ſhewed, what remayneth, but to keepe them throughout all Generations holy, ſeuered by manifeſt notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which moſt may betoken true, vertuous and celeſtiall ioy? To which intent, becauſe ſurceaſe from labour is neceſſarie, yet not ſo neceſſarie, no not on the Sabbath or Seuenth Day it ſelfe, but that rarer occaſions in mens particular Affaires ſubiect to manifeſt detriment vnleſſe they be preſently followed, may with very good conſcience draw them ſometimes aſide from the ordinary rule, conſidering the fauourable diſpenſation which our Lord and Sauiour groundeth on this Axiome, *Manwas not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for man*, ſo farre forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principall Sanctification thereof, howſoeuer the rigour of the Law of *Moſes* may bee thought to import the contrary, if we regard with what ſeueritie the violation of Sabbaths hath beene ſometime puniſhed, a thing perhaps the more requiſite at that inſtant, both becauſe the Iewes by reaſon of their long abode in a place of continuall ſeruile toyle, could not ſuddenly be wayned and drawn vnto contrarie Offices, without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terrour, and alſo for that there is nothing more needfull, then to puniſh with extremitie the firſt tranſgreſſions of thoſe Lawes, that require a more exact obſeruation for many Ages to come; therefore as the Iewes ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their Sabbaths reſt for a long time, not without danger to themſelues, and [b] obloquie to their very Law, did afterwardes perceiue and amend wiſely their former error, nor doubting that bodily labours are made by [c] neceſſitie veniall, though otherwiſe eſpecially on that day, reſt be more conuenient, ſo at all times the voluntarie ſcandalous contempt of that reſt from labour, wherewith publikely God is ſerued, wee cannot too [d] ſeuerely correct and bridle. The Emperour [e] *Conſtantine* hauing with ouer-great facilitie licenſed Sundayes labours in Countrie Villages, vnder that pretence, whereof there may iuſtly no doubt ſometime conſideration be had, namely, leſt any thing which God by his prouidence hath beſtowed, ſhould miſcarrie not being taken in due time, *Leo*, which afterwardes ſaw that this ground would not beare ſo generall and large indulgence as had beene granted, doth by a contrarie Edict, both reuerſe and ſeuerely cenſure his Predeceſſours remiſſeneſſe, ſaying, [f] *Wee ordaine according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the ſacred Day, wherein our owne integritie was reſtored, all doe reſt and ſurceaſe labour, that neither Husbandman nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden workes. For if the Iewes did ſo much reuerence their Sabbath, which was but a ſhadow of ours, are not weewhich inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himſelfe hath honoured, and hath therein deliuered vs both from diſhonour and from death? are we not bound to keepe it ſingular and inuiolable, well contenting our ſelues with ſo liberall a grant of the reſt, and not incroching vpon that one, which God hath choſen to his owne honour? Were it not wretcheſſe neglect of Religion, to*

[a] πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλαὶς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ξημία μικέλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. de Claudio dictũ apud Dion. lib. 60. *Marke* 2.27. *Numb.* 15.32.

[b] *Hi vacare conſueti ſunt ſeptima die, & neq; arma portare in prædictis diebus, neq; terræ culturam contingere, neq; alterius cuiuſpiam curam habere patiuntur, ſed in templis extendentes manus adorare vſq; ad veſperam ſoliti ſunt. Ingrediente verò in ciuitatem* Ptolomæo Lago *cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum cuſtodire debuerint ciuitatem, ipſis ſtultitiam obſeruantibus prouincia quidem Dominum ſuſcepit amariſſimum, lex verò manifeſtata eſt, malam habere ſolennitatem.* Agatharchid. apud Ioſeph. lib. 1. cont. Appion. vide & Dion. l. 37.

[c] 1 *Mac.* 2.40.

[d] *Neh.* 13.15.

[e] *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. *l.* 3.

[f] *Led conſti.* 54.

make that very day common, & to think we may do with it as with the reſt? Imperiall Lawes which had ſuch care of hallowing, eſpecially, our Lords Day, did not omit to prouide that * other Feſtiuall times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were dayes appointed on the ſuddaine, as extraordinary occaſions fell out, or dayes which were celebrated yeerly, for Politike & Ciuill conſiderations, or finally, ſuch dayes as Chriſtian Religion hath ordained in Gods Church. The ioy that ſetteth aſide labour, diſperſeth thoſe things which labour gathereth. For gladneſſe doth always riſe from a kind of fruition and happineſſe, which happineſſe baniſheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but onely the beſtowing of that it hath, in as much as the greateſt felicitie that felicitie hath, is to ſpread and inlarge it ſelfe, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that the firſt effect of ioyfulneſſe is to reſt, becauſe it ſeeketh no more; the next, becauſe it aboundeth to giue. The root of both is the glorious preſence of that ioy of minde which riſeth from the manifold conſiderations of Gods vnſpeakeable mercie, into which conſiderations wee are led by occaſion of ſacred times. For how could the Iewiſh Congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly Sabbaths, what the World reaped through his goodneſſe, which did of nothing create the World; by their yeerely Paſſeouer, what farewell they tooke of the Land of Egypt; by their Pentecoſt what Ordinances, Lawes and Statutes, their Fathers receiued at the hands of God; by their Feaſt of Tabernacles, with what protection they iourneyed from place to place, through ſo many feares and hazards, during the tedious time of fortie yeeres trauaile in the Wilderneſſe; by their Annuall Solemnitie of Lots, how neere the whole Seed of *Iſrael* was vnto vtter extirpation, when it pleaſed that great God which guideth all things in Heauen and Earth, ſo to change the counſels and purpoſes of men, that the ſame hand which had ſigned a Decree in the opinion both of them that granted, and of them that procured it, irreuocable, for the generall maſſacre of Man, Woman, and Childe, became the Buckler of their preſeruation, that no one haire of their heads might be toucht; the ſame dayes which had beene ſet for the powring out of ſo much innocent bloud, were made the dayes of their execution, whoſe malice had contriued the plot thereof, and the ſelfe-ſame perſons that ſhould haue indured whatſoeuer violence and rage could offer, were imployed in the iuſt reuenge of crueltie, to giue vnto bloud-thirſtie men the taſte of their owne Cup; or how can the Church of Chriſt now endure to be ſo much called on and preached vnto by that which euery [a] Dominicall Day throughout the yeere, that which yeere by yeere ſo many Feſtiuall times, [b] if not commanded by the Apoſtles themſelues, whoſe care at that time was of greater things, yet inſtituted either by ſuch [c] vniuerſall authoritie, as no man, or at the leaſt ſuch as wee with no reaſon may deſpiſe, doe as ſometime the holy Angels did from Heauen ſing, [d] *Glory be vnto God on high, peace on earth, towards men good will* (for this in effect is the very Song that all Chriſtian Feaſts doe apply as their ſeuerall occaſions require) how ſhould the dayes and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and wee refuſe

* *T.C.l.3.tit.12 Dies feſtos.*

a *Mat.28.1. Marke 16.1. Luke 24.1. Iohn 20.1. 1.Cor.16.2. Apoc.1.10.*

b *Apoſtolis propoſitum fuit non vt leges de feſtis diebus celebrandis ſanirent, ſed vt rectè viuendi rationis & pietatis nobis authores eſſent.* Socrat. Hiſt.lib.5.cap.21. c *Quæ toto terrarum orbe ſeruantur, vel ab ipſis Apoſtolis vel Concilijs generalibus quorum eſt ſaluberrima in Eccleſia authoritas, ſtatuta eſſe intelligere licet: ſicuti quòd Domini Paſſio & Reſurrectio, & in Cœlum Aſcenſus, & Aduentus Spiritus ſancti anniuerſaria ſolemnitate celebrantur.* Auguſt.Epiſt.118. d *Luke 2.14.*

refuſe to agnize the benefit of ſuch remembrances, that very benefit which cauſed *Moſes* to acknowledge thoſe Guides of Day and Night, the Sunne and Moone which enlighten the World, not more profitable to nature by giuing all things life, then they are to the Church of God, by occaſion of the vſe they haue, in regard of the appointed Feſtiuall Times? That which the head of all Philoſophers hath ſaid of Women, if they be good, the halfe of the Common-wealth is happy, wherein they are, the ſame wee may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate theſe Religious and ſacred dayes, is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendor and outward dignitie of our Religion, forcible Witneſſes of ancient Truth, prouocations to the exerciſe of all Pietie, ſhadowes of our endleſſe felicitie in Heauen, on Earth euerlaſting Records and Memorials, wherein they which cannot bee drawne to hearken vnto that we teach, may onely by looking vpon that we doe, in a manner read whatſoeuer we beleeue.

Of Dayes appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary Faſts in the Church of God.

72 The matching of contrarie things together, is a kind of illuſtration to both. Hauing therefore ſpoken thus much of Feſtiuall Dayes, the next that offer themſelues to hand, are dayes of penſiue humiliation and ſorrow. Faſtings are either of mens owne free and voluntarie accord, as their particular deuotion doth moue them thereunto, or elſe they are publikely inoyned in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether diſallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it bee vpon extraordinarie occaſions onely, and after one certaine manner exerciſed. But yeerely or weekly Faſts, ſuch as ours in the Church of *England*, they allow no farther, then as the Temporall State of the Land doth require the ſame, for the maintenance of Seafaring men, and preſeruation of Cattell, becauſe the decay of the one, and the waſt of the other could not well bee preuented but by a Politike order, appointing ſome ſuch vſuall change of Dyet as ours is. We are therefore the rather to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes, that ſet times of Faſting appointed in ſpirituall conſiderations to be kept by all ſorts of men, tooke not their beginning either from *Montanus*, or any other, whoſe Hereſies may preiudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but haue their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in Gods ſight, were in all Ages heretofore, and may till the Worlds end be obſerued, not without ſingular vſe and benefit. Much hurt hath growne to the Church of God, through a falſe imagination, that Faſting ſtandeth men in no ſtead for any ſpirituall reſpect, but onely to take downe the frankeneſſe of Nature, and to tame the wildneſſe of fleſh. Whereupon the World being bold to ſurfet, doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that men when they faſt, doe rather bewray a Diſeaſe, then exerciſe a Vertue. I

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 30. I wil not enter now to diſcuſſe whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtome of the place. You oppoſe *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, I could oppoſe *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*, whereof the one ſaith, it is *neſas*, a deteſtable thing to faſt vpon the Lords Day, the other, that it is to kill the Lord. *Tertull. de Coron. Mil. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philippen.* And although *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine* being priuate men of Rome would haue ſo done, yet it followeth not, that if they had beene Citizens and Miniſters there, that they would haue done it. And if they had done ſo, yet it followeth not, but they would haue ſpoken againſt that appointment of Dayes, and *νομοθεσίαν* of Faſting, whereof *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Montanus* was the firſt Author. I ſpeake of that which they ought to haue done. For otherwiſe I know, they both thought corruptly of Faſting, when as the one ſaith it was remedie or reward to faſt other dayes, but in Lent not to faſt, was ſinne: and the other asketh, what Saluation we can obtaine, if wee blot not out our ſins by Faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith, that Faſting and Almes doth deliuer from ſinne, and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that ſhut out the merit of Faſting. *Aug. de temp* 62. *Serm. Ambroſ. lib.* 10. *Epiſt.*

much wonder what they who are thus perſwaded doe thinke, what conceite they haue concerning the Faſts of the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The affections of *Ioy* and *Griefe* are ſo knit vnto all the actions of mans life, that whatſoeuer wee can doe, or may bee done vnto vs, the ſequell thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieue and ioy as they ought, cannot poſſibly otherwiſe liue then as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect Schoole of all vertue, hath by the ſpeciall direction of Gods good Spirit hitherto alwayes inured men from their infancie, partly with dayes of Feſtiuall exerciſe, for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary ſort, for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit ouer and beſides this, wee muſt note, that as reſting, ſo faſting likewiſe attendeth ſometimes no leſſe vpon the Actions of the higher, then vpon the affections of the lower part of the minde. Faſting, ſaith *Tertullian*, is a worke of reuerence towards God. The end thereof ſometimes eleuation of minde; ſometime the purpoſe thereof cleane contrarie. The cauſe why *Moſes* in the Mount did ſo long faſt, was meere diuine ſpeculation: the cauſe why *Dauid*, [a] humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with euill. When wee are partakers of good things, wee ioy, neither can wee but grieue at the contrarie. If that befall vs which maketh glad, our Feſtiuall Solemnities declare our reioycing to be in him whoſe meere vndeſerued mercie is the Authour of all happineſſe; if any thing be either imminent or preſent which we ſhun, our Watchings, Faſtings, Cryes and Teares are vnfained teſtimonies, that our ſelues wee condemne as the onely cauſes of our owne miſerie, and doe all acknowledge him no leſſe inclinable then able to ſaue. And becauſe as the memorie of the one, though paſt, renueth gladneſſe; ſo the other called againe to minde, doth make the wound of our iuſt remorſe to bleede anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that wee are generally more apt to Kalender Saints then ſinners dayes, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to haue frequent repetition of the other. Neuer to ſeeke after God, ſauing onely when either the Crib or the Whip doth conſtraine, were brutiſh ſeruilitie, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in man, if ſometime it had not a kind of voluntarie acceſſe to God, and of conference as it were with God, all theſe inferiour conſiderations laid aſide. In which ſequeſtration for as much as [c] higher cogitations doe naturally drowne and burie all inferiour cares, the minde may as well forget naturall both food and ſleepe, by being carried aboue it ſelfe with ſerious and heauenly Meditation, as by being caſt downe with heauineſſe, drowned and ſwallowed vp of ſorrow. Albeit therefore concerning Iewiſh Abſtinence from certaine kinds of meates, as being vncleane, the Apoſtle doth teach that [d] the Kingdome of Heauen is not meate nor drinke, that food commendeth vs not vnto God, whether we take it, or abſtaine from it, that if we eate, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight, nor the leſſe if wee eate not; his purpoſe notwithſtanding was farre from any intent to derogate from that Faſting, which is no ſuch ſcrupulous Abſtinence, as onely refuſeth ſome kindes of meates and drinkes, leſt they make them vncleane that taſte them, but

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a *Tert. l. de ieiun. Neque enim ſibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia mœroris ſequela eſt.*

b Μηδὲις δ' ὑπολαβέτω τὸ ἀκρατον καὶ μιξῶ λύπης χαρὰν εἰς οὐρανὸν καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γῆν ἀλλ' ἐγκέκραται ἑξ ἀμφοῖν, οὐ γὰρ διασεν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπαῖς καὶ ὀδυναῖς καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονες φύσεως, ἵνα δι' ἀσαι ποτὲ καὶ γαλιώσαι τὸν ψυχὸν δικαιώσας. Philo lib. de Abrah.

c *Iohn* 4.34.

d *Rom.* 14.17.

an Abstinence whereby wee either interrupt or otherwise abridge the care of our bodily sustenance, to shew by this kind of outward exercise, the serious intention of our minds, fixed on Heauenlier and better desires, the earnest hunger and thirst whereof depriueth the bodie of those vsuall contentments, which otherwise are not denied vnto it. These being in Nature the first causes that induce Fasting, the next thing which followeth to be considered, is the ancient practice thereof amongst the Iewes. Touching whose priuate voluntary Fasts, the precept which our Sauiour gaue them, was; *When yee fast, looke not sowre, as Hypocrites: For they disfigure their faces, that they might seeme vnto men to fast: Verily I say vnto you, they haue their reward. When thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou seeme not vnto men to fast, but vnto thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Sauiour would not teach the manner of doing, much lesse propose a reward for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in Gods sight. The Pharises weekly bound themselues vnto double Fasts, neither are they for this reprooued. Often Fasting, which was a vertue in *Iohns* Disciples, could not in them of it selfe be a vice, and therefore not the oftentes of their Fasting, but their hypocrisie therein was blamed. Of [a] publique inioyned Fasts, vpon causes extraordinary, the Examples of Scripture are so frequent, that they need no particular rehearsall. Publique extraordinarie Fastings were sometimes for [b] one onely day, sometimes for [c] three, sometimes for [d] seuen. Touching Fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but either yeerely, or monethly, or weekly obserued and kept; first, vpon the [e] ninth day of that moneth, the tenth whereof was the Feast of Expiation, they were commanded of God, that euery soule, yeere by yeere, should afflict it selfe. Their yeerely Fasts euery fourth moneth in regard of the Citie of Ierusalem, entred by the Enemie; euery fift, for the memory of the ouerthrow of their Temple; euery seuenth, for the treacherous destruction and death of *Godolias*, the very last stay which they had, to leane vnto in their greatest miserie; euery tenth, in remembrance of the time when siege began first to bee laid against them; all these not commanded by God himselfe, but ordained by a publique Constitution of their owne; the Prophet [f] *Zacharie* expresly toucheth. That Saint *Ierome*, following the tradition of the Hebrewes, doth make the first, a memoriall of the breaking of those two Tables, when *Moses* descended from Mount Sinay; the second, a memoriall as well of Gods indignation, condemning them to forty yeeres trauaile in the Desart, as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waste, burne and destroy their Citie; the last, a memoriall of heauy tydings, brought out of Iury, to *Ezechiel* and the rest, which liued as Captiues in forraine parts, the difference is not of any moment, considering that each time of sorrow is naturally euermore a Register of all such grieuous euents as haue hapned, either in, or neere about the same time. To these I might adde [g] sundry other Fasts, aboue twentie in number, ordained amongst them by like occasions, and obserued in like manner, besides their weekly Abstinence, Mundayes and Thursdayes, throughout the whole yeere. When men fasted, it was not alwayes after one and the same sort, but either by depriuing themselues wholly of all food, during the time that their Fasts

Mat.6.16.

a 2 *Chro.*20. *Ier.*26. *Ezra*8. 1.*Sam.*7.
b *Iud.*20.26.
c 2.*Mac.*13.12.
d 1.*Sam.*31.13 1.*Chron.*10 12.
e *Leuit.*23. *Leuit.*16.
Philo de huius festi ceremonio ita loquitur. Οὐ σπέρμον ὂν πρόδηλον ἔξεστι προσεικάσαι καθαρᾶς ὅσας διανοίας μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ ἐμπαθίζοντος σωματικῶν πάθων ὁσία φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκπλησμονῆς ἑορτάζουσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τῶν παντὸς ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς δι' ὧν ἀμνησίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν δὲ χρηστόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν ἐπαιτεῖσθαι. pag.447.
f *Zach.*8.16. *Exod.*32. *Num.*14.
g *Vide Riber. l.*5.*c.*21.

continued, or by abating both the quantitie and kind of Diet. We haue of the one a plaine Example in the Niniuites Fasting, and as plaine a president for the other in the Prophet *Daniel*; *I was*, (saith he) *in heauinesse for three weekes of dayes, I ate no pleasant bread, neither tasted flesh, nor wine.* Their tables, when they gaue themselues to fasting, had not that vsuall furniture of such Dishes as doe cherish bloud with bloud, but [a] for food they had bread, for suppage, salt, and for sawce, herbes. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude, saying, *One beleeueth he may eate all things, another which is weake* (and maketh a conscience of keeping those customes which the Iewes obserue) *eateth herbes.* This austere repast they tooke in the Euening, after Abstinence the whole day. For, to forfeit a noones Meale, and then to recompense themselues at night, was not their vse. Nor did they euer accustome themselues on Sabbaths, or Festiuall Dayes to fast. And yet it may bee a question whether in some sort they did not alwayes fast the Sabbath. Their Fastings were partly in token of penitencie, humiliation, griefe and sorrow, partly in signe of deuotion and reuerence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirme any thing) might induce to abstaine till noone, as their manner was on fasting dayes to doe till night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the sacred [b] Scripture doth giue some secret kinde of Testimonie? *Iosephus* is plaine, that the sixt houre (the day they diuided into twelue) was woont on the Sabbath alwayes to call them home vnto meate. Neither is it improbable but that the [c] Heathens did therefore so often vpbraide them with Fasting on that day. Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lords Disciples, for rubbing a few eares of Corne in their hands on the Sabbath Day, are not vnlikely to haue aimed also at the same marke. For neither was the bodily paine so great that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Sauiour there vseth, is more direct and literall to iustifie the breach of the Iewish custome in Fasting, then in working at that time. Finally, the Apostles afterwards themselues when God first gaue them the gift of Tongues, whereas some in disdaine and spight termed grace drunkennesse, it being then the day of Pentecost, and but onely a fourth part of the day spent, they vse this as an Argument against the other cauill, *These men,* saith *Peter*, *are not drunke as you suppose, since as yet the third houre of the day is not ouer-past.* Howbeit, leauing this in suspence, as a thing not altogether certainly knowne, and to come from Iewes to Christians, we finde that of priuate voluntarie Fastings the Apostle Saint *Paul* speaketh [d] more then once. And (saith *Tertullian*) they are sometime commanded throughout the Church, *ex aliqua sollicitudinis Ecclesiastice causa*, the care and feare of the Church so requiring. It doth not appeare that the Apostles ordained any set and certaine dayes to bee generally kept of all. Notwithstanding for as much as Christ had fore-signified, that when himselfe should be taken from them, his absence would soone make them apt to fast, it seemeth that euen as the first Festiuall Day appointed to be kept of the Church was the Day of our Lords returne from the dead, so the first sorrowfull and mourning Day was that which wee now obserue in memorie of his departure out of this World. And because there could bee no abatement of griefe, till they saw him raised whose death was

Dan. 10. 23.

a *Puram & sine animalibus cœnam. Apul. in Asclep. in fine Pastum & potum pura nosse non ventris scilicet sed animæ causa. Tertul. de pœnit. vide Phil. lib. de vita contempl. Rom 14. 2. Hieron. lib. 2. contr. Iouinian. Iudith. 8. 6. R. Mos. in Misne. Tora lib. 3. qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Ieiun.*

b *Neh. 8. 3. 12. Hora sexta quæ Sabbatis nostris ad prandium vocare solet supervenit. Ioseph. lib. de vita sua.*

c *Sabbata Iudæorum à Mose in omne æuum Ieiunio dicata. Iustin. lib 36. Ne Iudæus quidem mi Tiberi tam libenter Sabbati ieiunium seruat, quàm ego hodie seruaui. Sueton. in Octau. cap. 76. Acts 2. 15.*

d *1. Cor. 7. 5. 2. Cor. 6. 5. 11. 27 Col. 4. 4.*

was the occasion of their heauinesse; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulcher hath beene also kept and obserued as a weeping day. The custome of fasting these two dayes before Easter is vndoubtedly most ancient, in so much that *Ignatius* not thinking him a Catholique Christian man which did not abhorre (and as the state of the Church was then) auoid fasting on the Iewes Sabboth, doth notwithstanding except for euer that one Sabboth or Saturday which falleth out to be the Easter-eue, as with vs it alwayes doth, and did sometimes also with them which kept at that time their Easter the 14. day of March as the custome of the Iewes was. It came afterward to be an order, that euen as the day of Christs resurrection, so the other two, in memorie of his death and buriall, were weekely. But this when Saint *Ambrose* liued, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Millan where himselfe was Bishop. And for that cause he saith, that although at Rome he obserued the Saturdayes fast, because such was then the custome in Rome, neuertheless in his owne Church at home hee did otherwise. The Churches which did not obserue that day, had another in stead thereof, which was the Wednesday, for that when they iudged it meet to haue weekely a day of humiliation, besides that whereon our Sauiour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially, whereon the Iewes are thought to haue first contriued their treason together with *Iudas* against Christ. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these and all other times of like exercise, is as the Church shall iudge expedient for mens good. And concerning euery Christian mans dutie herein, surely that which *Augustine* and *Ambrose* are before alleaged to haue done, is such, as all men fauouring equitie must needs allow, and follow, if they affect peace. As for their specified errors, I will not in this place dispute, whether voluntarie fasting with a vertuous purpose of mind, be any medicinable remedie of euill, or a dutie acceptable vnto God, and in the world to come euen rewardable, as other offices are which proceed from Christian pietie; whether wilfully to breake and despise the wholesome Lawes of the Church herein, bee a thing which offendeth God; whether truely it may not be said that penitent both weeping and fasting, are meanes to blot out sinne, meanes whereby through Gods vnspeakeable and vndeserued mercie wee obtaine or procure to our selues pardon, which attainement vnto any gracious benefit by him bestowed, the Phrase of antiquitie vseth to expresse by the name of merit; but if either Saint *Augustine* or Saint *Ambrose* haue taught any wrong opinion, seeing they which reproue them are not altogether free from errour, I hope they will thinke it no errour in vs so to censure mens smaller faults, that their vertues be not thereby generally preiudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not subiect to power or iurisdiction, discretion should teach vs for peace and quietnesse sake to frame our selues to other mens example, is it meet that at home where our freedome is lesse, our boldnesse should be more? Is it our dutie to oppugne, in the Churches whereof wee are Ministers, the rites and customes, which in forraine Churches pietie and modestie did teach vs as strangers not to oppugne, but to keepe without shew of contradiction or dislike? Why oppose they the name of a Minister in this case vnto the state of a priuate man?

Ignat. Ep. ad. Philip.

man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Lawes? That which their office and place requireth, is to shew themselus patternes of reuerend subiection, not Authors and Masters of contempt towards ordinances, the strength whereof when they seeke to weaken, they doe but in truth discouer to the world their owne imbecillities, which a great deale wiselier they might conceale. But the practice of the Church of Christ, we shall by so much the better both vnderstand and loue; if to that which hitherto hath beene spoken, there bee somewhat added for more particular declaration, how heretiques haue partly abused Fasts, and partly bent themselues against the lawfull vse thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath said, If any keepe Sundayes or Saturdayes Fast (one only Saturday in the yeere excepted) that no man is no better then a murtherer of Christ; the cause of such his earnestnesse at that time was the impietie of certaine heretiques, which thought [a] that this world being corruptible, could not bee made but a very euill Author. And therfore as the Iewes did by the festiuall solemnitie of their Sabboth, reioyce in the God that created the world, as in the Author of all goodnesse: so those heretiques in hatred of the Maker of the world, sorrowed, wept and fasted on that day, as being the birth-day of all euill. And as Christian men of sound beliefe, did solemnize the Sunday, in ioyfull memorie of Christs resurrection; so likewise at the selfe-same time such heretiques as denied his resurrection, did the contrarie to them which held it; when the one sort reioyced, the other fasted. Against those heretiques, which haue vrged perpetuall abstinence from certaine meates, as being in their verie nature vncleane, the Church hath still bent her selfe as an enemie; Saint *Paul* giuing charge to take heed of them, which vnder any such opinion, should vtterly forbid the vse of meates or drinkes. The Apostles themselues forbad some, as the order taken at Ierusalem declareth. But the cause of their so doing, wee all know. Againe, when *Tertullian*, together with such as were his followers, beganne to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the seueritie of Christian Discipline, brought in sundrie vnaccustomed dayes of fasting, continued their Fasts a great deale longer, and made them more rigorous then the vse of the Church had beene; the mindes of men being somwhat mooued at so great, and so suddaine nouelties, the cause was presently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montanists held these additions to be supplements of the Gospell, whereunto the Spirit of Prophecie did now meane to put as it were the last hand, and was therefore newly descended vpon *Montanus*, whose orders all Christian men were no lesse to obey, then the Lawes of the Apostles themselues; this abstinence the Church abhorred likewise, and that iustly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming euen open warre to the Church, maintained Montanisme, wrote a Booke in defence of the new Fast, and intituled the same; A Treatise of Fasting, against the opinion of the carnall sort. In which Treatise neuertheless, because so much is sound and good, as doth either generally concerne the vse, or in particular declare the custome of the Churches fasting in those times, men are not to reiect whatsoeuer is alledged out of that booke, for confirmation of the truth. His errour discloseth it selfe in those places, where he defendeth Fasts to be duties necessarie for the whole Church

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Ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἢ σαββάτου νηστεύει μόνῳ ἐνὸς σαββάτου τοῦ Χριστοκτόνου ἐστί. *Epist. ad Philip.*

[a] *Vide Irena. l. 1. c. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. Epiph. hæres. 21. 22. 23. 24, 27. 28. & 41, 42.*

Vide Canon Apost. 55.

of Chriſt to obſerue as commanded by the holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authoritie from whence all other Apoſtolicall ordinances came, both being the Lawes of God himſelfe, with any other diſtinction or difference, ſauing onely that he which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther reueale the ſame by *Montanus* alſo. *Againſt vs yee pretend*, ſaith *Tertullian*; *that the publique orders which Chriſtianitie is bound to keepe, were deliuered at the firſt, and that no new thing is to bee added thereunto. Stand if you can vpon this point; For behold, I challenge you for faſting more then at Eaſter your ſelues. But in fine yee anſwer, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntarie appointment of men, and not by vertue or force of any diuine commandement. Well then* (he addeth) *Yee haue remooued your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was deliuered by doing more then was at the firſt impoſed vpon you. You ſay, you muſt doe that which your owne iudgements haue allowed: we require your obedience to that which God himſelfe doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtrange that men to their owne will ſhould yeeld that which to Gods commandement they will not grant? Shall the pleaſure of men preuaile more with you then the power of God himſelfe?* Theſe places of *Tertullian* for faſting haue worthily beene put to ſilence. And as worthily *Aerius* condemned for oppoſition againſt faſting. The one indeuoured to bring in ſuch faſts as the Church ought not to receiue, the other to ouerthrow ſuch as alreadie it had receiued and did obſerue; the one was plauſible vnto many by ſeeming to hate carnall looſeneſſe and riotous exceſſe much more then the reſt of the world did, the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian liberty; the one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly vpheld by making inuectiue declamations with a pale & a withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the eares of his ſtarued Hearers with ſpeech ſutable to ſuch mens humours, and by telling them no doubt to their maruailous contentment and liking, *Our new Propheſies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe* MONTANVS *doth preach ſome other God, or diſſolue the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, or ouerthrow any Canon of faith and hope? No our crime is, wee teach that men ought to faſt more often then marrie, the beſt feaſt maker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meere Spirit, and therefore theſe our corporall deuotions pleaſe them not:* thus the one for *Montanus* and his Superſtition. The other in a cleane contrarie tune againſt the Religion of the Church, *Theſe ſet-Faſts away with them, for they are Iewiſh, and bring men vnder the yoke of ſeruitude: if I will faſt let mee chooſe my time that Chriſtian libertie be not abridged:* Hereupon their glorie was to faſt eſpecially vpon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to faſt. *Our Church faſting dayes, and eſpecially the weeke before Eaſter, when with vs* (ſaith EPIPHANIVS) *cuſtome admitteth nothing but lying downe vpon the earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delights and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſſe, drie and vnſauourie dyet, prayer, watching, faſting, all the medicines which holy affections can miniſter, they are vp betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and when their veines are well ſwolne, they make themſelues mirth with laughter at this our ſeruice, wherein wee are perſwaded wee pleaſe God.* By this of *Epiphanius* it doth appeare, not only what faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times vſed, but alſo what other parts of Diſcipline were together therwith in force, according to the ancient vſe and cuſtome of bringing all

Epiph. Hæreſ. 75

men

men at certaine times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselues. Two kinds there were of publike penitencie, the one belonging to notorious offenders, whose open wickednesse had beene scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and vnto euery seuerall person whom the same containeth. It will be answered, that touching this latter kind it may be exercised wel enough by men in priuate. No doubt, but penitencie is as Prayer, a thing acceptable vnto God, be it in publike or in secret. Howbeit as in the one, if men were wholly left to their owne voluntary Meditations in their Closets, and not drawne by Lawes and Orders vnto the open Assemblies of the Church, that there they may ioyne with others in Prayer, it may be soone coniectured, what Christian deuotion that way would come vnto in a short time: euen so in the other, we are by sufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sinnes with teares of Repentance, and so to leaue them altogether vnto themselues. O Lord, what heaps of grieuous transgressions haue we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst vs all, and yet cleane passe them ouer vnsorrowed for, and vnrepented of, onely because the Church hath forgotten vtterly how to bestow her wonted times of Discipline, wherein the publike example of all was vnto euery particular person, a most effectuall meane to put them often in mind, and euen in a manner, to draw them to that which now we all quite and cleane forget, as if penitencie were no part of a Christian mans dutie. Againe, besides our priuate offences which ought not thus loosely to be ouerslipt, suppose we the bodie and corporation of the Church so iust, that at no time it needeth to shew it selfe openly cast down in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they doe not properly belong vnto any one, had notwithstanding a speciall Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of *Moses*, and being common to the whole Societie which containeth all, must needes so farre concerne euerie man in particular, as at sometime in solemne manner to require acknowledgement with more then daily and ordinarie testifications of griefe. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble bee deuised, then that memorable commination set downe in the Booke of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suteable. The head alreadie so well drawne, doth but wish a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that verie part of the English Liturgie, it may appeare how at the first setting downe thereof, no lesse was intended. For so wee are to interprete the meaning of those words, wherein restitution of the Primitiue Church-Discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of publike penance in time of Lent. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but hauing framed in their minds the conceit of a new Discipline, farre vnlike vnto that of old, they make themselues beleeue, it is vndoubtedly this their Discipline, which at the first was so much desired. They haue long pretended that the whole Scripture is plaine for them. If now the Communion Booke make for them too (I well thinke the one doth as much as the other) it may bee hoped that being found such a wel-willer vnto their cause, they will more fauour it then they haue done. Hauing therefore hitherto spoken, both of Festiuall daies and so much of solemne Fasts, as may reasonably serue to shew the ground thereof in the Law of Nature, the practice partly appointed, & partly allowed

of

of God in the Iewiſh Church, the like continued in the Church of Chriſt, together with the ſiniſter oppoſitions, either of Heretikes erroniouſly abuſing the ſame, or of others thereat quarrelling without cauſe, wee will onely collect the chiefeſt points as well of reſemblance, as of difference betweene them, and ſo end. First, in this they agree, that becauſe nature is the generall root of both, therefore both haue beene alwayes common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen men. Secondly, they alſo herein accord, that as oft as ioy is the cauſe of the one, and griefe the wel-ſpring of the other, they are [a] incompatible. A third degree of affinitie betweene them, is, that neither being acceptable to God it ſelfe, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him muſt neceſſarily depend on that which they ought to import and ſignifie, ſo that if herein the mind diſpoſe not it ſelfe aright, whether wee [b] reſt or [c] faſt wee offend. A fourth thing common vnto them is, that the greateſt part of the World hath alwayes groſly and palpably offended in both; Infidels becauſe they did all in relation ro falſe gods; godleſſe ſenſuall and careleſſe minds, for that there is in them no conſtant true and ſincere affection towards thoſe things which are pretended by ſuch exerciſe; yea, certaine flattering ouerſights there are, wherewith ſundrie, and they not of the worſt ſort, may be eaſily in theſe caſes led awry, euen through abounddance of loue and liking to that which muſt be imbraced by all meanes, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glorie or follow them in humilitie, whether wee laugh or weepe, mourne or reioyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of loue) apt to deceiue, and doth therefore need the more to bee directed by a watchfull guide, ſeeing there is manifeſtly both wayes, euen in them whom we honour that which we are to obſerue and ſhun. The beſt haue not ſtill beene ſufficiently mindfull, that Gods very Angels in Heauen are but Angels, and that bodily exerciſe conſidered [d] in it ſelfe is no great matter. Finally, ſeeing that both are Ordinances well deuiſed for the good of man, and yet not man created purpoſely for them, as for [e] other offices of vertue whereunto Gods immutable Law for euer tyeth, it is but equitie to wiſh or admoniſh that whereby vniforme order they are not as yet receiued, the example of [f] Victors extremitie in the one, and of [g] *Iohns* Diſciples curioſitie in the other be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithſtanding [h] wee auoid Iudaiſme, and as in Feſtiuall dayes, mens neceſſities for matter of labour, ſo in times of Faſting, regard be had to their imbecillities, leſt they ſhould ſuffer harme, doing good. Thus therefore we ſee how theſe two cuſtomes are in diuers reſpects equall. But of Faſting the vſe and exerciſe though leſſe pleaſant, is by ſo much more requiſite then the other, as griefe of neceſſitie is a more familiar gueſt then the contrarie paſſion of mind, albeit gladneſſe to all men be naturally more welcome. For firſt, we our ſelues doe many moe things amiſſe then well, and the fruit of our owne ill doing is remorſe, becauſe nature is conſcious to it ſelfe that it ſhould do the contrary. Againe, for as much as the world ouer-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good vnto other men, there is no man ſo ſeldome croſt as pleaſured at the hands of others, whereupon it cannot be choſen, but euery mans woes muſt double in that reſpect

[a] *Con. Laod. ca.* 51. 52. *vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadrageſima celebrari.*
[b] *Eſay* 1.13.
[c] *Eay* 58.3.
[d] 1. *Tim.* 4.8.
[e] *Eccleſ.* 12.13. *Eſay* 58.6.7. *Rom.* 14.17. *Iac.* 1.27. *Heb.* 12.14. *Epheſ.* 2.4.
[f] *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 5. *c.* 23.
[g] *Matth.* 9.14.
[h] *Col.* 2.16.

ſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is cauſe why our Sauiour ſhould account them happieſt that doe moſt mourne, and why *Salomon* might iudge it better to frequent mourning then feaſting houſes, not better ſimply and in it ſelfe (for then would nature that way incline) but in regard of vs and our common weakeneſſe better. *Iob* was not ignorant that his Childrens Banquets though tending to amitie, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of vs all need to bee taught that in things which delight, we [m] eaſily ſwarue from mediocritie, and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the other ſide, the ſores and diſeaſes of mind which inordinate pleaſure breedeth, are by dolour and griefe cured. For which cauſe as all offences vſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments indeuour by vexing to reforme tranſgreſſions. We are of our owne accord apt enough to giue entertainement to things delectable, but patiently to lacke what fleſh and bloud doth deſire, and by vertue to forbeare what by nature wee couet this, no man attaineth vnto, but with labour and long practice. From hence it riſeth that in former Ages, abſtinence and faſting more then ordinarie, was alwayes a ſpeciall branch of their praiſe, in whom it could be obſerued and knowne, were they ſuch as continually gaue themſelues to auſtere life; or men that tooke often occaſions in priuate vertuous reſpects to lay *Salomons* counſell aſide, [n] *Eat thy Bread with ioy*, and to be followers of *Danids* Example, which ſaith, [o] *I humbled my ſoule with faſting*; or but they who otherwiſe worthy of no great commendation, haue made of hunger, ſome their gaine, ſome their Phyſicke, ſome their Art, that by maſtering ſenſuall appetites without conſtraint, they might growable to indure hardneſſe whenſoeuer neede ſhould require. For the bodie accuſtomed to emptineſſe, pineth not away ſo ſoone as hauing ſtill vſed to fill it ſelfe. Many ſingular effects there are which ſhould make faſting euen in publike conſiderations the rather to bee accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experience how great their aduantage is in martiall enterpriſes, that lead Armies of men trained in a Schoole of abſtinence. It is therefore noted at this day in ſome, that patience of hunger and thirſt hath giuen them many victories; in others that becauſe if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plentie to moderate themſelues, he which can either bring them to hunger or ouercharge them, is ſure to make them their owne ouerthrow. What Nation ſoeuer doth feele theſe dangerous inconueniences, may know that ſloth and fulneſſe in peaceable times at home is the cauſe thereof, and the remedie a ſtrict obſeruation of that part of Chriſtian Diſcipline, which teacheth men in practice of Ghoſtly warfare againſt themſelues, thoſe things that afterwards may helpe them, iuſtly aſſaulting or ſtanding in lawfull defence of themſelues againſt others. The verie purpoſe of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Faſts, hath bin not only to preſerue thereby throughout all Ages, the remembrance of miſeries heretofore ſuſtained, and of the cauſes in our ſelues out of which they haue riſen, that men conſidering the one might feare the other the more, but farther alſo to temper the mind, leſt contrarie affections comming in place ſhould make it too profuſe and diſſolute, in which reſpect it ſeemeth

Matth.6.4.
Eccleſ.7.4.

Iob 1.5.

m Ἐπαντὶ δὲ μᾶλλον φυλακτέον τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡδονὴν ἢ τὸ ὑπὲρ ὀλυγωρίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀδέκαστοι κρίνομεν αὐτῶν Arist. Eth. 2. cap. 13.

n *Eccleſ.9.7.*

o *Pſal.35.13.*

meth that Faſts haue beene ſet as Vſhers of Feſtiuall Dayes, for preuention of thoſe diſorders, as much as might bee, wherein, notwithſtanding the World alwayes will deſerue, * as it hath done, blame; becauſe ſuch euils being not poſſible to be rooted out, the moſt we can doe, is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit wee looke for) to create in the mindes of men, a loue towards frugall and ſeuere life, to vndermine the palaces of Wantonneſſe, to plant Parſimonie as Nature, where Riotouſneſſe hath beene ſtudie, to harden whom pleaſure would melt, and to helpe the tumours which alwayes fulneſſe breedeth, that Children as it were in the Wooll of their Infancie died with hardneſſe, may neuer afterwards change colour; that the poore, whoſe perpetuall Faſts are neceſſitie, may with better contentment endure the hunger, which Vertue cauſeth others ſo often to chooſe, and by aduice of Religion it ſelfe ſo farre to eſteeme aboue the contrary; that they, which for the moſt part doe lead ſenſuall and eaſie liues; they which, as the Prophet *Dauid* deſcribeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publike ſpectacle of all be ſtill put in minde what themſelues are; finally, that euery man may bee euery mans daily guide and example, as well by faſting to declare humilitie, as by prayſe to expreſſe ioy in the ſight of God, although it haue herein befalne the Church as ſometimes *Dauid*, ſo that the ſpeech of the one may be truely the voice of the other, *My ſoule faſted, and euen that was alſo turned to my reproofe.*

* *Valde abſurdum eſt nimia ſaturitate velle honorare martyrem quem ſciat Deo placuiſſe ieiuniis*, Hieron. Epiſt. ad Euſtach.

Pſal. 73. 5.

Pſal. 69. 10.

73 In this World there can be no ſocietie durable, otherwiſe then onely by propagation. Albeit therefore ſingle Life bee a thing more Angelicall and Diuine, yet ſith the repleniſhing firſt of Earth with bleſſed Inhabitants, and then of Heauen with Saints euerlaſtingly prayſing God, did depend vpon coniunction of Man and Woman, he which made all things complete and perfect, ſaw it could not be good to leaue men without any Helper, vnto the forealleaged end: In things which ſome farther end doth dauſe to bee deſired, choice ſeeketh rather proportion then abſolute perfection of goodneſſe. So that woman being created for mans ſake to bee his Helper, in regard of the end before mentioned, namely, the hauing and the bringing vp of Children, whereunto it was not poſſible they could concurre, vnleſſe there were ſubalternation betweene them, which ſubalternation is naturally grounded vpon inequalitie, becauſe things equall in euery reſpect are neuer willingly directed one by another, Woman therefore was euen in her firſt eſtate framed by Nature, not onely after in time, but inferiour in excellencie alſo vnto man, howbeit in ſo due and ſweete proportion, as being preſented before our eyes, might be ſooner perceiued then defined. And euen herein doth lie the reaſon, why that kind of loue, which is the perfecteſt ground of Wedlocke, is ſeldome able to yeeld any reaſon of it ſelfe. Now, that which is borne of Man, muſt be nouriſhed with farre more trauell, as being of greater price in Nature, and of ſlower pace to perfection, then the Off-ſpring of any other Creature beſides. Man and Woman being therefore to ioyne themſelues for ſuch a purpoſe, they were of neceſſitie to bee linked with ſome ſtraight and inſoluble knot. The bond of Wedlocke hath been alwayes more or leſſe eſteemed of, as a thing religious and ſacred. The title which the very Heathens themſelues doe thereunto oftentimes giue, is [a] *Holy*. Thoſe Rites and Orders which were inſti-

The celebration of Matrimonie. *T. C. l. 1. p. 199.*

[a] τὸν ἱερὸν γάμον. Dionyſ. Halicar. ant. l. 2.

tuted in the solemnization of Marriage, the Hebrewes terme, by the name of coniugall [a] *sanctifications*. Amongst our selues, because sundry things appertaining vnto the publike order of Matrimonie, are called in question, by such as know not from whence those Customes did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason of them shall not bee superfluous, although wee doe not hereby intend, to yeeld so farre vnto Enemies of all Church Orders sauing their owne, as though euery thing were vnlawfull, the true cause and reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the libertie of Marriage is restrained. *There is*, saith *Salomon*, *a time for all things*, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn. That duties belonging vnto Marriage, and Offices pertayning to Penance, are things vnsutable and vnfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apostles themselues doe witnesse. Vpon which ground, as wee might right well thinke it marueilous absurd to see in a Church a Wedding on the day of a publike Fast, so likewise in the selfe-same consideration, our Predecessors thought it not amisse to take away the common libertie of Marriages, during the time which was appointed for preparation vnto, and for exercise of generall humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins. As for the deliuering vp of the woman, either by her Father or by some other, wee must note, that in ancient times, [b] all women which had not Husbands nor Fathers to gouerne them, had their Tutors, [c] without whose authoritie there was no act which they did, warrantable. And for this cause, they were in Marriage deliuered vnto their Husbands by others. Which custome retained, hath still this vse, that it putteth women in minde of a dutie, whereunto the very imbecillitie of their nature and sexe doth bind them, namely, to be alwayes directed, guided and ordered by others, although our Positiue Lawes doe not tie them now as Pupils. The custome of laying downe money, seemeth to haue beene deriued from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their Wiues. But, seeing there is not any great cause, wherefore the memory of that custome should remayne, it skilleth not much, although we suffer it to lie dead, euen as wee see it in a manner alreadie worne out. The Ring hath beene alwayes vsed as an especiall pledge of faith and fidelitie. Nothing more fit to serue as a Token of our purposed endlesse continuance in that which wé neuer ought to reuoke. This is the cause wherefore the Heathens themselues did in such cases vse the Ring, whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, saith, that in ancient times; [d] *No woman was permitted to weare gold, sauing only vpon one finger, which her husband had fastned vnto himselfe, with that ring which was vsually giuen for assurance of future marriage.* The cause why the Christians vse it, as some of the Fathers thinke, is [e] either to testifie mutuall loue, or rather to serue for a pledge of coniunction in heart and minde agreed vpon betweene them. But what right and custome is there so harmlesse, wherein the wit of man bending it selfe to derision, may not easily finde out somewhat to scorne and iest at? Hee that should haue beheld the Iewes when they stood with [f] a foure-cornerd Garment, spred ouer the heads of espoused couples, while their Espousals were in making, he that should haue beheld their [g] praying ouer a Cup, and their deliuering the same at the Marriage Feast with set formes of Benediction, as the order amongst them was, might being lewdly,

[a] *Kidduschin in Rituali Heb. de benedictionn. nuptiarum.*

Eccles.3.1. Ioel 2.16. 1.Cor.7.5.

[b] *Mulieres antiquo iure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant verò à tutoris potestate, quæ in matrum conuenissent.* Boet. in Topic. Cic.

[c] *Nullam ne priuatam quidem rem fœminas sine auctore agere maiores nostri voluerũt.* Liu. lib. 44. The reason yeelded by *Tully*, this *Propter infirmitatem consilij*, Cic. pro Mur. Vide leges Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.

[d] *Aurum nulla norat præter vnico digito quem sponsus oppignorasset pro nubo annulo.* Tertul. Apologet. c. 6.

[e] *Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. lib 2. cap. 19.*

[f] *Elias Thesb. in dict. Hhupha.*

[g] *In Rituat. de benedict. nuptiarum.*

lewdly affected, take thereat as iuſt occaſion of ſcornfull cauell, as at the vſe of the Ring in Wedlocke amongſt Chriſtians. But of all things the moſt hardly taken, is the vttering of thoſe words, *With my body I thee worſhip*, in which words when once they are vnderſtood, there will appeare as little cauſe as in the reſt, for any Wiſeman to be offended. Firſt therefore, in as much as vnlawfull copulation doth pollute and [b] diſhonour both parties, this proteſtation that wee doe worſhip and honour another with our bodies, may import a deniall of all ſuch lets and impediments to our knowledge, as might cauſe any ſlaine, blemiſh or diſgrace that way, which kind of conſtruction being probable, would eaſily approue that ſpeech to a peaceable and quiet minde. Secondly, in that the Apoſtle doth ſo expreſly affirme, that parties vnmarried haue not any longer intire power ouer themſelues, but each hath intereſt in others perſon, it cannot bee thought an abſurd conſtruction to ſay, that worſhipping with the bodie, is the imparting of that intereſt in the bodie vnto another, which none before had, ſaue onely our ſelues. But if this were the naturall meaning, the words ſhould perhaps bee as requiſite to bee vſed on the one ſide as on the other, and therefore a third ſence there is which I rather relie vpon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference betweene a lawfull Wife and a Concubine was onely [c] in the different purpoſe of man betaking himſelfe to the one or the other. If his purpoſe were onely fellowſhip, there grew to the Woman by this meane no worſhip at all, but the contrarie. In profeſſing that his intent was to adde by his perſon, honour, and worſhip vnto hers, hee tooke her plainly and cleerely to Wife. This is it which the Ciuill Law doth meane, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in [d] dignitie; a Wife to be taken where [e] Coniugall honour and affection doe goe before. The worſhip that grew vnto her being taken with declaration of this intent, was that her Children became by this meane legitimate and free; her ſelfe was made a Mother ouer his Family; laſt of all, ſhee receiued ſuch aduancement of ſtate, as things annexed vnto his perſon might augment her with, yea, a right of participation was thereby giuen her both in him, and euen in all things which were his. This doth ſomewhat the more plainly appeare, by adding alſo that other clauſe, *with all my worldly goods I thee endow*. The former branch hauing granted the principall, the latter granted that which is annexed thereunto. To end the publike Solemnitie of Marriage, with receiuing the Bleſſed Sacrament, is a cuſtome ſo Religious and ſo Holy, that if the Church of *England* be blameable in this reſpect, it is not for ſuffering it to be ſo much, but rather for not prouiding that it may be more put in vre. The Lawes of *Romulus* concerning Marriage are therefore extolled aboue the reſt amongſt the Heathens which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the vſe of certaine ſpeciall Solemnities, whereby the mindes of men were drawne to make the greater conſcience of wedlocke, and to eſteeme the bond thereof, a thing which could not be without impietie diſſolued. If there be any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectuall to like purpoſe, it is the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt, in regard of the force whereof *Tertullian* breaketh out into theſe words, concerning Matrimonie there-

b *Rom.* 4. 24. 1. *Cor.* 7. 4.

c *L. penul. D. de concub.*

d *L. item legato §. penult. D. de legat.* 3.

e *L. donationes D. de donationibus.*

οὕτως ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἀνάγκασε τὰς γαμετὰς δίαιταν ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποφοιτᾷν πρὸς ἕνα τὸν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίας τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτου χρήματος τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. 2.

with ſealed; *Vnde ſufficiam ad enarrandam fælicitatem eius Matrimonij quod Eccleſia conciliat & confirmat oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhew the happineſſe of that Wedlocke, the knot whereof the Church doth faſten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirme.* Touching Marriage therefore, let thus much be ſufficient.

Churching of Women. *T.C.l.1.p.150.*

74 The fruit of Marriage is birth, and the companion of birth trauaile, the griefe whereof being ſo extreme, and the danger alwayes ſo great, dare we open our mouthes againſt the things that are holy, and preſume to cenſure it, as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that women after their deliuerance doe publikely ſhew their thankefull mindes vnto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it: Forſooth, *if there ſhould be ſolemne and expreſſe giuing of thankes in the Church for euery benefit, either equall, or greater then this which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receiue, wee ſhould not onely haue no preaching of the Word, nor miniſtring of the Sacraments, but we ſhould not haue ſo much leiſure as to doe any corporall or bodily worke, but ſhould be like thoſe Maſſilian Heretickes which doe nothing elſe but pray.* Surely better a great deale to be like vnto thoſe Heretikes which doe nothing elſe but pray, then thoſe which doe nothing elſe but quarrell. Their heads it might happily trouble ſomewhat more then as yet they are aware of, to find out ſo many benefits greater then this, or equiualent thereunto, for which if ſo be our Lawes did require ſolemne & expreſſe thankſgiuing in the Church, the ſame were like to prooue a thing ſo greatly cumberſome as is pretended. But if there bee ſuch ſtore of mercies euen ineſtimable powred euery day vpon thouſands (as indeed the earth is full of the bleſſings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and aboue meaſure) ſhall it not bee lawfull to cauſe ſolemne thankes to bee giuen vnto God for any benefit, then which greater or whereunto equall are receiued, no Law binding men in regard thereof to performe the like dutie? Suppoſe that ſome bond there be that tyeth vs at certaine times to mention publikely the names of ſundry our Benefactours. Some of them it may bee are ſuch, that a day would ſcarcely ſerue to reckon vp together with them the Catalogue of ſo many men beſides, as we are either more or equally beholden vnto. Becauſe no Law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall wee therefore condemne that Law whereby the other being poſſible and alſo dutifull is inioyned vs? So much wee owe to the Lord of Heauen, that wee can neuer ſufficiently prayſe him nor giue him thankes for halfe thoſe benefits for which this Sacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit, God forbid wee ſhould ceaſe performing this dutie, when publike Order doth draw vs vnto it, when it may be ſo eaſily done, when it hath beene ſo long executed by deuout and vertuous people; God forbid, that being ſo many wayes prouoked in this caſe vnto ſo good a dutie, we ſhould omit it, onely becauſe there are other caſes of like nature, wherein we cannot ſo conueniently, or at leaſt wiſe doe not performe the ſame moſt vertuous Office of Pietie. Wherein wee truſt that as the action it ſelfe pleaſeth God, ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as may iuſtly offend any. It is but an ouer-flowing of Gall, which cauſeth the Womans abſence from the Church, during the time of her lying in, to bee traduced and interpreted as though ſhe were ſo long iudged *vnholy*, and were thereby ſhut

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out or ſequeſtred from the Houſe of God, according to the ancient Leuiticall Law. Whereas the very Canon Law it ſelfe doth not ſo hold, but directly * profeſſeth the contrarie, ſhee is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor in reſpect of any vnholineſſe, forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abſtaining from publike Aſſemblies, and her abode in ſeparation for the time bee [b] moſt conuenient. To ſcoffat the manner of attire, then which there could bee nothing deuiſed for ſuch a time more graue and decent, to make it a token of ſome folly committed, for which they are loth to ſhew their faces, argueth that great Diuines are ſometime more merrie then wiſe. As for the women themſelues, God accepting the ſeruice which they faithfully offer vnto him, it is no great diſgrace though they ſuffer pleaſant witted men, a little to intermingle with zeale ſcorne. The name of *Oblations* applyed not onely heere to thoſe ſmall and pettie payments which yet are a part of the Miniſters right, but alſo generally giuen vnto all ſuch allowances as ſerue for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and conuenient. For as the life of the Clergie is ſpent in the Seruice of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his reuenue. Nothing therefore more proper then to giue the name of Oblations to ſuch payments, in token that we offer vnto him whatſoeuer his Miniſters receiue.

* *Diſt.5.c.Hæc quæ.In lege præcipiebatur vt mulier ſi maſculum pareret,40. ſi fœminam 80.*

diebus à templi ceſſaret ingreſſu, Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur. b Leo conſt.17. *Quod profectò non tam propter mulierem immunditiem, quàm ob alias cauſas in intima legis ratione reconditas, & veteri prohibitum eſſe lege & gratiæ tempus traditionis loco ſuſcepiſſe puto. Exiſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præſcripſiſſe, quo proteruam eorum qui intemperanter viuerent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret, quemadmodum & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præſcribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc prouidentiæ quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt, vt partus à depranatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid natura ſuperuacaneum eſt, idem corruptiuum eſt & inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi obnoxiæ eſſent in immunditie, ad id temporis viuere illa lex iubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſono laſciui concupiſcentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta materia ipſum animãs coagmentetur.*

75 But to leaue this, there is a dutie which the Church doth owe to the faithfull departed, wherein for as much as the Church of *England* is ſaid to doe thoſe things which are, though *not vnlawfull*, yet *inconuenient*, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript forme of Seruice at Burials, ſuffereth mourning Apparell to bee worne, and permitteth Funerall Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will bee neceſſarie, although it bee needleſſe to dwell long vpon it. The end of Funerall Duties is, firſt, to ſhew that loue towards the partie deceaſed which Nature requireth; then to doe him that honour which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the qualitie of his perſon; laſt of all, to teſtifie the care, which the Church hath to comfort the liuing, and the hope which we all haue concerning the Reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of loue towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to bee a thing conuenient. As in truth the Scripture euery-where doth approoue lamentation made vnto this end. The Iewes by our Sauiours teares therefore, gathered in this caſe that his loue towardes *Lazarus* was great. And that as mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that there may be a kind of Attire ſuteable to a ſorrowfull affection, and conuenient for Mourners to weare, how plainly doth *Dauids* example ſhew, who being in heauineſſe went vp to the Mount with his head couered, & all the people that were with him in like ſort? White garments being fit to vſe at Marriage Feaſts, and ſuch other times of ioy, whereunto *Salomon* alluding, when hee requireth continuall cheerefulneſſe of mind,

Of the Rites of Buriall. *T.C.l.3.p.2.16.*

Iohn 11.36.

2.Sam.15.30.

Eccleſ.9.8.

mind, ſpeaketh in this ſort, *Let thy garments be alwayes white:* what doth hinder the contrary from being now as conuenient in griefe, as this heretofore in gladneſſe hath bin? *If there be no ſorrow*, they ſay, *it is hypocriticall to pretend it, and if there be, to prouoke it* by wearing ſuch attire, is *dangerous*. Nay, if there be to ſhew it, is naturall, & if there be not, yet the ſignes are meet to ſhew what ſhould be, eſpecially, ſith it doth not come oftentimes to paſſe, that men are faine to haue their mourning Gowns puld off their backs, for feare of killing themſelues with ſorrow that way nouriſhed. The honour generally due vnto all men, maketh a decent interring of them to bee conuenient euen for very humanities ſake. And therefore ſo much as is mentioned in the Buriall of the Widdowes Sonne, the carrying of him forth vpon a Beere, and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath been vſed euen amongſt Infidels, all men accounting it a very extreme deſtitution, not to haue at the leaſt this honour done them. Some mans eſtate may require a great deale more, according as the faſhion of the Country where he dieth doth affoord. And vnto this appertained the ancient vſe of the Iewes, to embalme the Corps with ſweet Odours, and to adorne the Sepulchres of certaine. In regard of the qualitie of men, it hath beene iudged fit to commend them vnto the World at their death, amongſt the Heathen in Funerall Orations, amongſt the Iewes in * ſacred Poems; and why not in Funerall Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Vs it ſufficeth, that the knowne benefit hereof doth counteruaile Millions of ſuch inconueniences as are therein ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed onely but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in Gods ſight. Let it not ſeeme odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be ſpoken of, then eſpecially, when the preſent occaſion doth make mens minds the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care no doubt of the liuing, both to liue and to die well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded vp in ſilence, but the eares of many be made acquainted with it. Moreouer when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with their Brethren in their laſt need, beſides the prayſe which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their fellowſhip and Communion with *Saints*, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Againe, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life, but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh, O that I might die the death of the Righteous, and that my end might bee like his! Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of publike inſtruction common vnto Funerall with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whoſe mindes are through naturall affection penſiue in ſuch caſes, no man can iuſtly miſlike the cuſtome which the Iewes had to end their Burials with Funerall Banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet *Ieremie* ſpake, concerning the people whom God had appoynted vnto a grieuous manner of deſtruction, ſaying, that men ſhould not *giue them the Cup of conſolation to drinke for their Father or for their Mother*, becauſe it ſhould not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Anceſtors vnto the Graue with weeping eyes,

haue

Luke 7.12.

*Pſal.*79.3.
Iohn 19.40.
*Mat.*23.27.

* 2.*Sam.*1.19.

*Ier.*16.7.

haue notwithſtanding meanes wherewith to be recomforted. *Giue wine*, ſaith SALOMON, *vnto them that haue griefe of heart*. Surely, hee that miniſtreth vnto them *comfortable ſpeech, doth much more then giue them wine. But the greateſt thing of all other about this dutie of Chriſtian buriall, is an outward teſtification of the hope which wee haue touching the Reſurrection of the dead. For which purpoſe let any man of reaſonable iudgement examine, whether it bee more conuenient for a companie of men, as it were in a dumbe ſhow, to bring a Corſe to the place of buriall, there to leaue it couered with earth, and ſo end, or elſe to haue the Exequies deuoutly performed with ſolemne recitall of ſuch Lectures, Pſalmes and Prayers, as are purpoſely framed for the ſtirring vp of mens minds vnto a carefull conſideration of their eſtate, both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is obiected, that neither the people of God vnder the Law, nor the Church in the Apoſtles times did vſe any forme of ſeruice, in buriall of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken vp without any good example or precedent followed therein; firſt, while the world doth ſtand, they ſhall neuer bee able to prooue, that all things which either the one or the other did vſe at Burials, are ſet downe in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpoſe deliuer the whole manner and forme thereof, but toucheth only ſometime one thing, and ſometime another which was in vſe, as ſpeciall occaſions require any of them to be either mentioned or inſinuated. Againe, if it might bee prooued that no ſuch thing was vſuall amongſt them, hath Chriſt ſo depriued his Church of iudgement, that what Rites and Orders ſoeuer the later Ages thereof haue deuiſed, the ſame muſt needs bee inconuenient? Furthermore, that the Iewes before our Sauiours comming had any ſuch forme of ſeruice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Prieſts to bee preſent at burials, letteth not but that others might diſcharge that dutie, ſeeing all were not Prieſts which had roomes of publique Function in their Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no ſuch forme of ſeruice, thus much there is to make the contrarie more probable. The Iewes at this day haue, as appeareth in their forme of Funerall Prayers, & in certaine of their Funerall Sermons publiſhed, neither are they ſo affected towards Chriſtians, as to borrow that order from vs, beſides, that the forme thereof is ſuch as hath in it ſundry things, which the very words of the Scripture it ſelfe doe ſeeme to allude vnto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulcher vnto the houſe whence the dead was brought, it ſheweth the manner of their buriall Feaſt, and a conſolatorie forme of prayers, appointed for the Maſter of the Synagogue thereat to vtter, albeit I may not deny, but it hath alſo ſome things which are not perhaps ſo ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatſoeuer the Iewes cuſtome was before the dayes of our Sauiour Chriſt, hath it once at any time beene heard of, that either Church or Chriſtian man of ſound beliefe did euer iudge this a thing vnmeet, vndecent, vnfit for Chriſtianitie, till theſe miſerable dayes, wherein vnder the colour of remouing ſuperſtitious abuſes, the moſt effectuall meanes, both to teſtifie and to ſtrengthen true Religion, are plucked at, and in ſome places euen pulled vp by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to ſhew at burials, the peculiar hope of the Church*

Prou. 31. 6.

*1. Chron. 19. 2.

Iob 2. 11.

of

of God concerning the Dead, and in the manner of those dumbe Funerals, what one thing is there whereby the World may perceiue wee are Christian men?

Of the nature of that ministerie, which serueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happinesse not eternall only, but also temporal, both depend vpon it.

76 I come now vnto that function which vnder-taketh the publike ministerie of holy things, according to the Lawes of Christian Religion. And because the nature of things consisting, as this doth in action, is knowne by the obiect whereabout they are conuersant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, wee must know that the obiect of this function is both God and men; God, in that he is publikely worshipped of his Church, and Men, in that they are capable of happinesse, by meanes which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the summe of our whole labour in this kind, is to honour God, and to saue men. For whether we seuerally take, and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one societie and bodie, as it hath beene before declared, that euery mans Religion is in him the Well-spring of all other sound and sincere vertues, from whence both here in some sort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full ioy and felicitie ariseth, because while they liue, they are blessed of God, and when they die, their works follow them: so at this present we must againe call to mind, how the very worldly peace and prosperitie, the secular happinesse, the temporall and naturall good estate both of all Men, and of all Dominions, hangeth chiefly vpon Religion, and doth euermore giue plaine testimonie, that as well in this as in other considerations the Priest is a pillar of that Common-wealth, wherein hee faithfully serueth God. For if these Assertions be true, first, that nothing can bee inioyed in this present world, against his will which hath made all things: secondly, that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *haue*, yet impietie permitteth them not to *inioy*, no not temporall blessings on earth: thirdly, that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as hand-maids vpon Religion: and fourthly, that without the worke of the ministerie, Religion by no meanes can possibly continue, the vse and benefit of that sacred Function, euen towards all mens worldly happinesse must needs be granted. Now the * first being a Theoreme both vnderstood and confest of all, to labour in proofe thereof were superfluous. The second perhaps may bee called in question, except it bee perfectly vnderstood. By good things temporall therefore, wee meane length of dayes, health of bodie, store of friends and well-willers, quietnesse, prosperous successe of those things wee take in hand; riches with fit oportunities to vse them during life, reputation following vs both aliue and dead, children or such as in stead of children, wee wish to leaue Successors and partakers of our happinesse. These things are naturally euery mans desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same, them wee confesse hee graciously blesseth. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause wee esteeme the gaine of honour an ample recompence for the losse of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certaine perpetuitie of goodnesse, nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their owne sake, but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of vertue and speculation of truth.

* *Si creaturæ Dei merito & dispensatio Dei sumus: Quis enim magis diligit, quàm ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quàm is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis vero sapientius, & fortius ordinarie & regere facta potest, quã qui & facienda pronidit, & pro-nisa perfecit? Quapropter omnem potestatem à Deo esse omnemque ordinationem, & qui non legerunt sentiunt, & qui legerunt cognoscunt* Paul. Oros. Hist. aduer. Pagan. lib. 2.

Οὔ τοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί, τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα, Eurip. Phœniss.

truth. None, whoſe deſires are rightly ordered, would wiſh to liue to breathe and mooue, without performance of thoſe actions which are beſeeming mans excellencie. Wherefore hauing not how to imploy it, wee waxe wearie euen of life it ſelfe. Health is precious, becauſe ſickneſſe doth breed that paine which diſableth action. Againe, why doe men delight ſo much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life being many, doe need many helping hands to further them? Betweene troubleſome and quiet dayes we ſhould make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other vphold our libertie of action. Furthermore, if thoſe things we doe, ſucceed, it reioyceth vs not ſo much for the benefit we thereby reape, as in that * it probably argueth our actions to haue beene orderly and well guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly preſumed a ſigne of more then ordinarie vertue and merit, by meanes whereof when ambitious mindes thirſt after it, their indeuours are teſtimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to poſſeſſe that body, the very ſhaddow whereof is ſet at ſo high a rate. Finally, ſuch is the pleaſure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forſaketh vs, ſtill our deſires to continue action, and to worke though not by our ſelues, yet by them whom wee leaue behind vs, cauſeth vs prouidently to reſigne into other mens hands, the helps wee haue gathered for that purpoſe, diuiſing alſo the beſt wee can to make them perpetuall. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporall felicitie are onely good in relation to that which vſeth them as inſtruments, and that they are no ſuch good as wherein a right deſire doth euer ſtay or reſt it ſelfe. Now temporall bleſſings are inioyed of thoſe which haue them, know them, *eſteeme them according to that they are in their owne nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his vſuall and ordinarie ſpeeches are, That bloud-thirſtie and deceitfull men ſhall not liue out halfe their dayes; that God ſhall cauſe a peſtilence to cleaue vnto the wicked, and ſhall ſtrike them with conſuming griefe, with feauers, burning diſeaſes and ſores which are paſt cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men ſhall tread them downe, and none ſhew countenance of loue towards them, as much as by pitying them in their miſerie; that the ſinnes of the vngodly ſhall bereaue them of peace; that all counſels, complots, and practices againſt God ſhall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the vniuſt is beggerie; that the name of vnrighteous perſons ſhall putrifie, and the poſteritie of Robbers ſtarue. If any thinke that Iniquitie and Peace, Sinne and Proſperitie can dwell together, they erre, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright betweene the matter, and that which giueth it the forme of happineſſe, betweene poſſeſſion and fruition, betweene the hauing and the inioying of good things. The impious cannot inioy that they haue, partly becauſe they receiue it not as at Gods hands, which onely conſideration maketh temporall bleſſings comfortable, and partly becauſe through errour, placing it aboue things of farre more price and worth, they turne that to poyſon which might bee food, they make their proſperitie their owne ſnare, in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe Egges, out of which their wofull ouer-throw is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that wiſe and iudicious men obſeruing the vaine behauiours

* διόμεθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίσασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Heracl.

Pſal 55 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

Prou. 10.

behauiours of such as are risen to vnwonted greatnesse, haue thereby beene able to prognosticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth, but either sooner or later the world may perceiue easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortunate, they had but onely the good estate which fat Oxen haue aboue leane, when they appeared to grow, their climing was towards ruine. The grosse and bestiall conceit of them which want vnderstanding is onely, that the fullest bellies are happiest. Therefore the greatest felicitie they wish to the Common-wealth wherein they liue, is that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may haue to powre out without stint; that the poore may sleepe, and the rich feed them, that nothing vnpleasant may bee commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselues haue a lust to follow, that Kings may prouide for the ease of their subiects, and not bee too curious about their manners, that wantonnesse, excesse, and lewdnesse of life may bee left free, and that no fault may be capitall, besides dislike of things setled in so good termes. But bee it farre from the iust to dwell either in or neere to the Tents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas wee thirdly affirme, that Religion and the feare of God, as well induceth secular prosperitie as euerlasting blisse in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godlinesse could not bee said to haue the promises of both liues, to bee that ample reuenew, wherein there is alwayes sufficiencie, and to carrie with it a generall discharge of want, euen so generall, that *Dauid* himselfe should protest, he neuer saw the Iust forsaken. Howbeit to this we must adde certaine speciall limitations, as first, that we doe not forget how crazed and diseased minds (whereof our heauenly Physician must iudge) receiue often-times most benefit by being depriued of those things which are to others beneficially giuen, as appeareth in that which the Wise-man hath noted concerning them, whose liues God mercifully doth abridge, least wickednesse should alter their vnderstanding; againe, that the measure of our outward prosperitie be taken by proportion with that, which euery mans estate in this present life requireth. Externall abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise Artificers to haue their instruments proportionable to their worke, rather fit for vse then huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a seruant doe not need that which may be necessarie for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferiour condition many things which greater personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects, that haue wherewith to performe *sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they haue no more. For by reason of mans imbecillitie and proneneſſe to elation of mind, [a] too high a flow of prosperitie is dangerous, too low an ebbe againe as dangerous; for that the vertue of patience is rare, & the hand of necessitie stronger, then ordinarie vertue is able to withstand. *Salomons* discreet & moderate desire we al know: *Giue me, O Lord, neither riches nor penurie.* Men ouer-high exalted either in honor, or in power, or in nobilitie, or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrarie hand sunke either with beggerie, or through deiection, or by baseneſſe doe not easily giue eare to reason, but the one exceeding apt vnto outrages, and the other vnto pettie mischiefes. For greatnesse delighteth to shew it selfe by effects of power, and baseneſſe

Prou 16.18. *Ante ruinam elatio.*

φιλεῖ ὁ θεὸς παίσματα ὑπερέχοντα κωλύειν. ὃ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑωυτὸν, Herodot. lib. 7.

* Ἐπεὶ τάγ' ἀρκεῖθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν, Eurip. Phœniſ.

[a] ταπεινοτέρων ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέροις, ἴσον ἀπέχειν ὑπερβολῆς καὶ πλήμμυρος, Greg. Naz. Apolog. 3.

They may ſeeme haply the moſt deiect, but they are the wiſeſt for their owne ſafetie, which feare clyming no leſſe then falling.

[b] *Ariſt. Polit. lib. 4. cap. 11.*

baſeneſſe to helpe it ſelfe with ſhifts of malice. For which cauſe, a moderate, indifferent temper, betweene fulneſſe of bread; and emptineſſe hath beene euermore thought and found (all circumſtances duely conſidered) the ſafeſt and happieſt for all Eſtates, euen for King and Princes themſelues. Againe, wee are not to looke, that theſe things ſhould alwayes concurre, no not in them which are accounted happie, neither that the courſe of mens liues or of publike affaires ſhould continually be drawne out as an euen thred (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a iuſt ſuruey being made, as thoſe particular men are worthily reputed good, whoſe vertues be great, and their faults tolerable, ſo him we may regiſter for a man fortunate; and that for a proſperous or happie State, which hauing flouriſhed, doth not afterwards feele any Tragicall alteration, ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſery to others. Beſides, whereas true felicitie conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of that nobler part of man, which ſheweth ſometime greateſt perfection, not in vſing the benefits which delight nature, but in ſuffering what nature can hardlieſt indure, there is no cauſe why either the loſſe of good, if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſery, the iſſue whereof, is their greater praiſe and honour that haue ſuſtained it, ſhould be thought to impeach that temporall happineſſe, wherewith Religion, we ſay is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeuerall degrees of men may require by a competent eſtimation, and vnleſſe the contrary do more aduance, as it hath done thoſe moſt Heroicall Saints, whom afflictions haue made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamitie falleth, but whom neither miſerie nor proſperitie is able to mooue from a right mind, them wee may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatſoeuer doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbitie, for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound and vnpartial Iudges to haue proceeded from Diuine reuenge, it paſſeth in the number of Humane caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubiect. No miſerie is reckoned more them common or humane, if God ſo diſpoſe that we paſſe thorow it, and come ſafe to ſhore, euen as contrariwiſe, men doe not vſe to thinke thoſe flouriſhing dayes happie which doe end with teares. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firme and true, yea, ratified by all mens vnfained confeſſions drawne from the verie heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelues, whether we conferre one Dominion with another, or elſe the different times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt oddes betweene their very outward condition, as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerued to honour God, and their ſucceſſe being falne from him, are remonſtrances more then ſufficient, how all our welfare euen on earth dependeth wholly vpon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired, or bettered alwayes their worldly affaires, as their loue and zeale towards it did waine or grow. Of the Iewes, did not euen their moſt malicious and mortall Aduerſaries all acknowledge, that to ſtriue againſt them, it was in vaine, as long as their amitie with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their owne proceedings, did they euer find it otherwiſe, but that during their faith & fidelity towards God, euery man of them was in war, as a thouſand ſtrong, and

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as much as a grand Senate, for counſell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe that if they ſwarued, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimitie forſooke them vtterly, their Souldiers and Military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and ſate in counſell for their owne good, that which children might haue ſeene, their graueſt Senators could not diſcerne, their Prophets ſaw darkeneſſe in ſtead of Viſions, the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitcht, euen that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to vtter, or if any thing were well propoſed, it tooke no place, it entred not into the minds of the reſt to approue and follow it, but as men confounded with ſtrange and vnuſuall amazements of Spirit, they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what, and by the iſſues of all attempts, they found no certaine concluſion but this, *God and heauen are ſtrong againſt vs in all we doe.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret feare, which tooke heart and courage from them, and the cauſe of their feare, an inward guiltineſſe that they all had offered God ſuch apparant wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be, the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not like force towards temporall felicitie. Search the ancient Records of time, looke what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeeres, ſee if all things to this effect bee not luculent and cleere, yea, all things ſo manifeſt, that for euidence and proofe herein, wee need not by vncertaine darke coniectures ſurmiſe any to haue beene plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithfull obedience towards true Religion, more then onely them, whom wee find in that reſpect on the one ſide, guiltie by their owne confeſſions, and happie on the other ſide by all mens acknowledgement, who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and vertuous, impute boldly the ſame to Gods moſt eſpeciall fauour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth aboue others, with them he hath cauſe to bee more offended. For Vertue is alwaies plaine to be ſeene, rareneſſe cauſeth it to bee obſerued, and goodneſſe to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquitie and ſinne, it lyeth meny times hid, and becauſe we be all offenders, it becommeth vs not to incline towards hard and ſeuere ſentences touching others, vnleſſe their notorious wickedneſſe did ſenſibly before proclaime that which afterwards came to paſſe. Wherefore the ſumme of euery Chriſtian mans dutie is, to labour by all meanes towards that which other men ſeeing in vs may iuſtifie, and what we our ſelues muſt accuſe, if wee fall into it, that by all meanes we can to auoid, conſidering eſpecially, that as hitherto vpon the Church there neuer yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorme; the vapours whereof were not firſt noted to riſe from coldneſſe in affection, and from backwardneſſe in duties of ſeruice towards God, ſo if that which the teares of Antiquitie haue vttered concerning this point ſhould be here ſet downe, it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollifie an heart of Steele. On the contrary part, although wee confeſſe with Saint *Auguſtine*, moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happineſſe for which we haue ſome Chriſtian Kings in ſo great admiration aboue the reſt, is not becauſe of their long Raigne, their calme and quiet departure out of this preſent life, the ſetled eſtabliſhment of their owne fleſh and blood, ſucceeding them in Royal-

tie,

tie and power, the glorious ouerthrow of forraine enemies, or the wise preuention of inward danger, and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our vnquiet life, it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which haue no societie or part in the ioyes of Heauen, giuing thereby to vnderstand, that these in comparison are toyes and trifles farre vnder the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands, but in truth the reason wherefore we most extoll their felicitie, is, if so be they haue vertuously raigned, if honour haue not filled their hearts with pride, if the exercise of their power haue beene seruice and attendance vpon the Maiestie of the most High, if they haue feared him as their owne inferiours and subiects haue feared them, if they haue loued neither pompe nor pleasure more then heauen, if reuenge haue slowly proceeded from them, and mercie willingly offered it selfe, if so they haue tempered rigour with lenitie, that neither extreme seueritie might vtterly cut them off in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easinesse of pardoning offences imbolden offenders, if knowing that whatsoeuer they doe their potencie may beare it out, they haue beene so much the more carefull not to doe any thing but that which is commendable in the best, rather then vsuall with greatest personages, if the true knowledge of themselues haue humbled them in Gods sight, no lesse than God in the eyes of men hath raised them vp; I say, albeit wee reckon such to bee the happiest of them that are mightiest in the world, and albeit those things alone are happinesse, neuertheless, considering what force there is euen in outward blessings, to comfort the mindes of the best disposed, and to giue them the greater ioy, when Religion and Peace, heauenly and earthly happinesse are wreathed in one Crowne, as to the worthiest of Christian Princes it hath by the prouidence of the Almightie hitherto befallen, let it not seeme vnto any man a needlesse and superfluous waste of labour, that there hath beene thus much spoken, to declare how in them especially it hath beene so obserued, and withall vniuersally noted euen from the highest to the very meanest how this peculiar benefit, this singular grace and preeminence Religion hath, that either it gardeth as an heauenly shield from all calamities, or else conducteth vs safe thorow them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giueth honours, promotions, and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them than if wee had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plentie of all good things, or maketh a Sallet of greene herbs, more sweet than all the sacrifices of the vngodly. Our fourth Proposition before set downe was, that Religion without the helpe of spirituall ministerie is vnable to plant it selfe, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their owne accord. Which last Assertion is herein as the first, that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did, I could easily declare, how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderfull art and wisedome sodered, as it were, together with the glue of mutuall assistance, appointing the lowest to receiue from the neerest to themselues, what the influence of the highest yeeldeth. And therefore the Church being the most absolute of all his works, was in reason to be also ordered with like harmonie, that what hee worketh, might no lesse in grace than in nature be effected by hands and instruments, duely subordinated vnto the power of his owne Spirit. A

thing both needfull for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debter to any, but to himselfe, and of no smal effect to nourish that diuin loue, which now maketh each embrace other, not as Men, but as Angels of God. Ministerial actions tending immediately vnto Gods honour, and mans happinesse, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal worke of the Ministerie, or else they are parts of that principall worke of administration it selfe, which worke consisteth in doing the seruice of Gods house, and in applying vnto men the soueraigne medicines of grace alreadie spoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appeare, that we[a] owe to the guides of our soules euen as much as our soules are worth, although the debt of our temporall blessings should be stricken of.

Luke 12.42. 1.*Cor*.4.1. *Tit*.1.7. 1.*Pet*.4.10. *Ephes*.3.2.

[a] ἑαυτὸν μοι προσοφειλέτης. *Epist. ad Phile.*

Of power giuen vnto man to execut that heauenly Office; of the gift of the holy Ghost in ordination; and whether conueniently the power of Order may bee sought or sued for.

77 The ministerie of things diuine is a function, which as God did himselfe institute, so neither may men vndertake the same but by authoritie and power giuen them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting vnto Man in necessaries, and hath therefore giuen vs the light of his heauenly Truth, because without that inestimable benefit, wee must needes haue wandred in darknesse, to our endlesse perdition and woe, hath in the like aboundance of mercies ordayned certaine to attend vpon the due execution of requisite part and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men, thereunto assigned, doe hold their authoritie from him, whether they be such as himselfe immediately, or as the Church in his name inuesteth, it being neither possible for all, nor for euery man without distinction conuenient to take vpon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore Ministers of God, not only by way of subordination as Princes and ciuill Magistrates, whose execution of iudgement and iustice the supreame hand of diuine prouidence doth vphold, but Ministers of God, as from whom their authoritie is deriued, and not for men. For in that they are Christs Embassadours and his Labourers, who should giue them their Commission, but he whose most inward affaires they manage? Is not God alone the Father of Spirits? Are not Soules the purchase of Iesus Christ? What Angell in Heauen could haue said to man, as our Lord did vnto PETER, *Feede my sheepe? Preach? Baptize? Doe this in remembrance of me? Whose sinnes yee retaine, they are retayned, and their offences in Heauen pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth forgiue?* What thinke we? Are these terrestiall sounds, or else are they voices vttered out of the clouds aboue? The power of the ministerie of God translateth out of darknesse into glorie, it rayseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himself down from heauen, by blessing visible elements it maketh them inuisible grace, it giueth daily the holy Ghost, it hath to dispose of that flesh which was giuen for the life of the world, and that bloud which was powred out to redeeme soules, when it powreth malediction vpon the heads of the wicked they perish, when it reuoketh the same they reuiue. O wretched blindenesse, if wee admire not so great power, more wretched if wee consider it aright, and notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it! To whom Christ hath imparted power both ouer that mistycall Body which is the societie of soules, & ouer that natural which is himselfe for the knitting of both in one, (a worke which antiquitie doth call the making of Christs Body) the same

power

power is in ſuch not amiſſe both termed a kind of marke or Character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Miniſteriall power is a marke of ſeparation, becauſe it ſeuereth them that haue it from other men, and maketh them a ſpeciall *order* conſecrated vnto the ſeruice of the moſt High, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men, is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So *Tertullian* calleth them. And Saint *Paul* himſelfe diuiding the bodie of the Church of Chriſt into two moieties, nameth the one part Λαϊκὰς, which is as much as to ſay, the order of the Laitie, the oppoſite part whereunto wee in like ſort terme the order of Gods Clergie, and the ſpirituall power which he hath giuen them, the power of their *order*, ſo farre forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affaires of God. For of the Power of their iuriſdiction ouer mens perſons wee are to ſpeake in the bookes following. They which haue once receiued this power, may not thinke to put it off, and on, like a Cloke, as the weather ſerueth, to take it, reiect and reſume it as oft as themſelues liſt, of which prophane and impious contempt theſe latter times haue yeelded, as of all other kindes of iniquitie and Apoſtaſie, ſtrange examples, but let them know which put their hands vnto this plough, that once conſecrated vnto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for euer. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations vtterly cut off the vſe or exerciſe of power before giuen: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeparate and pull aſunder what God by his authoritie coupleth. So that although there may be through miſdeſert degradation, as there may be cauſe of iuſt ſeparation after Matrimony; yet if (as ſometime it doth) reſtitution to former dignitie, or reconciliation after breach doe happen, neither doth the one, nor the other euer iterate the firſt knot. Much leſſe is it neceſſarie, which ſome haue vrged, concerning the reordination of ſuch, as others in times more corrupt, did conſecrate heretofore. Which errour already queld by Saint *Ierome*, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I graunt there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance againe into roomes of ſpirituall function, whoſe fall by hereſie, or want of conſtancie in profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, hath beene once a diſgrace to their calling. Neuertheleſſe, as there is no law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould alwayes lead to ſhew one and the ſame ſeueritie towardes perſons culpable. Goodneſſe of nature it ſelfe more inclineth to clemencie then rigour. And we in other mens offences doe behold the plaine image of our owne imbecillitie. Beſides alſo them that wander out of the way, [b] it cannot be vnexpedient to winne withall hopes of fauour, leſt ſtrictneſſe vſed towards ſuch as reclaime themſelues, ſhould make others more obſtinate in error. Wherefore [c] after that the Church of *Alexandria* had ſomewhat recouered it ſelfe from the Tempeſts and ſtormes of Arrianiſme, being in conſultation about the reeſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had beene greatly decayed and hindred, the feruenter ſort gaue quicke ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergie, and had ſtained themſelues with hereſie, there ſhould bee none ſo receiued into the Church againe, as to continue in the order of the Clergie. The reſt which conſidered how many mens caſes it did concerne, thought it much more ſafe and conſonant

Tertull. de Adhort. Caſtit.

Heb. 2. 17.

Matth. 19.

b *In 12. tabulis cautum eſt, vt idem iuris eſſet ſanantibus quod fortibus, id eſt, bonis & qui nunquam defecerunt à populo Romano. Feſt. in ver. Sanates.*

c *Ruffin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. li. ca. 28.*

nant to bend somewhat downe towards them which were fallen, to shew severitie vpon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation, without any other demand saving onely the abiuration of their errour, as in the Gospell that wastfull yong man which returned home to his Fathers house, was with ioy both admitted and honoured; his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended so much for his owne fidelitie and vertue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whose vnexpected recouerie ought to haue blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanors and faults past. But of this sufficient. A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giuing Orders, is our vsing those memorable words of our Lord and Sauiour Christ, *Receiue the holy Ghost*. The holy Ghost they say wee cannot giue, and therefore wee [a] *foolishly* bid men receiue it. Wise men for their authorities sake must haue leaue to befoole them whome they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding, if it may please their wisedome as well to heare what fooles can say, is to controll that which they doe, thus we haue heard some wise men teach, namely, that the [b] *holy Ghost* may be vsed to signifie not the person alone, but the gifts of the holy Ghost, and wee know that spirituall gifts are not onely abilities to doe things miraculous, as to speake with tongues which were neuer taught vs, to cure diseases without art, and such like, but also that the very authority and power which is giuen men in the Church to be Ministers of holy things, this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the holy Ghost is authour, and therefore he which giueth this power, may say without absurditie or folly, *Receiue the holy Ghost*, such power as the Spirit of Christ hath indued his Church withall, such power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor *Cæsar* on earth can giue. So that if men alone had deuised this forme of speech, thereby to expresse the heauenly wel-spring of that power which Eccleſiasticall Ordinations doe bestow, it is not so fooliſh but that wisemen might beare with it. If then our Lord and Sauiour himselfe haue vsed the selfe same forme of words, and that in the selfe same kind of action, although there bee but the least shew of probabilitie, yea, or any possibilitie, that his meaning might bee the same which ours is, it should teach sober and graue men not to bee too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impossible to haue in it more profoundnesse of wisedome then flesh and bloud should presume to controll. Our Sauiour after his resurrection from the dead gaue his Apostles their Commission, saying. *All power is giuen me in Heauen and in Earth: Goe therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the holy Ghost, teaching them to obserue all things whatsoeuer I haue commanded you.* In summe, *As my Father sent me, so send I you.* Whereunto Saint *Iohn* doth adde farther, that *hauing thus spoken, he breathed on them and said, Receiue the holy Ghost.* By which words he must of likelihood vnderstand some gift of the Spirit which was presently at that time bestowed vpon them, as both the speech of actuall deliuerie in saying *Receiue*, and the visible signe thereof, his breathing, did shew. Absurde it were to imagine our Sauiour did both to the eare and also to the very eye expresse a reall donation, and they at that time receiue nothing. It resteth then that wee search what speciall grace they did

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[a] *Papisticus quidam ritus, stultè quidem abillis & sine vllo scripturæ fundamento institutus & à disciplinæ nostræ auctoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primùm iudicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Ecclesia nostra retinetur. Eccles. Anglic. discip. p. 53.*

[b] *Eccles. discip. fol. 52, p. 2. lin. 8*

Matth. 28. 18.

Iohn 20. 21.

at that time receiue. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, most apparent it is, that as then they receiued it not, but the promise thereof was to be shortly after performed. The words of Saint *Luke*, concerning that power, are therefore set downe with signification of the time to come, *Behold, I will send* the promise of my Father vpon you, but tarrie you in the Citie of Ierusalem, vntill yee be indued with power from on high. Wherefore, vndoubtedly, it was some other effect of the Spirit, the holy Ghost in some other kind which our Sauiour did then bestow. What other likelier then that which himselfe doth mention, as it should seeme of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to declare that the holy Ghost, which hee then gaue, was an holy and a ghostly Authoritie, authoritie ouer the soules of men, authoritie, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retaine sinnes? Receiue the holy Ghost, *Whose sinnes soeuer yee remit, they are remitted, whose sinnes yee retaine, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Euangelists had set downe, that Christ did before his suffering, promise to giue his Apostles the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, and being risen from the dead, promised moreouer at that time a miraculous power of the holy Ghost: Saint *Iohn* addeth, that he also inuested them euen then with the power of the holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin, wherin was fully accomplished that which the promise of the Keyes did import. Seeing therefore that the same power is now giuen, why should the same forme of words expressing it be thought foolish? The cause why we breathe not as Christ did on them vnto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor spiritual authoritie may be thought to proceed from vs, which are but delegates or assignes to giue men possession of his graces. Now besides that the power and authoritie deliuered with those words is it selfe χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow, we may most assuredly perswade our selues, that the hand which imposeth vpon vs the function of our Ministery, doth vnder the same forme of words so tie it selfe thereunto, that he which [a] receiueth the burthen, is thereby for euer warranted to haue the Spirit with him, and in him for his assistance, aide, countenance and support in whatsoeuer hee faithfully doth to discharge dutie. Knowing therefore that when we take Ordination, we also receiue the presence of the holy Ghost, partly to guide, direct, and strengthen vs in all our wayes, and partly to assume vnto it selfe for the more authoritie, those actions that appertaine to our place and calling, can our eares admit such a speech vttered in the reuerend performance of that solemnitie, or can wee at any time renew the memory, and enter into serious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and ioy? Remoue what these foolish words doe imply, and what hath the Ministerie of God besides wherein to glorie? Whereas now for as much as the holy Ghost, which our Sauiour in his first ordinations gaue, doth no lesse concurre with spirituall vocations throughout all ages, then the Spirit which God deriued from *Moses* to them that assisted him in his gouernment, did descend from them to their successors in like authoritie and place, we haue for the least and meanest duties performed by vertue of Ministeriall power, that, to dignifie, grace and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether wee preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemne, giue abso-

Luke 24. 49.

Iohn 20. 23.

[a] *Et si necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est tamen gaudere de dono: quoniã quicunque mihi ouerie est autor, ipse fiet administrationis adiutor, & ne magnitudine gratiæ succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem* Leo serm. 1. in Anniuer. die A. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐδέετο ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον διακονίας τάξεως Greg. Nazian. *Numb.* 11. 17.

abſolution, or whatſoeuer, as diſpoſers of Gods myſteries, our words, iudgements, acts and deeds, are not ours but the holy Ghoſts. Enough if vnfainedly and in heart wee did beleeue it, enough to baniſh whatſoeuer may iuſtly be thought corrupt, either in beſtowing, or in vſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe then is meete. For prophanely to beſtow, or looſly to vſe, or vilely to eſteeme of the holy Ghoſt, we in all ſhew and profeſſion abhorre. Now becauſe the Miniſterie is an office of dignitie and honour; ſome are doubtfull whether any man may ſeeke for it without offence, or to ſpeake more properly, doubtfull they are not, but rather bold to accuſe our Diſcipline in this reſpect, as not only permitting, but requiring alſo ambitious ſutes & other oblique wayes or meanes whereby to obtaine it. Againſt this they pleade, that our Sauiour did ſtay till his Father ſent him, and the Apoſtles till bee them; that the ancient Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were examples and patternes of the ſame modeſtie. Whereupon in the end they inferre, *Let vs therefore at the length amend that cuſtome of repairing from all parts vnto the Biſhop at the day of Ordination, and of ſeeking to obtaine Orders, let the cuſtome of bringing commendatorie Letters be remooued; let men keepe themſelues at home, expecting there the voice of God, and the authoritie of ſuch as may call them to vndertake charge.* Thus ſeuerely they cenſure and controll ambition, if it be ambition which they take vpon them to reprehend. For of that there is cauſe to doubt. Ambition, as we vnderſtand it, hath beene accounted a vice which ſeeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious minds eſteeming it their greateſt happineſſe to be admired, reuerenced and adored aboue others, vſe all meanes lawfull and vnlawfull which may bring them to high roomes. But as for the power of order conſidered by it ſelfe, and as in this caſe it muſt be conſidered, ſuch reputation it hath in the eye of this preſent World, that they which affect it, rather need encouragement to beare contempt, then deſerue blame as men that carrie aſpiring minds. The worke whereunto this power ſerueth is commended, and the deſire thereof allowed by the Apoſtle for good. Neuertheleſſe becauſe the burthen thereof is heauie and the charge great, it commeth many times to paſſe, that the minds euen of vertuous men are drawne into cleane contrarie affections, ſome in humilitie declining that by reaſon of hardneſſe, which others in regard of goodneſſe onely doe with feruent alacritie couet. So that there is not the leaſt degree in this ſeruice, but it may be both [a] in reuerence ſhunned and of very deuotion longed for. If then the deſire thereof may be holy, religious, and good, may not the profeſſion of that deſire bee ſo likewiſe? Wee are not to thinke it ſo long good as it is diſſembled, and euill if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may bee opened without ambition, what offence, I beſeech you, is there in opening it, there where it may be furthered and ſatisfied, in caſe they to whom it appertaineth thinke meete? In vaine are thoſe deſires allowed, the accompliſhment whereof it is not lawfull for men to ſeeke. Power therefore of Eccleſiaſticall order may bee deſired, the deſire thereof may bee profeſſed, they which profeſſe themſelues that way inclined, may endeuour

Author libel. de diſcipl. Eccleſiaſt.

1. *Tim.* 3. 1.

[a] τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἀναχωροῦν ἱερέως ἕνεκα πάντως εἰς ἐνίους ἀνάγκη ἢ προφάσεως ἢ χάρις πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς μὲν εἰξάσας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει τοὺς δὲ ἀνακαλουμένους τὸ χάρισμα ἢ οὐδετέρων μιμητέον οὔτε τῶν ὑπεξελθόντων τὴν διακονίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν, οἱ μετὰ γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μίσος ἐνελάβοσαν, οἱ δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ πίστει ἐπολέμησαν, Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

to bring their deſires to effect, and in all this no neceſſitie of euill. Is it the bringing of teſtimoniall letters wherein ſo great obliquitie conſiſteth? What more ſimple, more plaine, more harmeleſſe, more agreeable with the law of common humanitie, then that men where they are not knowne, vſe for their eaſier acceſſe the credit of ſuch as can beſt giue teſtimonie of them? Letters of any other conſtruction our Church Diſcipline alloweth not, and theſe to allow, is neither to require ambitious ſuings, nor to approue any indirect or vnlawfull act. The Prophet *Eſay* receiuing his meſſage at the hands of God, and his charge by heauenly viſion, heard the voyce of the Lord, ſaying, *Whome ſhall I ſend? who ſhall goe for vs?* Whereunto he recordeth his owne anſwere, *Then I ſaid, Heere Lord I am, ſend me.* Which in effect is the rule and Canon whereby touching this poynt the very order of the Church is framed. The appoyntment of times for ſolemne ordination, is but the publique demaund of the Church in the name of the Lord himſelfe, *Whome ſhall I ſend, Who ſhall goe for vs?* The confluence of men, whoſe inclinations are bent that way, is but the anſwere thereunto, whereby the labours of ſundrie being offred, the Church hath freedome to take whom her agents in ſuch caſe thinke meete and requiſite. As for the example of our Sauiour Chriſt, who tooke not to himſelfe this honour to bee made our high Prieſt, but receiued the ſame from him which ſaid; *Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedec*, his waiting, and not attempting to execute the office till God ſaw conuenient time, may ſerue in reproofe of vſurped humours, for as much as wee ought not of our owne accord to aſſume dignities, whereunto wee are not called as Chriſt was. But yet it ſhould bee withall conſidered, that a proud vſurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingneſſe to obtaine admittance; which willingneſſe of minde, I ſuppoſe, did not want in him whoſe anſwere was to the voyce of his heauenly calling, *Behold I am come to doe thy will.* And had it beene for him, as it is for vs, expedient to receiue his commiſſion ſigned with the hands of men, to ſeeke it, might better haue beſeemed his humilitie, then it doth our boldneſſe, to reprehend them of Pride and Ambition, that make no worſe kind of ſutes then by letters of information. Himſelfe in calling his Apoſtles preuented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be ſaid of them, *Ye choſe not mee, but I of mine owne voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kind of vndeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſticall places, befell diuers of the moſt famous amongſt the ancient Fathers of the Church in a cleane contrarie conſideration. For our Sauiours election reſpected not any merit or worth, but tooke them which were fartheſt off from likelihood of fitneſſe, that afterwardes their ſupernaturall abilitie and performance, beyond hope, might cauſe the greater admiration, whereas in the other, meere admiration of their ſingular and rare vertues was the reaſon why honours were inforced vpon them, which they of meekneſſe and modeſtie did what they could to auoid. But did they euer iudge it a thing vnlawfull to wiſh or deſire the Office, the onely charge and bare Function of the Miniſterie? Towards which labour, what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage, ſaying, *He which deſireth it, is deſirous of a good worke?* What

Eſay 6.8.

Heb.5.5.

Heb.10.8.

doth

doth he elſe by ſuch ſentences but ſtirre, kindle and inflame ambition, if I may terme that deſire ambition, which coueteth more to teſtifie loue by painefulneſſe in Gods ſeruice, then to reape any other benefit? Although of the very honour it ſelfe, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours, for more encouragement of mans induſtrie, we are not ſo to conceiue neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Only as the Wiſeman Eccleſ. 7. 6. giueth counſell: *Seeke not to be made a Iudge, leſt thou be not able to take away iniquitie, and leſt thou fearing the perſon of the mighty, ſhouldeſt commit an offence against thine vprightneſſe*, ſo it alwayes behoueth men to take good heed, leſt affection to that, which hath in it as well difficultie as goodneſſe, ſophiſticate the true and ſincere iudgement which before-hand they ought to haue of their owne abilitie, for want whereof, many forward minds haue found in ſtead of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardneſſe of things in themſelues moſt excellent cooleth the feruencie of mens deſires, vnleſſe there bee ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculatiue knowledge doth by things which wee ſenſibly perceiue conduct to that which is in nature more certaine though leſſe ſenſible, and the method of vertuous actions is alſo to traine beginners at the firſt by things acceptable vnto the taſte of naturall appetite, till our mindes at the length be ſetled to imbrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, meerely and wholly for their owne ſakes) howſoeuer inordinate deſires doe heereby take occaſion to abuſe the politie of God and Nature, either affecting without worth; or procuring by vnſeemely meanes that which was inſtituted, and ſhould be reſerued for better minds to obtaine by more approued courſes, in which conſideration the Emperours *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practices that ancient famous Conſtitution, wherein they haue theſe ſentences, *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or vpon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo far ſequeſtred from all ambition, that they which aduance him might be faine to ſearch where he hideth himſelfe, to intreat him drawing backe, and to follow him till importunitie haue made him yeeld, let nothing promote him but his excuſes to auoid the burthen, they are vnworthy of that vocation which are not thereunto brought vnwillingly*; notwithſtanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition, to traduce and draw into hatred euery poore requeſt or ſute wherein men may ſeeme to affect honour; ſeeing that ambition and modeſtie doe not alwayes ſo much differ in the marke they ſhoot at, as in the manner of their proſecutions. Yea euen in this may be errour alſo, if wee ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbeare to ſtirre either hand or foote towards their owne preferments. For there are that make an Idoll of their great ſufficiencie, and becauſe they ſurmize the place ſhould bee happie that might enioy them, they walke euery where like graue Pageants, obſeruing whether men doe not wonder why ſo ſmall account is made of ſo rare worthineſſe, and in caſe any other mans aduancement bee mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the maruailous folly of the world, which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelues. Seeing therefore that ſutes after ſpirituall functions may bee as ambitiouſly forborne as proſecuted, it remaineth that the [a] eueneſt line of moderation betweene both is neither to follow them, *without*

a Μέσος ἰσμὶ τις τῶν τοιούτων ὁδὸς τολμηρᾶς καὶ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσας ἐωσῶσαν προσαγωγὰς δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ φυγόντων πάσας θαρσαλεώτερος. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

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conſcience, nor of *pride*; to withdraw our ſelues vtterly from them.

78 It pleaſeth Almightie God to chooſe to himſelfe, for diſcharge of the * legall Miniſterie, one only Tribe out of twelue others, the Tribe of *Leui*, not all vnto euery diuine ſeruice, but *Aaron* and his ſonnes to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified Tribe to another. With what ſolemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors the high Prieſts aſcended euery Sabbath and feſtiuall day, offered, and miniſtred in the Temple; with what ſinne offering once euery yeere they reconciled firſt themſelues and their owne houſe, afterwards the people vnto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of *Iſrael*, laid all their treſpaſſes vpon the head of a ſacred Goate, and ſo carried them out of the Citie; how they purged the holy place from all vncleanenеſſe, with what reuerence they entred within the Vaile, preſented themſelues before the Mercie Seate, and conſulted with the Oracle of God: What ſeruice the other Prieſts did continually in the holy place, how they miniſtred about the Lamps Morning and Euening; how euery Sabbath they placed on the Table of the Lord thoſe twelue loaues with pure incenſe, in perpetuall remembrance of that mercie which the Fathers, the twelue Tribes had found by the prouidence of God for their food, when hunger cauſed them to leaue their naturall ſoyle, and to ſeeke for ſuſtenance in Egypt; how they imployed themſelues in ſacrifice day by day; finally, what offices the Leuites diſcharged, and what duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into, if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other ancient Records doe mention. Beſides theſe, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time ſome cald of God as Prophets, fore-ſhewing them things to come, and giuing them counſell in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen of men to reade, ſtudie, and interpret the Law of God, as the Sonnes or Schollers of the old Prophets, in whoſe roome afterwards Scribes and Expounders of the Law ſucceeded. And becauſe where ſo great varietie is, if there ſhould be equalitie, confuſion would follow, the Leuits were in all their ſeruice at the appointment and direction of the ſonnes of *Aaron*, or Prieſts, they ſubiect to the principall guides and leaders of their owne Order, and they all in obedience vnder the High Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it ſelfe in the very titles, that men for honours ſake gaue vnto them, terming *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors, High or great; the ancients ouer the companies of Prieſts, Arch-Prieſts; Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and interpreters of the Law, Maſters. Touching the Miniſtery of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, the whole Bodie of the Church being diuided into Laitie and Cleargie, the Cleargie are either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather terme the one ſort Presbyters then a Prieſts, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their eares, to whom the name of Prieſthood is odious, though without cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from another by thoſe true eſſentiall formes, which being really and actually

Of Degrees, whereby the power of Order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.

* Πρὸς δ' ἱερατείαν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἃς πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων τιμὴν ἀναφέροντας. Philo p. 297.

a T. C. l. 1. p. 198 For ſo much as the common & vſuall ſpeech of England is to note by the word *Prieſt* not a Miniſter of the Goſpell, but a *Sacrificer* which the Miniſter of the Goſpel is not, therefore wee ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpel *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech, it appeareth by all the Engliſh Tranſlations, which tranſlate alwayes ἱερεῖς, which were ſacrificers, *Prieſts*, and doe not of the other ſide, for any that euer I read, tranſlate πρεσβύτερον a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with vs, and in our Tongue, doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts iudgement, in reſpect of their abominable Maſſe, and alſo by the iudgment of the Proteſtants, in reſpect of the Beaſts which were offered in the Law, *a ſacrificing Office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpell neither doth nor can execute, it is manifeſt that it cannot be without great offence ſo vſed.

ally in them, doe not onely giue them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their naturall perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and roote whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend: ſo if they that firſt doe impoſe names, did alwayes vnderſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the termes of vulgar ſpeech, wee ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelues moſt properly are. But becauſe wordes haue ſo many Artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto wee apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not alwayes apparent, what the firſt inuentors reſpected, much leſſe what euery mans inward conceit is which vſeth their words. For any thing my ſelfe can diſcerne herein, I ſuppoſe, that they which haue bent their ſtudie to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, doe for the moſt part find that names aduiſedly giuen, had either regard vnto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps, to ſome other ſpecialtie, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular vſe of wordes, that which the wiſedome of their inuentors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceiued in groſſe, as may appeare in that if you aske of the common ſort what any certaine word, for example, what a Prieſt doth ſignifie, their manner is not to anſwere a Prieſt is a Clergie-man which offereth ſacrifice to God, but they ſhew ſome particular perſon, whom they vſe to call by that name. And if wee liſt to deſcend to Grammar, wee are told by Maſters in thoſe Schooles, that the word *Prieſt* hath his right place ἐπί τῶ φιλῶς προεστῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ θεοῦ, in him whoſe meere function or charge is the ſeruice of God. Howbeit becauſe the moſt eminent part both of *Heatheniſh* and *Iewiſh* ſeruice did conſiſt in ſacrifice, when learned men declare what the word Prieſt doth properly ſignifie, *according to the minde of the firſt impoſer* of that name, their ordinary [a] Schooles doe well expound it to imply ſacrifice. Seeing then that ſacrifice is now no part of the Church-Miniſterie, how ſhould the name of Prieſthood be thereunto rightly applyed? Surely euen as Saint *Paul* applyeth the name of [b] *fleſh* vnto that very ſubſtance of fiſhes which hath a proportionable correſpondence to fleſh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon when Philoſophers will ſpeake warily, they [c] make a difference betweene fleſh in one ſort of liuing creatures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogie to fleſh: the Apoſtle contrariwiſe hauing matter of greater importance whereof to ſpeake, nameth indifferently both fleſh. The Fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſecuritie of ſpeech call vſually the Miniſterie of the Goſpell *Prieſthood*, in regard of that which the Goſpell hath *proportionable* to ancient ſacrifices, namely the *Communion* of the bleſſed bodie and bloud of Chriſt, although it haue properly now no ſacrifice. As for the people, when they heare the name, it draweth no more *their mindes* to any cogitation of ſacrifice, then the name of a Senator or of an Alderman, cauſeth them to thinke vpon old age, or to imagine that euery one ſo termed muſt needes bee ancient, becauſe yeeres were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore to paſſe by the name, let them vſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a Prieſthood, a Preſbyterſhip, or a Miniſterie, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeeme more

Etymol. mag.

a ἱερεῦσαι θυσιάσαι. Heſy. Chriſtus homo dicitur, quia natus eſt Prophetа quia futura reuelauit; ſacerdos, quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit Iſid. Orig. lib. 7. cap. 2.

b 1. Cor. 15. 39.

c Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν τι τὸ διοθυτήριον τὸ τῶν ἀνωνύμων ἀστικὸν, πότερον ἡ σὰρξ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον, ἢ οὐ. Ariſt. de Anim. lib. 2. c. 11.

fit

fit, and in proprietie of ſpeech more agreeable then *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For what are they that imbrace the Goſpell but ſonnes of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore wee receiue the Adoption and ſtate of Sonnes by their miniſtérie whom God hath choſen out for that purpoſe, ſeeing alſo that when we are the ſonnes of God, our continuance is ſtill vnder their care which were our Progenitors, what better title could there bee giuen them then the reuerend name of *Preſbyters*, or fatherly guides? The holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the new Teſtament, making ſo much mention of them, doth not any where call them Prieſts. The Prophet *Eſay*, I grant, doth, but in ſuch ſort as the ancient Fathers by way of analogy. *A Presbyter*, according to the proper meaning of the new Teſtamēt, *is he, vnto whom our Sauior Chriſt hath communicated the power of ſpirituall procreation.* Out of the twelue Patriarkes iſſued the whole multude of *Iſrael* according to the fleſh. And according to the myſterie of heauenly birth, our Lords Apoſtles wee all acknowledge to bee the Patriarkes of his whole Church. Saint *Iohn* therefore beheld ſitting about the throne of God in heauen[a] foure and twentie Presbyters, the one halfe Fathers of the old, [b]the other of the new Ieruſalem. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gaue themſelues the ſame title, albeit that name were not proper, but common vnto them with others. For of Presbytes, ſome were greater, ſome leſſe in power, and that by our Sauiours owne appointment; the greater they which receiued fulneſſe of ſpirituall power, the leſſe they to whom leſſe was graunted. The Apoſtles peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto all Nations, and to deliuer them his Ordinances receiued by *immediate reuelation from himſelfe.* Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices & duties incident into their order, it was in them to ordayne and conſecrate whom ſoeuer they thought meete, euen as our Sauiour did himſelfe aſſigne ſeuentie others of his own Diſciples inferior Presbyters, whoſe commiſſion to preach and baptize, was the ſame which the Apoſtles had. Whereas therefore wee finde, that the very firſt Sermon which the Apoſtles did publikly make, was the conuerſion of aboue three thouſand ſoules, vnto whom there were euery day more and more added, they hauing no open place permitted them for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, thinke wee that twelue were ſufficient to teach and adminiſter Sacraments in ſo many priuate places, as ſo great a multitude of people did require? This harueſt, our Sauiour (no doubt) foreſeeing, prouided acoordingly Labourers for it before hand. By which meane it came to paſſe, that the growth of that Church being ſo great and ſo ſuddaine, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſſe Presbytets enow to furniſh it. And therefore the hiſtorie doth make no mention by what occaſion Presbyters were inſtituted in Ieruſalem, onely wee reade of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſewhere. To theſe two degrees appointed of our Lord and Sauiour, Chriſt his Apoſtles ſoone after anexed Deacons, Deacons therefore muſt know, ſaith *Cyprian*, that our Lord himſelfe did elect Apoſtles, but Deacons after his aſcention into heauen the Apoſtles ordayned. Deacons were Stewards of the Church, vnto whom at the firſt was committed the diſtribution of Church goods, the care of prouiding therewith for the

a *Reuel.* 4. 4.
b *Reuel.* 21. 14. *Matt.* 19. 28. 1. *Pet.* 5. 1.

Eſay 66. 21.

τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν δ᾽ ὑπερδόξως νομοθέτας, *Dionyſ. Areop. p.* 110

Act. 2. 41, 47.

Cyp. Ep. 9. *l.* 3. *ad Rogatianum.*

the poore, and the charge to ſee that all things of expence might bee religiouſly and faithfully dealt in. A part alſo of their Office, was attendance vpon their Presbyters at the time of Diuine Seruice. For which cauſe *Ignatius*, to ſet forth the dignitie of their calling, ſaith, that they are in ſuch caſe to the Biſhop, as if Angelicall powers did ſerue him. Theſe onely being the vſes for which Deacons were firſt made, if the Church haue ſithence extended their Miniſterie further than the circuit of their labour at the firſt was drawne, wee are not herein to thinke the ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appeare ſome prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that libertie. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it ſeemeth a thing ſo monſtrous, that Deacons ſhould ſometime bee licenſed to preach, whoſe inſtitution was at the firſt to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their owne vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth vnto others, it is very hard. For when they are there vnto once admitted, it is a part of their owne vocation, it appertayneth now vnto them as well as others, neither is it intruſion for them to doe it being in ſuch ſort called, but rather in vs it were temeritie to blame them for doing it. Suppoſe wee the office of teaching to bee ſo repugnant vnto the office of Deaconſhip, that they cannot concurre in one and the ſame perſon? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apoſtles did not firſt diſcharge being Teachers? Yea, but the Apoſtles found the burthen of Teaching ſo heauie, that they iudged it meete to cut off that other charge, and to haue Deacons, which might vndertake it. Be it ſo. The multitude of Chriſtians increaſing in Ieruſalem, & waxing great, it was too much for the Apoſtles to teach, and to miniſter vnto Tables alſo. The former was not to bee ſlacked, that this latter might bee followed. Therefore vnto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiome, that when the ſubiect wherein one mans labours of ſundrie kindes are imployed, doth waxe ſo great, that the ſame men are no longer able to manage it ſufficiently as before, the moſt naturall way to helpe this, is, by diuiding their charge into ſlipes & ordayning of vnder-officers, as our Sauiour vnder twelue Apoſtles, ſeuentie Presbyters, and the Apoſtles by his example ſeuen Deacons to be vnder both. Neither ought it to ſeeme leſſe reaſonable, that when the ſame men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they doe, and alſo to vndertake ſomewhat more, a combination bee admitted in this caſe; as well as diuiſion in the former. Wee may not therefore diſallow it in the Church of Geneua, that *Caluin* and *Beza* were made both Paſtors and Readers in Diuinitie, being men ſo able to diſcharge both. To ſay they did not content themſelues with their Paſtoral vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alleage againſt them, *Hee that exhorteth in exhortation*, as againſt vs, *Hee that diſtributeth in ſimplicitie*, is alleaged in great diſlike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient cuſtome of the Church, was to yeeld the poore much reliefe, eſpecially widdowes. But as poore people are alwaies querulous and apt to thinke themſelues leſſe reſpected then they ſhould be, we ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hinderance to their waightier buſineſſe,

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Trall.

Rom. 12. 8.

yet

yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little, the Grecian Widdowes ſhorter Commons then the Hebrewes. By meanes whereof the Apoſtles ſaw it meete to ordaine Deacons. Now tract of time hauing cleane worne out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other Seruices, and ſo remaine as at this preſent day, a degree in the Clergie of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeuen Deacons were choſen out of the ſeuentie Diſciples, is an errour in *Epiphanius*. For to draw men from places of waightier, vnto roomes of meaner labour, had not beene fit. The Apoſtles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedome, committed the Miniſterie of Tables vnto Deacons. And ſhall we thinke they iudged it expedient to chooſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeuentie to bee Miniſters vnto Tables, when Chriſt himſelfe had before made them Teachers? it appeareth therefore, how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order haue continued in the Church of Chriſt, the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Preſbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch men as hauing otherwiſe learned the Goſpell had from aboue beſtowed vpon them a ſpeciall gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreſhewing things to come. Of this ſort *Agabus* was, and beſides him in Ieruſalem ſundry others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergie, becauſe no mans gifts or qualities can make him a Miniſter of holy things, vnleſſe Ordination doe giue him power. And we no where find Prophets to haue beene made by Ordination, but all whom the Church did ordaine, were either to ſerue as Presbyters or as Deacons. Euangeliſts were Presbyters of principall ſufficiencie, whom the Apoſtles ſent abroad, and vſed as Agents in Eccleſiaſticall affaires whereſoeuer they ſaw need. They whom wee find to haue beene named in Scripture, Euangeliſts, [m] *Ananias*, [n] *Apollos*, [o] *Timothy*, and others were thus imployed. And concerning Euangeliſts, afterwards in *Traians* dayes, the Hiſtory Eccleſiaſticall noteth that many of the Apoſtles, Diſciples and Schollers which were then aliue, and did with ſingular loue of Wiſedome affect the Heauenly Word of God, to ſhew their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all required at the hands of men, they ſold their Poſſeſſions, gaue them to the poore, and betaking themſelues to trauaile, vndertooke the labour of Euangeliſts, that is, they painfully preached Chriſt, and deliuered the Goſpell to them, who as yet had neuer heard the Doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and Teachers, what other were they then Presbyters alſo, howbeit ſetled in ſome certaine charge, and thereby differing from Euangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which haue hitherto troubled the Church with queſtion, about Degrees and Offices of Eccleſiaſticall calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelues vpon two places, that all partialitie laid aſide, they would ſincerely waigh and examine whether they haue not miſ-interpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incompatible Offices, where nothing is meant but ſundry graces, gifts and abilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of Corinth, his words are theſe, *God placed in the Church, firſt of all, ſome Apoſtles; Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers; after them*

Epiph. l. 1. c. 21.

Acts 21. 10.
Acts 11. 27.

m *Acts 9. 18.*
n *Acts 18. 24.*
o *2. Tim. 4. 5, 9.*
1. Tim. 3. 15. 5. 14. 2. 8.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 3. c. 34.

1. Cor. 12. 28.

powers

powers, then gifts of Cures, Aides, Gouernments, kinds of Languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Haue all grace to cure? Doe all ſpeake with Tongues? Can all interpret? But be you deſirous of the better graces. They which plainly diſcerne firſt, that ſome *one generall* thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here diuide into all theſe branches, and doe ſecondly conceiue that generall to be Church-offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no meanes poſſibly denie but that many of theſe might concurre in one man, and peraduenture, in ſome one all, which mixture notwithſtanding, their forme of Diſcipline doth moſt ſhunne. On the otherſide, admit that *Communicants of ſpeciall infuſed grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Chriſt, are here ſpoken of, which was in truth the plaine drift of that whole Diſcourſe, and ſee if euery thing doe not anſwere in due place with that fitneſſe, which ſheweth eaſily what is likelieſt to haue been meant. For why are Apoſtles the firſt, but becauſe vnto them was granted the Reuelation of all Truth from Chriſt immediately, Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame manner? Teachers the next, becauſe whatſoeuer was knowne to them it came by hearing, yet God withall made them able to inſtruct, which euery one could not doe that was taught. After Gifts of Edification there follow generall abilities to worke things aboue Nature, Grace to cure men of bodily Diſeaſes, Supplies againſt occurrent Defects and Impediments, Dexterities to gouerne and direct by Counſell; Finally, Aptneſſe to ſpeake or interprete Forraine Tongues. Which Graces not powred out equally, but diuerſly ſorted and giuen, were a cauſe why not onely they all did furniſh vp the whole Body, but each benefit and helpe other. Againe, the ſame Apoſtle other-where in like ſort, *To euerie one of vs is giuen grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith, When he aſcended vp on high, hee led Captiuity captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men. He therefore gaue ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Euangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the worke of the Miniſtery, for the edification of the Body of Chriſt.* In this place none but gifts of inſtruction are expreſt. And becauſe of Teachers ſome were Euangeliſts which neither had any part of their knowledge by Reuelation as the Prophets, and yet in abilitie to teach were farre beyond other Paſtors, they are, as hauing receiued one way leſſe then Prophets, and another way more then Teachers, ſet accordingly betweene both. For the Apoſtle doth in neither place reſpect what any of them were by Office or power giuen them through Ordination, but what by Grace they all had obtained through miraculous infuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. For in Chriſtian Religion, this being the ground of our whole Beliefe, that the promiſes which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderfull Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghoſt, wherewith the Raigne of the true *Meſſias* ſhould be made glorious, were immediately after our Lords Aſcenſion performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apoſtles did take more often occaſion to ſpeake. Out of men thus indued with gifts of the Spirit vpon their Conuerſion to Chriſtian Faith, the Church had her Miniſters choſen, vnto whom was giuen Eccleſiaſticall power by Ordination. Now, becauſe the Apoſtle in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace, doth

Ephes. 4. 7. Pſal. 68. 18.

men-

mention Paſtors and Teachers, although hee mention them not in reſpect of their Ordination to exerciſe the Miniſterie, but as examples of men eſpecially enricht with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, diuers learned and skilfull men haue ſo taken it, as if thoſe places did intend to teach what Orders of Eccleſiaſticall perſons there ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which thing wee are not to learne from thence, but out of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it cleerly appeareth, that Churches Apoſtolike did know but three degrees in the power of Eccleſiaſticall Order, at the firſt Apoſtles, Presbyters, and Deacons, afterwards in ſtead of Apoſtles, Biſhops, concerning whoſe order wee are to ſpeake in the ſeuenth Booke. There is an errour which beguileth many who much intangle both themſelues and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Seruices*, *Offices* and *Orders* Eccleſiaſticall, the firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may be executed by the Laitie, whereas none haue, or can haue the third but the Clergie. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature onely of their labours and paines be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeeme Clergie-men, euen as the Fathers for that cauſe tearme them vſually Clerkes, as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained vp, which was to be ordered when yeeres and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laitie longer then during that worke of Seruice, which at any time they might giue ouer, being thereunto but admitted, not tyed by irreuocable Ordination, we find them alwayes exactly ſeuered from that body whereof thoſe three before rehearſed Orders alone are naturall parts. Touching Widowes, of whom ſome men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as Saint *Paul* deſcribeth may be gotten, wee ought to retaine them in the Church for euer, certaine meane Seruices there were of Attendance, as about Women, at the time of their Baptiſme, about the bodies of the ſicke and dead, about the neceſſities of Trauailers, Wayfaring men and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly vſe them when need required, becauſe they liued of the Almes of the Church, and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes. Saint *Paul* doth therefore, to auoid ſcandall, require that none but Women well experienced and vertuouſly giuen, neither any vnder threeſcore yeeres of age ſhould be admitted of that number. Widowes were neuer in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as Virgins. But ſeeing neither of them did or could receiue Ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſticall perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order ſpecified and no moe. *When your Captaines* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that is to ſay, the Deacons, Presbyters and Biſhops flye, who ſhall teach the Laitie, that they muſt be conſtant?* Againe, *What ſhould I mention Laymen* (ſaith *Optatus*) *yea, or diuers of the Miniſtery it ſelfe? To what purpoſe Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, when the very Heads and Princes of all, euen certaine of the Biſhops themſelues* were content to redeeme life with the loſſe of Heauen? Heaps of allegations in a caſe ſo euident and plaine are needleſſe. I may ſecurely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England, no other then the ſame degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order, namely, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt, and his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelues. As for Deanes,

T. C. l. 1. p. 191. 1. Tim. 5. 9.

Tertull. de Præſcript.

Optat. lib. 1.

Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Arch-deacons, Chancelors, Officials, Commiſſaries, and ſuch other the like names, which being not found in holy Scripture, we haue beene thereby through ſome mens errour thought to allow of Eccleſiaſticall Degrees not knowne, nor euer heard of in the better Ages of former times, all theſe are in truth but Titles of Office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and partly others are in ſundry formes and conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need, Degrees of Order, ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now, what habit or attire doth beſeeme each order to vſe in the courſe of common life, both, for the grauitie of his place, and for example ſake, to other men is a matter friuolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of Wiſdome may ſerue to teach them how they ſhould cut their Coats. But ſeeing all well ordered Polities haue euer iudged it meete and fit by certaine ſpeciall diſtinct Ornaments to ſeuer each ſort of men from other when they are in publike, to the end that all may receiue ſuch Complements of Ciuill Honour, as are due to their Roomes and Callings, euen where their perſons are not knowne, it argueth a diſproportioned minde in them, whom ſo decent Orders diſpleaſe.

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religiõ, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certaine and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-liuings be made fruſtrate.

79 Wee might ſomewhat maruaile, what the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſhould meane to ſay that Couetouſneſſe is Idolatrie, if the daily practice of men did not ſhew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, wee honour for the moſt part wealth as God. Faine we would teach our ſelues to beleeue, that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally and honeſtly to vſe them to our owne benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we goe a degree farther, and perhaps conuert ſome ſmall contemptible Portion thereof to Charitable vſes, the whole dutie which we owe vnto God herein is fully ſatiſfied. But for as much as wee cannot rightly honour God, vnleſſe both our Soules and Bodies be ſometime imployed meerely in his Seruice; againe, ſith wee know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our liues quite and cleane from our owne buſineſſe, and the beſtowing of the ſame in his, ſuppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediately due to God, but all our owne to beſtow and ſpend as our ſelues thinke meet? Are not our riches as well his as the dayes of our life are his? Wherefore, vnleſſe with part wee acknowledge his Supreme Dominion, by whoſe benеuolence we haue the whole, how giue wee Honour to whom Honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are Gods? I would know what Nation in the World did euer Honour God, and not thinke it a point of their dutie to doe him honour with their very goods. So that this wee may boldly ſet downe as a Principle cleere in Nature, an Axiome which ought not to be called in queſtion, a Truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honour God with their ſubſtance, in token of thankfull acknowledgement that all they haue is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by ſpending them in lawfull manner, and by vſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelues ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof, and by offering vp the ſame to him as a ſigne that wee gladly confeſſe his ſole and Soueraigne Dominion ouer all, is a dutie which all men are bound vnto, and a part of that very Worſhip of God, which as the Law of God

and

and Nature it ſelfe requireth, ſo wee are the rather to thinke all men no leſſe ſtrictly bound thereunto then to any other naturall dutie, in as much as the hearts of men doe ſo cleaue to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſway they haue in the World, impute them ſo generally either to Nature or to Chance and Fortune, ſo little thinke vpon the Grace and Prouidence from which they come, that vnleſſe by a kind of continuall tribute wee did acknowledge Gods Dominion, it may be doubted that in ſhort time men would learne to forget whoſe Tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their owne abſolute, free and independent inheritance. Now, concerning the kind or qualitie of gifts which God receiueth in that ſort, wee are to conſider them, partly as firſt they proceed from vs, and partly as afterwards they are to ſerue for diuine vſes. In that they are teſtimonies of our affection towardes God, there is no doubt, but ſuch they ſhould be as beſeemeth moſt his Glorie to whom wee offer them. In this reſpect the fatneſſe of *Abels* ſacrifice is commended, the flower of all mens increaſe aſſigned to God by *Salomon*, the gifts and donations of the people reiected as oft as their cold affection to Godward made their preſents to bee little worth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they vnto their Gods did not thinke they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure* or *vnſound*, or *already giuen*, or elſe *not truely their owne to giue*. Againe, in regard of vſe, for as much as we know that God hath himſelfe no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them becauſe it is our good to bee ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to haue them vſed for the endleſſe continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controuerſie, but that wee in the choice of our gifts are to leuell at the ſame marke, and to frame our ſelues to his knowne intents and purpoſes. Whether we giue vnto God therefore that which himſelfe by commandement requireth; or that which the publike conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which euery mans priuate deuotion doth beſt like, in as much as the gift which wee offer, proceedeth not onely as a teſtimonie of our affection towards Gods, but alſo as a meane to vphold Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the helpe of temporall commodities: if all men be taught of Nature to wiſh, and as much as in them lieth, to procure the perpetuitie of good things; if for that very cauſe we honour and admire their wiſedome, who hauing beene founders of Common-weales, could deuiſe how to make the benefit they left behinde them durable; if eſpecially in this reſpect wee preferre *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the Spartan before the Athenian politie, it muſt needes follow, that as wee doe vnto God very acceptable ſeruice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our ſeruice that way is then moſt acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuitie. The firſt permanent donations of honour in this kind are Temples. Which workes doe ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the World was in loue with Religion, it gaue to no ſort greater reuerence then to whom it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the men that haue built vs Synagogues*. But of Churches we haue ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the ornaments of Churches, memorials which mens deuotion hath added to remayne in the treaſure of Gods houſe, not one-

Purum, probum; profanum, ſuum, Feſt. lib. 14.

ly for vses wherein the exercise of Religion presently needeth them, but also partly for supply of future casuall necessities, whereunto the Church is on earth subiect, and partly to the end that while they are kept they may continually serue as testimonies, giuing all men to vnderstand, that God hath in euery Age and Nation, such as thinke it no burthen to honour him with their substance. The riches first of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Ierusalem, arising out of voluntary gifts and donations, were, as we commonly speake, a *Nemo scit*, the value of them aboue that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furnished with all necessaries and set vp, although in the wilderneſse their habilitie could not possibly be great, the very mettle of those vessels which the Princes of the twelue Tribes gaue to God for their first presents, amounted euen then to two thousand and foure hundred shekels of Siluer, an hundred and twentie shekels of Gold, euery shekell weighing halfe an ounce. What was giuen to the Temple which *Salomon* erected, wee may partly coniecture, when ouer and besides wood, marble, yron, brasse, vestments, precious stones, and money, the summe which *Dauid* deliuered into *Salomons* hands for that purpose, was of Gold in Masse eight thousand, and of Siluer seuenteene thousand Cichars, euery Cichar containing a thousand and eight hundred shekels which riseth to nine hundred ounces in euery one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount vnto thirty Cichars. After their returne out of Babylon, they were not presently in case to make their second Temple of equall magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had destroyed. Notwithstanding what they could they did. In so much that the building finished, there remained in the Cofers of the Church to vphold the fabrick thereof, six hundred and fiftie Cichars of Siluer, one hundred of Gold. Whereunto was added by *Nehemias* of his owne gift a thousand drammes of Gold, fiftie vessels of Siluer, fiue hundred and thirtie Priests vestments; by other the Princes of the fathers twentie thousand drammes of Gold, two thousand and two hundred peeces of Siluer; by the rest of the people twentie thousand of Gold, two thousand of Siluer, threescore and seuen attires of Priests. And they furthermore bound themselues towardes other charges to giue by the Poll in what part of the World soeuer they should dwell, the third of a shekell, that is to say, the sixt part of an ounce yeerely. [a] This out of forraine Prouinces, they alwayes sent in Gold. Whereof [b] *Mithridates* is said to haue taken vp by the way before it could passe to Ierusalem from Asia, in one aduenture eight hundred talents; *Crassus* after that to haue borrowed of the Temple it selfe eight thousand: at which time *Eleazar* hauing both many other rich ornaments and all the tapestrie of the Temple vnder his custodie, thought it the safest way to grow vnto some composition, and so to redeeme the residue by parting with a certaine beame of Gold about seuen hundred and a halfe in waight, a prey sufficient for one man, as hee thought who had neuer bargained with *Crassus* till then, and therefore vpon the confidence of a solemne oath that no more should be looked for, hee simply deliuered vp a large morsell whereby the value of that which remayned was betrayed and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moueable treasures are subiect, the Law of *Moſes*

*Num.*7.85,86.

1.*Chron.*29. *Exod.*25.28 & 37.24. *Ezra* 1.68.69. *Hag.*2.4. *Ezr.*8.14.

*Nehem.*7.70.

*Nehem.*10.32.

a *Cic. orat. pro L. Flac. Cum autem Iudæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia & ex omnibus vestris prouincijs Hierosolymam exportari soleret Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asia exportari liceret.*

b *Ioseph. Antiq. lib.*14.*cap.*12.

c Euery talent in value 600 Crownes.

ſes did both require eight and twentie Cities together with their fields and whole Territories in the land of Iurie, to be reſerued for God himſelfe; and not onely prouide for the libertie of farther additions, if men of their owne accord ſhould thinke good, but alſo for the ſafe preſeruation thereof vnto all poſteritie, that no mans auarice or fraud, by defeating ſo vertuous intents, might diſcourage from like purpoſes. Gods third indowment did therefore of old conſiſt in lands. Furthermore, ſome cauſe no doubt there is, why beſides ſundry other more rare donations of vncertayne rate, the tenth ſhould bee thought a reuenue ſo naturall to bee allotted out vnto God. For of the ſpoiles which *Abraham* had taken in warre, he deliuered vnto *Melchiſedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Iacob*, at ſuch times as hee tooke his iourney towards Haran, was, *If God will bee with mee, and will keepe me in this voyage which I am to goe, and will giue me bread to eate and clothes to put on, ſo that I may returne to my fathers houſe in ſafety, then ſhall the Lord be my God, and this ſtone which I haue ſet vp as a pillar, the ſame ſhall be Gods houſe, and of all thou ſhalt giue me I will giue vnto thee the Tithe.* And as *Abraham* gaue voluntarily, as *Iacob* vowed to giue God tithes, ſo the law of *Moyſes* did require at the hands of all men the ſelfe ſame kind of tribute, the tenth of their corne, wine, oile, fruit, cattle, and whatſoeuer increaſe his heauenly prouidence ſhould ſend. In ſo much that Paynims being herein followers of their ſteps, paid Tithes likewiſe: Imagine wee that this was for no cauſe done, or that there was not ſome ſpeciall inducements to iudge the tenth of our worldly profits the moſt conuenient for Gods portion? Are not all things by him created in ſuch ſort, that the formes which giue them their diſtinction are number, their operations meaſure, and their matter waight? *Three* being the myſticall number of Gods vnſearcheable perfection within himſelfe; *ſeauen* the number whereby our owne perfections through grace are moſt ordered; and [a]*ten* the number of natures perfections (for the beauty of nature is order, and the foundation of order number, and of number ten the higheſt wee can riſe vnto without iteration of numbers vnder it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature then by aſſigning vnto him that quantitie which is the continent of all ſhee poſſeſſeth? Their are in *Philo* the Iew many arguments to ſhew the great congruitie and fitneſſe of this number in things conſecrated vnto God. But becauſe ouer nice and curious ſpeculations become not the earneſtneſſe of holy things, I omit what might bee farther obſerued as well out of others as out of him touching the quantitie of this generall ſacred tribute, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the meaneſt and the very pooreſt amongſt men, yeelding vnto God as much in proportion as the greateſt and many times in affection more, haue this as a ſenſible token alwayes aſſuring their mindes, that in his ſight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, diuine priuiledges and preheminences whatſoeuer, equals and peeres with them vnto whom they are otherwiſe in earthly reſpects inferiours, being furthermore well aſſured that the top as it were thus preſented to God is neither loſt, nor vnfruitfully beſtowed, but doth ſanctifie to them againe the whole Maſſe, and that hee by receiuing a little vndertaketh to bleſſe all. In which conſideration the Iewes were accuſtomed to name their Tithes the

Num. 35. *Leuit.* 25. 34. & 27. 38.

Gen. 14. 20. *Gen.* 28. 20.

Deut. 14. 22.

Plin. hiſt. nat. lib. 12. *cap.* 14.

[a] Δεκὰς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρας τελειότατα. *Ier.* Philo περὶ Ἀποικ.

* hedge

* *Masſoreth ſepes eſt legis; diuitiarum ſepes decimæ. R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.*

* *hedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge doe only ſence and preſerue that which is contayned, whereas their Tithes and offerings did more, becauſe they procured increaſe of the heape, out of which they were taken. God demandeth no ſuch debt for his owne neede, but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detayning the ſame, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themſelues whom they thinke they relieue, they wound, except men will haply affirme, that God did by faire ſpeeches, and large promiſes delude the world in ſaying, *Bring yee all the tithes into the ſtorehouſe, that there may bee meate in mine houſe,* (deale truely, defraude not God of his due, but bring all) *Mal. 3.* *and proue if I will not open vnto you the windowes of heauen, and powre downe vpon you an immeſurable bleſsing.* That which Saint *Iames* hath concerning the effect of our prayers vnto God, is for the moſt part of like moment in our gifts: Wee pray and obtayne not, becauſe hee which knoweth our hearts, doth ſee our deſires are euill. In like manner wee giue, and wee are not the more accepted, becauſe he beholdeth how vnwiſely we ſpill our gifts in the * bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing; all one whether any thing or nothing bee giuen him. But for our owne good, it alwayes behoueth that whatſoeuer we offer vp into his hands, we bring it ſeaſoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthie of all honour.* With the Church of Chriſt touching theſe matters it ſtandeth as it did with the whole World before *Moſes.* Wherupon for many yeeres men being deſirous to honour God in the ſame manner, as other vertuous and holy perſonages before had done, both during the time of their life, and if farther habilitie did ſerue, by ſuch deuice as might cauſe their workes of pietie to remayne alwayes, it came by theſe meanes to paſſe that the Church from time to time, had treaſure proportionable vnto the poorer or wealthier eſtate of Chriſtian men. And aſſoone as the ſtate of the Church could admit thereof, they eaſily condeſcended to thinke it moſt naturall and moſt fit, that God ſhould receiue as before of all men his ancient accuſtomed reuenewes of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and nature haue taught to conuert things temporall to eternall vſes, and to prouide for the perpetuitie of Religion, euen by that which is moſt tranſitorie. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once aſſigned to ſuch purpoſes, the Law requireth preciſely, the beſt of that we poſſeſſe; and to preuent all damages by way of commutation, where in ſtead of naturall commodities, or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the Law of *Moyſes* determined their rates, and the payments to be alwayes made by the ſicle of the Sanctuarie, wherein there was great aduantage of waight aboue the ordinarie currant ſicle. The trueſt and ſureſt way for God to haue alwayes his owne, is by making him payment in kinde out of the very ſelfe ſame riches, which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yeeld. This where it may be without inconuenience, is for euery mans conſcience ſake. That which commeth from God to vs, by the naturall courſe of his prouidence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps beſt accepted, becauſe leaſt ſpotted with the ſtaine of vnlawfull, or indirect procurement. Beſides, whereas prices daily change, Nature which commonly is one, muſt needes bee the moſt indifferent and permanent ſtandard betweene God

* *Nemo libenter debet quod non accepit ſed expreſſit. Sen. de Benef. l. 1. c. 1.*

Leuit. 27. 25.

and

and Man. But the maine foundation of all, whereupon the ſecuritie of theſe things dependeth, as farre as any thing may bee aſcertained amongſt men is, that the Title and Right which man had in euery of them before Donation, doth by the Act, and from the time of any ſuch Donation, Dedication, or Grant, remaine the proper poſſeſſion of God til the worlds end, vnleſſe himſelfe renounce or relinquiſh it. For if equitie haue taught vs, that euery one ought to inioy his owne; that what is ours, no other can alienate from vs, but when our [a] owne [b] deliberate conſent; finally, that no man hauing paſt his conſent or deed, may [c] change it to the preiudice of any other, ſhould wee preſume to deale with God worſe then God hath allowed any man to deale with vs? Albeit therfore we be now free from the Law of *Moſes*, and conſequently, not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes, yet becauſe Nature hath taught men to honour God with their ſubſtance, and Scripture hath left vs an example of that particular proportion, which for morall conſiderations hath beene thought fitteſt by him whoſe wiſedome could beſt iudge; furthermore, ſeeing that the Church of Chriſt hath long ſithence entred into obligation, it ſeemeth in theſe dayes a queſtion altogether vaine and ſuperfluous, whether Tithes bee a matter of diuine Right: becauſe howſoeuer at the firſt, it might haue beene thought doubtfull, our caſe is cleerely the ſame now with theirs, vnto whom Saint *Peter* ſometime ſpake, ſaying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine.* When our Tithes might haue probably ſeemed our owne, we had colour of libertie to vſe them as wee our ſelues ſaw good. But hauing made them his whoſe they are, let vs be warned by other mens example what it is ποσφίσασθαι, to waſh or clip that coyne which hath on it the marke of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſſions, and that he doth himſelfe ſo reckon them, appeareth by the forme of his owne ſpeeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou ſhalt giue them me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My houſe* ſhall be called the houſe of Prayer; touching Tithes, *Will a man ſpoile God?* Yet behold, euen me your God ye haue [d] *ſpoiled*, notwithſtanding yee aske wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what iniurie there hath been offered in *Tithes*: yee are heauily accurſed, becauſe with a kind of publike conſent yee haue ioyned your ſelues in one to rob me, imagining the commonneſſe of your offence to be euery mans particular iuſtification; touching Lands, *Yee ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the Prieſts.* Neither did God onely thus ordaine amongſt the Iewes, but the very purpoſe, intent, and meaning of all that haue honoured him with their ſubſtance, was to inueſt him with the propertie of thoſe benefits, the vſe whereof muſt needs be committed to the hands of men. In which reſpect the ſtile of ancient Grants and Charters, is, *Wee haue giuen vnto God both for Vs and our Heires for euer*. Yea, we know, ſaith *Charles* the Great, that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred indowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatſoeuer we deliuer vnto his Church.* Whereupon the Lawes Imperiall doe likewiſe diuide all things in ſuch ſort, that they make ſome to belong by right of Nature indifferently vnto euerie man, ſome to bee the certaine goods and poſſeſſions of Common-weales, ſome to appertaine vnto ſeuerall Corporations or Companies of men, ſome to bee priuately mens owne in particular, and ſome to bee ſeparated quite

[a] *Lib.* 11. *de Reg. Iur.*

[b] *Cuius per errorem data repetitio eſt, eius cõſulto dati donatio eſt*, lib. 1. D. de cond. indeb. This the ground of *Conſideration* in alienations from man to man.

[c] *Nemo poteſt mutare conſilium ſuum in alterius præiudicium.* lib. 75. de Reg. Iur.

Act. 5. 4.

Exod. 32. 29. 30.

Matth. 21. 13.

Mal. 3. 8.

[d] *Non videntur rem admittere quibus propria non ſuit*, lib. 83. de Reg. Iur.

Ezech 45. 1, 4.

Magn. Char. c. 1

Capitul. Caru. lib. 6. *cap.* 84.

* from

* from all men, which laſt branch comprizeth things ſacred and holy, becauſe therof God alone is owner. The ſequell of which receiued opinion, as well without as within the wals of the houſe of God touching ſuch poſſeſſions hath beene euer, that there is not an act more honourable, then by all meanes to amplifie and to defend the patrimonie of Religion, not any more [a] impious and hatefull, then to impaire thoſe poſſeſſions which men in former times, when they gaue vnto holy vſes, were wont at the Altar of God, & in preſence of their ghoſtly Superiours, to make as they thought inuiolable, by words of fearefull execration, ſaying, *Theſe things wee offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to doe) but if any ſhall, let his account bee without fauour in the laſt day, when hee commeth to receiue the doome which is due for ſacriledge againſt that Lord and God, vnto whom wee dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renowned Prelates of the Church of Chriſt haue in this conſideration rather ſuſtained the wrath, then yeelded to ſatisfie the hard deſire of their greateſt Commanders on earth, coueting with ill aduice and counſell that which they willingly ſhould haue ſuffered God to inioy. There are of Martyrs, whom poſteritie much honour, for that hauing vnder their hands the cuſtodie of ſuch [b] treaſures, they could by vertuous deluſion inuent how to ſaue them from prey, euen when the ſafetie of their owne liues they gladly neglected, as one, ſometime an Archdeacon vnder *Xiſtus* the Biſhop of Rome, did, whom when his Iudge vnderſtood to be one of the Church Stewards; thirſt of bloud began to ſlake, and another humour to worke, which firſt by a fauorable countenance, and then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmely diſcloſe it ſelfe, *You that profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, make great complaint of the wonderfull crueltie we ſhow towards you. Neither peraduenture altogether without cauſe. But for my ſelfe, I am farre from any ſuch bloodie purpoſe. Yee are not ſo willing to liue, as I vnwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceed any capitall ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to haue rich veſſels of gold and ſiluer, which they vſe in the exerciſe of their Religion; beſides, the fame is, that numbers ſell away their Lands and Liuings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers, by which meanes the deuotion that maketh them and their whole poſteritie poore, muſt needs mightily inrich you, whoſe God we know was no Coyner of money, but left behind him many wholeſome and good Precepts, as namely that Cæſar ſhould haue of you the things that are fit for, and due to Cæſar. His warres are coſtly and chargeable vnto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affaires of the Commonwealth doe need. Your profeſſion is not to make account of things tranſitorie. And yet if ye can be contented but to forgoe that which yee care not for, I dare vndertake to warrant you both ſafetie of life, and freedome of vſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you then wealth.* Which faire parly the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiuing it neceſſarie to make ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealement of that which being now deſired, was not vnlikely to be more narrowly afterwards ſought, hee craued reſpit for three dayes, to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Gouernour ſhould come to the doores of the Temple, bigge with hope to receiue his prey, a miſerable ranke of poore, lame, and impotent perſons was prouided, their names deliuered him vp in writing as a true Inuentorie of the Churches goods,

* *Nullius autem runt res ſacræ & ſeligioſæ & ſanctæ. Quod enim diuini iuris eſt, id nullius in bonis eſt*, Inſtit. lib. 2. tit. 1.

a *Soli cum Dijs ſacrilegi pugnant* Curt. lib. 7. *Sacrum ſacroue commendatum qui dempſerit rapſeritue, parricida eſto*, Leg. 12. tab. Capitul. Carul. li. 6. cap. 285.

b *Depoſitapietatis*, Tertul. Apologet. *Prudent. Periſteph.*

goods, & ſome few words vſed to ſignifie how proud the Church was of theſe treaſures. If men did not naturally abhorre ſacriledge, to reſiſt or defeate ſo impious attempts deſerue ſmall praiſe. But ſuch is the generall deteſtation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or warre more vphold mens reputation then proſperous ſucceſſe, becauſe in common conſtruction, vnleſſe notorious improbitie be ioyned with proſperitie, it ſeemeth to argue fauour with God, they which once haue ſtained their hands with theſe odious ſpoiles, doe thereby faſten vnto all their actions an eternall preiudice, in reſpect whereof, for that it paſſeth through the world as an vndoubted rule and principle, that ſacriledge is open defiance to God, whatſoeuer they afterwards vndertake, if they proſper in it, men reckon it but *Dionyſius* his Nauigation, & if any thing befall them otherwiſe, it is not, as commonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great vncertainty of caſuall euents, wherein the prouidence of God doth controll the purpoſes of men oftentimes, much more for their good then if al things did anſwer fully their hearts deſire, but the cenſure of the world is euer directly againſt them both [a] bitter and peremptorie. To make ſuch actions therefore leſſe odious, and to mitigate the enuie of them, many colourable ſhifts and inuentions haue beene vſed, as if the world did hate onely Woolues and thinke the Foxe a goodly creature. The time [b] it may be will come, when they that either violently haue ſpoiled or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhall find they did but deceiue themſelues. In the meane while there will be alwayes ſome skilful perſons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with iawes that ſhall ſcarſe mooue, and yet deuour in the end more then they that come rauening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo who hauing waſtfully eaten out their owne patrimony, would be glad to repaire, if they might, their decayed eſtates, with the ruine they care not of what nor of whom, ſo the ſpoile were theirs, whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeed, yet commonly they are men borne vnder that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how, as vnapt to inrich themſelues as they are readie to impouerish others, it is their lot to ſuſtaine during life both the miſery of beggers, and the infamy of robbers. But though no other plague and reuenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy things, the naturall ſecret diſgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe vnderſtanding heart, is it ſelfe a [c] heauy puniſhment. Men of vertuous quality are by this ſufficiently moued to beware how they anſwer and requite the mercies of God with iniuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no caſe bee ſeized on by men, or that no Obligation, Commerce and Bargaine made betweene man and man, can euer be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certaine caſes I grant there are wherein it is not ſo darke what God himſelfe doth warrant, but that wee may ſafely preſume him as willing to forgoe for our benefit, as alwayes to vſe and conuert to our benefit whatſoeuer our Religion hath honoured him withall. But ſurely vnder the name of that which may bee, many things that ſhould not bee are often done. By meanes whereof the Church moſt commonly for gold hath flanell, and whereas the vſuall Saw of old was *Glaucus*

[a] *Nouimus multa regna, & reges eorum propterea cecidiſſe, quia Eccleſias ſpoliauerũt, reſq; eorum vaſtauerunt, alienauerunt vel diripuerunt, Epiſcopiſq; & Sacerdotibus, atque quod maius eſt Eccleſijs eorum abſtulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, ſed terga multi vulnerati & plures interfecti verterunt, regnaq; & regiones, & quod peius eſt, regna cœleſtia perdiderunt, atq; propꝛijs hæreditatibus caruerũt & hactenùs carent* Verba Carol. Ma. in Capitu. Caru. l. 7. c. 104.

[b] *Turne tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptum intactũ Pallanta & cum ſpoliaiſta diemq; Oderit.* Virgil. Æn. lib. 10.

[c] τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἱκανὴ ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσι, Demoſt. *Pœnam non dico legum quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident.* Cic. Offic. lib. 3. *Impunita tu credes eſſe quæ iniuſa ſunt? aut vllum ſupplicium grauius exiſtimas publico odio?* Senec. de Benef. lib. 3. c. 17.

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his change, the Prouerbe is now *A Church bargaine.* And for feare leaſt couetouſneſſe alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not to be able to make hauocke of the houſe of God with that expedition, which the mortall Enemie thereof did vehemently wiſh, hee hath by certaine ſtrong inchantments ſo deepely bewitcht Religion it ſelfe, as to make it in the end an earneſt Sollicitor, and an eloquent Perſwader of ſacriledge, vrging confidently, that the very beſt ſeruice which men of power can doe to Chriſt, is without any more Ceremonie, to ſweepe all, and to leaue the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt borne, that fulneſſe of bread hauing made the children of the houſhold wanton, it is without any ſcruple to bee taken away from them, and throwne to Dogs, that they which laid the prices of their Lands as offerings at the Apoſtles feete, did but ſowe the ſeeds of ſuperſtition; that they which indowed Churches with Lands, poiſoned Religion, that Tithes and Oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed bloud of Goates, that if wee giue him our hearts and affections, our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe, that *Irenæus Polycarps* Diſciple ſhould not haue ſaid, *Wee offer vnto God our goods as tokens of thankefulneſſe for that we receiue*, neither ORIGEN, *He which worſhippeth God, muſt by Gifts and oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; in a word, that to giue vnto God is errour, reformation of errour, to take from the Church, that which the blindneſſe of former Ages did vnwiſely giue. By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions, receiued with all ioy, and with like ſedulitie practiſed in certaine parts of the Chriſtian world, they haue brought to paſſe, that as *Dauid* doth ſay of man, ſo it is in hazzard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Seruice of God: *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to bee threeſcore and ten yeeres, or if ſtrength doe ſerue vnto foureſcore, what followeth, is likely to be ſmall ioy for them whoſoeuer they be that behold it.* Thus haue the beſt things beene ouer-throwne, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of Aduerſaries, as through defect of counſell, in them that ſhould haue vpheld and defended the ſame.

Irenæus lib. 4. c. 34. Orig. in 18. Num. hom. 11.

Pſal. 90. 10.

Of Ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their qualitie is, that enter into holy Orders.

80 There are in a Miniſter of God theſe foure things to bee conſidered, his Ordination which giueth him power to meddle with things ſacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted vnto him for exerciſe of his Office; the performance of his dutie, according to the exigence of his charge, and laſtly, the maintenance which in that reſpect hee receiueth. All Eccleſiaſticall Lawes and Canons which either concerne the beſtowing or the vſing of the power of miniſteriall Order, haue relation to theſe foure. Of the firſt wee haue ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more conuenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſticall duties, as the body of the people muſt needs bee ſeuered by diuers precincts, ſo the Clergie likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth Country people, came to be vſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and Vnbeleeuers were, it followed thereupon that all ſuch Cities had their Eccleſiaſticall Colledges, conſiſting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their Delegates the Euangeliſts, did both ordaine and gouerne. Such were the Colledges of Ieruſalem, Antioch, Epheſus, Rome, Corinth, and the reſt, where

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the Apoſtles are knowne to haue planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe Religion and the Cure of ſoules was their generall charge in common ouer all that were neere about them, neither had any one Preſbyter his ſeuerall Cure apart, till *Euariſtus* Biſhop in the See of Rome, about the yeere 112. began to aſſigne precincts vnto euery Church, or Title, which the Chriſtians held, and to appoint vnto each Presbyter a certaine compaſſe, whereof himſelfe ſhould take charge alone, the commodiouſneſſe of this inuention cauſed all parts of Chriſtendome to follow it, and at the length amongſt the reſt our owne Churches, about the yeere 636. became diuided in like manner. But other diſtinction of Churches, there doth not appeare any in the Apoſtles Writings, ſaue only, according to thoſe * Cities wherein they planted the Goſpell of Chriſt, and erected Eccleſiaſticall Colledges. Wherefore to ordaine [a] κατὰ πόλιν, throughout euery Citie, and [b] κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν throughout euery Church, doe in them ſignifie the ſame thing. Churches then neither were, nor could bee in ſo conuenient ſort limited as now they are, firſt, by the bounds of each ſtate, and then within each ſtate by more particular precincts, till at the length we deſcend vnto ſeuerall Congregations termed *Pariſhes*, with farre narrower reſtraint, then this name at the firſt was vſed. And from hence hath growne their errour, who as oft as they reade of the dutie which Eccleſiaſticall perſons are now to performe towards the Church, their manner is alwayes to vnderſtand by that Church, ſome particular Congregation, or Pariſh Church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhould now bee no man of Eccleſiaſticall Order, which is not tied to ſome certaine Pariſh. Becauſe the names of all Church Officers are words of relation, becauſe a Shepherd muſt haue his Flocke, a Teacher his Scholers, a Miniſter his Company which he miniſtreth vnto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and vnreaſonable, that any man ſhould be ordained a Miniſter, otherwiſe, then onely for ſome particular Congregation. Perceiue they not, how by this meane they make it vnlawfull for the Church to imploy men at all, in conuerting Nations? For if ſo be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Eccleſiaſticall function, vnleſſe it tie the partie admitted vnto ſome particular Pariſh, then ſurely, a thankeleſſe labour it is, whereby men ſeeke the conuerſion of Infidels, which know not Chriſt, and therefore cannot be as yet diuided into their ſpeciall Congregations and Flockes. But to the end it may appeare how much this one thing amongſt many more hath beene miſtaken, there is firſt no Precept, requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in ſuch ſort, and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore the Apoſtles did make them in that order, yet is not their Example ſuch a Law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Againe, if we will conſider that which the Apoſtles themſelues did, ſurely, no man can iuſtly ſay that herein wee practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained onely in each Chriſtian Citie, a Colledge of Presbyters and Deacons to adminiſter holy things. *Euariſtus* did a hundred yeeres after the birth of our Sauiour Chriſt, begin the diſtinction of the Church into Pariſhes. Presbyters and Deacons hauing beene ordained before to exerciſe Eccleſiaſticall functions, in the Church of Rome promiſcuouſly, hee was the firſt that tied them each one to his owne ſtation. So that

* *Acts* 15.36. *Apoc.* 1.20.

[a] *Tit.* 1.5.

[b] *Acts* 14.23.

of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more neere the Apostles Example, and the tying of them to be made onely for particular Congregations, may iustly ground it selfe vpon the Example of *Euaristus* then of any Apostle of Christ. It hath beene the opinion of Wisemen and good men heretofore, that nothing was euer deuised more singularly beneficiall vnto Gods Church, then this which our honourable Predecessors haue to their endlesse prayse found out by erecting such Houses of Studie, as those two most famous Vniuersities do containe, and by prouiding that choice wits, after reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy Vocation, for which they haue beene so long nourished and brought vp, or else giue place and suffer others to succeed in their roomes, that so the Church may bee alwayes furnished with a number of men, whose abilitie being first knowne by publike triall in Church-labours there where men can best iudge of them, their calling afterwards vnto particular charge abroad may bee according. All this is frustrate, those worthy Foundations wee must dissolue, their whole deuice and religious purpose which did erect them is made void, their Orders and Statutes are to bee cancelled and disanulled, in case the Church be forbidden to grant any power of Order, vnlesse it be with restraint to the partie ordained vnto some particular Parish or Congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirme of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their Ordination is vnto necessary locall restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperour *Iustinian* doth say of Tutors, *Certæ rei vel causæ tutor dari non potest, quia persona non causæ vel rei tutor datur.* He that should grant a Tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certaine thing or cause, should doe but idely, because Tutors are giuen for personall defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or causes. So hee that ordayning a Presbyter or a Deacon, should in the forme of Ordination restraine the one or the other to a certaine place, might with much more reason bee thought to vse a vaine and a friuolous addition, then they reasonably to require such locall restraint, as a thing which must of necessitie concurre euermore with all lawfull Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated vnto places, but vnto Functions. In which respect, and in no other it is, that sith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed vnto God, seuered and sanctified to be imployed in his Seruice, which is the highest aduancement that mortall creatures on Earth can bee raised vnto, the Church of Christ hath not beene acquainted in former Ages, with any such prophane and vnnaturall custome, as doth hallow men with Ecclesiasticall Functions of Order onely for a time, and then dismisse them againe to the common Affaires of the World. Whereas, contrariwise from the place or charge where that power hath beene exercised, wee may be by sundry good and lawfull occasions translated, retayning neuertheless the selfe-same power which was first giuen. It is some griefe to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to vphold it, especially sith they themselues that teach it, doe not seeme to giue thereunto any great credit, if wee may iudge their mindes by their actions. There are amongst them that haue done the worke of Ecclesiasticall persons, sometime in the Families of Noble

Iust. lib. 1. tit. 24. § 4.

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men, sometime in much more publique and frequent Congregations, there are that haue successiuely gone thorow perhaps seuen or eight particular Churches after this sort, yea, some that at one and the same time haue beene, some which at this present houre are in reall obligation of Ecclesiasticall dutie, and possession of commoditie thereto belonging, euen in sundry particular Churches within the Land, some there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their libertie, as to bee fastned or tied vnto any place, some which haue bound themselues to one place, onely for a time, and that time being once expired, haue afterwards voluntarily giuen other places the like experience and tryall of them. All this I presume they would not doe, if their perswasion were as strict as their words pretend. But for the auoyding of these and such other the like confusions as are incident into the cause and question whereof we presently treate, there is not any thing more materiall, then first to separate exactly the nature of the Ministerie, from the vse and exercise thereof; Secondly, to know that the onely true and proper Act of Ordination is, to inuest men with that power which doth make them Ministers by consecrating their persons to God, and his seruice in holy things during terme of life, whether they exercise that power or no; Thirdly, that to giue them a title or charge where to vse their Ministerie, concerneth not the making, but the placing of Gods Ministers, and therefore the Lawes which concerne onely their Election or Admission vnto place of charge, are not applyable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Constitution, Law or Canon is alleaged, concerning either Ordinations or Elections, we forget not to exaimne whether the present case bee the same which the ancient was, or else doe containe some iust reason for which it cannot admit altogether the same Rules which former Affaires of the Church now altered did then require. In the question of making Ministers without a *Title*, which to doe they say is a thing vnlawfull, they should at the very first haue considered what the name of *Title* doth imply, and what affinitie or coherence Ordinations haue with Titles, which thing obserued would plainly haue shewed them their owne errour. They are not ignorant that when they speake of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Minister in some charge, that the place of charge wherein a Minister doth execute his Office, requireth some House of God for the people to resort vnto, some definite number of Soules vnto whom hee there administreth holy things, and some certaine allowance whereby to sustaine life; that the Fathers at the first named *Oratories*, and Houses of Prayer, Titles, thereby signifying how God was interessed in them and held them as his owne Possessions. But because they know that the Church had Ministers before Christian Temples and Oratories were, therefore some of them vnderstand by a Title, a *definite Congregation* of people onely, and so deny that any Ordination is lawful which maketh Ministers, that haue no certaine Flocke to attend, forgetting how the Seuentie whom Christ himselfe did ordaine Ministers, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certaine charge could bee giuen them. Others referring the name of a Title, especially to the *maintenance* of the Minister, infringe all Ordinations made, * except they which receiue Orders bee first in-

* Vnlawfull to ordaine a Minister without a Title. *Abstract. p.243. & p.246.* The Law requireth that euery one admitted vnto Orders haueing for his present Reliefe some Ecclesiasticall Benefice, should also haue some other Title vnto some annuall rent or pension whereby he might be releeued in case he were not able through infirmitie, sicknes, or other lawfull impediment to execute his Ecclesiasticall Office and Function,

titled to a compent Eccleſiaſticall Benefice and (which is moſt ridiculouſly ſtrange) except beſides their preſent Title to ſome ſuch Benefice, they haue likewiſe ſome other Title of Annuall Rent or Penſion whereby they may bee releeued, in caſe through infirmitie, ſickneſſe or other lawfull impediment they grow vnable to execute their Eccleſiaſticall Function. So that euery man lawfully ordained muſt bring a Bow which hath two ſtrings, a Title of preſent Right, and another to prouide for future poſſibilitie or chance. Into theſe abſurdities and follies they ſlide by miſ-conceiuing the true purpoſe of certaine Canons, which indeed haue forbidden to ordaine a Miniſter without a Title, not that ſimply it is vnlawfull ſo to ordaine, but becauſe it might grow to an inconuenience, if the Church did not ſomewhat reſtraine that libertie. For ſeeing they which haue once receiued Ordination, cannot againe returne into the World, it behoueth them which ordaine, to fore-ſee how ſuch ſhall be afterwards able to liue, leſt their pouertie and deſtitution ſhould redound to the diſgrace and diſcredit of their calling. Which euill preuented, thoſe very Lawes which in that reſpect forbid, doe expreſly admit Ordinations to bee made at large, and without Title, namely, if the partie ſo ordained haue of his owne for the ſuſtenance of this life, or if the Biſhop which giueth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till ſome place of Miniſtration, from whence his maintenance may ariſe, bee prouided for him, or if any other fit and ſufficient meanes bee had againſt the danger before mentioned. Abſolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church which is, or ought to bee with vs in force, doth make Ordinations at large vnlawfull, and as the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand, they are moſt neceſſarie. If there be any conſcience in men touching that which they write or ſpeake, let them conſider as well what the preſent condition of all things doth now ſuffer, as what the Ordinances of former Ages did appoint, as well the waight of thoſe cauſes, for which our Affaires haue altered, as the reaſons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predeceſſors did ſometime ſtrictly and ſeuerely keepe that which for vs to obſerue now, is neither meete nor alwayes poſſible. In this our preſent Cauſe and Controuerſie, whether any not hauing Title of Right to a Benefice may bee lawfully ordained a Miniſter, is it not manifeſt in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth ſignifie ſome ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Reuenew, taken out of the Treaſure of God, and allotted to a Spirituall Perſon, to the end he may vſe the ſame, and inioy it as his owne for terme of life, vnleſſe his default cauſe Depriuation: the Clergie for many yeeers after Chriſt had no other Benefices, but onely their Canonicall Portions, or Monethly Diuidends allowed them according to their ſeuerall degrees and qualities, out of the common Stock of ſuch Gifts, Oblations and Tithes, as the feruour of Chriſtian Pietie did then yeeld? Yea, that euen when Miniſters had their Churches and Flockes aſſigned vnto them in ſeuerall, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till ſuch time as Biſhops and Churches Cathedrall being ſufficiently endowed with Lands, other Presbyters enioyed in ſtead of their firſt Benefices, the Tithes and Profits of their owne Congregations whole to themſelues? Is it not manifeſt that in this Realme, and ſo in other the like Dominions,

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where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded on Militarie Lawes, and held as in Fee vnder Princes which are not made Heads of the people by force of voluntarie Election, but borne the Soueraigne Lords of those whole and intire Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitors obtayning by way of Conquest, retained what they would in their owne hands, and diuided the rest to others with reseruation of Soueraigntie and Capitall interest, the building of Churches, and consequently the assigning of either Parishes or Benefices, was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principall Owners of Land, in which consideration, for their more incouragement hereunto, they which did so farre benefit the Church, had by common consent granted (as great equitie and reason was) a right for them and their Heires till the Worlds end, to nominate in those Benefices men whose qualitie the Bishop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest, that from hence ineuitably such inequalitie of Parishes hath growne, as causeth some through the multitude of people which haue resort vnto one Church, to be more then any one man can weild, and some to be of that nature by reason of Chappels annext, that they which are Incumbents should wrong the Church, if so bee they had not certaine Stipendaries vnder them, because where the Corpes of the profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can be but one mans, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reason whereby it may cleerly appeare how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may suffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations against it are out of ancient Canons, how vntrue their confident asseuerations, that onely through negligence of Popish Prelates the custome of making such kind of Ministers hath preuailed in the Church of *Rome* against their Canons, and that with vs it is expressly against the Lawes of our owne Gouernment, when a Minister doth serue as a stipendarie Curate, which kind of seruice nevertheless the greatest Rabbines of that part doe altogether follow. For howsoeuer they are loth peraduenture to be named curates, Stipendaries they are, and the labour they bestow, is in other mens cures, a thing not vnlawfull for them to doe, yet vnseemely for them to condemne which practise it. I might here discouer the like ouer-sight throughout all their Discourses, made in behalfe of the peoples pretended right to elect their Ministers before the Bishop may lawfully ordaine. But because we haue other where at large disputed of popular Elections, and of the right of Patronage, wherein is drowned whatsoeuer the people vnder any pretence or colour may seeme to challenge about admission and choice of the Pastors that shall feed their soules, I cannot see what one dutie there is which alwayes ought to goe before Ordination, but only care of the parties worthinesse, as well for integritie and vertue, as knowledge, yea, for vertue more, in as much as defect of knowledge may sundry wayes be supplied, but the scandall of vicious and wicked life, is a deadly euill.

Of the Learning that should bee in Ministers, their Residence, & the number of their Liuings.

81 The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that threefold blot or blemish of notable ignorance, vnconscionable absence from the cures whereof men haue taken charge, and vnsatiable hunting after spiri-

ſpirituall preferments, without either care or conſcience of the publike good. Whereof, to the end that we may conſider as in Gods owne ſight and preſence with all vprightneſſe, ſinceritie and truth, let vs particularly waigh and examine in euery of them; Firſt, how farre forth they are reproueable by Reaſons and Maximes of common right; Secondly, whether that which our Lawes doe permit, be repugnant to thoſe Maximes, and with what equitie we ought to iudge of things practiſed in this caſe, neither on the one hand defending that which muſt bee acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whom we liſt, for whatſoeuer we diſallow. Touching Arguments therefore, taken from the principles of common right, to proouе that Miniſters ſhould be[n] learned, that they ought to be[o] Reſident vpon their Liuings, and that[p] more then one onely Benefice or Spirituall Liuing may not be granted vnto one man, the firſt, becauſe S. *Paul* requireth in a Miniſter abilitie to teach, to conuince, to diſtribute the Word rightly, becauſe alſo the Lord himſelfe hath proteſted, they ſhall be no Prieſts to him which haue reiected knowledge, and becauſe if the Blind lead the Blind, they muſt both needs fall into the Pit; the ſecond, becauſe Teachers are Shepherds whoſe Flockes, can be at no time ſecure from danger, they are Watchmen whom the Enemy doth alwayes beſiege, their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermiſſion, their dutie requireth inſtruction and conference with men in priuate, they are the liuing Oracles of God, to whom the people muſt reſort for counſell, they are commanded to bee Patternes of Holineſſe, Leaders, Feeders, Superuiſors amongſt their owne, it ſhould be their griefe, as it was the Apoſtles to be abſent, though neceſſarily from them ouer whom they haue taken charge; finally, the laſt, becauſe Pluralitie and Reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one Clarke in two Churches, is a point of Merchandize and filthy gaine, becauſe no man can ſerue two Maſters, becauſe euery one ſhould remaine in that Vocation whereto he is called, what conclude they of all this? Againſt Ignorance, againſt Non-reſidence, and againſt Pluralitie of Liuings, is there any man ſo raw and dull, but that the Volumes which haue bin written, both of old and of late, may make him in ſo plentifull a cauſe eloquent? For if by that which is *generally* iuſt and requiſite, we meaſure what knowledge there ſhould be in a Miniſter of the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Arguments which Light of Nature offereth, the Lawes and Statutes which Scripture hath, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods, the Decrees, and Conſtitutions of ſincereſt Times, the Sentences of all Antiquitie, and in a word, euen euery mans full conſent & conſcience is againſt Ignorance in them that haue charge and cure of Soules. Againe, what auayleth it if we be Learned and not Faithfull? or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there bee in vs ſufficiencie without endeuour or care to doe that good which our place exacteth? Touching the paines and induſtrie therefore, wherewith men are in conſcience bound to attend the worke of their Heauenly calling, euen as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endeuour, without either fraud, ſophiſtication or guile, I ſee not what more effectuall Obligation or Bond of Dutie there ſhould be vrged, then their owne onely Vow and Promiſe made vnto God himſelfe, at the time of their Ordinati-

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n T.C.l.1.p.70
o 66.
p 69.
1.Tim.3.2.
Tit.1.9.
2.Tim.2.15.
Hoſ.4.6.
Mat.15.14.
Luke 2.8.
Acts 20.2.
1.Sam.1.19.
1.Tim.4.12.
Iohn 10 4.
1.Pet.5.2.
Acts 20.28.
1.Theſſ.2.17.
Concil.Nic.c.15.
Mat.6.24.
1.Cor.7.24.

on. The worke which they haue vndertaken, requireth both care & feare. Their ſloth that negligently performe it, maketh them ſubiect to malediction. Beſides wee alſo know that the fruit of our paines in this Function, is life both to our ſelues and others. And doe we yet need incitements to labour? Shal we ſtop our eares both againſt thoſe coniuring exhortations which Apoſtles, & againſt the fearfull comminations which Prophets haue vttered out of the mouth of God, the one for preuention, the other for reformation of our ſluggiſhnes in this behalfe? S. PAVL, *Attend to your ſelues, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghoſt hath made you ouer-ſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his owne bloud. Againe, I charge thee before God and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which ſhall iudge the quicke and the dead at his comming, preach the Word, bee inſtant.* Acts 20.27. IEREMIE, *Woe vnto the Paſters that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheepe of my paſture, I will viſit you for the wickednesſe of your workes, ſaith the Lord, the remnant of my ſheepe, I will gather together out of all Countries, and will bring them againe to their folds, they ſhall grow and increaſe, and I will ſet vp ſhepheards, ouer them, which ſhall feed them.* EZECHIEL, *Should not the ſhepheards, ſhould they not feed the flockes? Yee eate the fat, and yee clothe your ſelues with the woll, but the weake yee haue not ſtrengthened, the ſicke yee haue not cured, neither haue yee bound vp the broken, nor brought home againe that which was driuen away, yee haue not inquired after that which was loſt, but with crueltie and rigor yee haue ruled. Wherefore, as I liue, ſaith the Lord God, I will require my ſheepe at their hands, nor ſhall the ſhepheards feede themſelues any more, for I will deliuer my ſheepe from their mouthes, they ſhall no more deuoure them.* Ier. 23.1. Ezech. 34. 2. Nor let vs thinke to excuſe our ſelues, if haply wee labour, though it bee at randome, and ſit not altogether idle abroad. For wee are bound to attend that part of the flocke of Chriſt, whereof the holy Ghoſt hath made vs ouer-ſeers. The reſidence of Miniſters vpon their owne peculiar charge, is by ſo much the rather neceſſarie, for that abſenting themſelues from the place, where they ought to labour, they neither can doe the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reape the comfort which ſweeteneth life to them that ſpend it in theſe trauailes vpon their owne. For it is in this as in all things elſe, which are through priuate intereſt dearer, then what concerneth either others wholly, or vs but in part, and according to the rate of a generall regard. As for pluralitie, it hath not onely the ſame inconueniences which are obſerued to grow by abſence, but ouer and beſides, at the leaſt in common conſtruction, a ſhew of that worldly humour which men doe thinke ſhould not raigne ſo high. Now from hence their Collections are as followeth, firſt, a repugnancie or contradiction betweene the Principles of common right, and that which our Lawes in ſpeciall conſiderations haue allowed: ſecondly, a nullitie or fruſtration of all ſuch acts, as are by them ſuppoſed oppoſite to thoſe Principles, an inualiditie in all Ordinations of men vnable to preach, and in all diſpenſations which mitigate the Law of common right for the other two. And why ſo? Forſooth, becauſe whatſoeuer we doe in theſe three caſes, and not by vertue of common right, wee muſt yeeld it of neceſſitie done by warrant of peculiar right or priuiledge. Now a priuiledge is ſaid to be that, that for fauour of certaine perſons commeth forth *againſt* common right; things *prohibited* are diſpenced with, becauſe things *Abſtract. p. 117.*

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permitted are dispatched by common right, but things *forbidden* require dispensations. By which descriptions of a priuiledge and dispensation it is (they say) apparent, that a priuiledge must licence and authorize the same, which the Law against ignorance, non-residence and pluralitie doth infringe; and so bee a Law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, because all the reasons wherupon the Positiue Law of man against these three was first established, are taken and drawne from the Law of Nature & the Law of God. For answer whereunto wee will but leade them to answer themselues. First therefore if they will grant (as they must) that all direct oppositions of speech require one and the selfe-same subiect, to be meant on both parts where opposition is pretended, it will follow that either the maximes of common right doe inforce *the very same things* not to be good, which we say are good, grounding our selues on the Reasons, by vertue whereof our priuiledges are established; or if the one doe not reach vnto that *particular subiect*, for which the other haue prouided, then is there no contradiction betweene them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally must bee false. And therefore if the Principles of common right, doe at any time truely inforce *that particular* not to bee good, which priuiledges make good, it argueth inuincibly, that such priuiledges haue beene grounded vpon some errour. But to say, that euery priuiledge is opposite vnto the principles of common right, because it dispenseth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath grosse absurditie. For the voice of Equitie and Iustice is, that a generall Law doth neuer derogate from a speciall Priuiledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a generall Law being in force should alwayes dissolue a Priuiledge. The reason why many are deceiued by imagining that so it should doe, and why men of better insight conclude directly it should not, doth rest in the *subiect or matter* it selfe, which matter *indefinitely* considered in Lawes of common right, is in Priuiledges considered as *beset and limited with speciall circumstances*, by meanes whereof to them which respect it, but by way of generalitie it seemeth one and the same in both, although it bee not the same, if once we descend to particular consideration thereof. Precepts doe alwayes propose perfection, not such as none can attaine vnto, for then in vaine should we aske or require it at the hands of men, but such perfection as all men must ayme at, to the end that as largely as humane prouidence and care can extend it, it may take place. Morall Lawes are the rules of Politique, those Politique, which are made to order the whole Church of God, Rules vnto all particular Churches, and the Lawes of euery particular Church, Rules vnto euery particular man, within the bodie of the same Church. Now because the higher we ascend in these rules, the further still we remoone from those specialties, which being proper to the subiect, whereupon our actions must worke are therefore chiefly considered by vs, by them least thought vpon that wade altogether in the two first kindes of generall directions, their iudgement cannot be exact and sound, concerning either Lawes of Churches, or Actions of men in particular, because they determine of effects by a part of the causes onely out of which they grow, they iudge conclusions by demipremises and halfe principles, they lay them in the ballance stript from those necessarie materiall

teriall circumſtances, which ſhould giue them waight, and by ſhew of falling vneuen with the ſcale of moſt vniuerſall and abſtracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reaſon why men altogether conuerſant in ſtudie, doe know how to teach, but not how to gouerne; men experienced contrariwiſe gouerne well, yet know not which way to ſet downe orderly the Precepts and Reaſons of that they doe. Hee that will therefore iudge rightly of things done, muſt ioyne with his formes and conceits of generall ſpeculation, the matter wherein our actions are conuerſant. For by this ſhall appeare what equitie there is in thoſe Priuiledges and peculiar Grants or Fauours, which otherwiſe will ſeeme repugnant to iuſtice, and becauſe in themſelues, conſidered they haue * a ſhew of repugnancie, this deceiueth thoſe great Clarkes, which hearing a priuiledge defined to be *an eſpeciall right brought in by their power and authoritie, that make it for ſome publike benefit againſt the generall courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehend how the word *againſt* doth import *exception*, without any *oppoſition* at all. For in as much as the hand of Iuſtice muſt diſtribute to euery particular what is due, and iudge what is due with reſpect had, no leſſe of particular circumſtances then of generall rules and axiomes, it cannot fit all ſorts with one meaſure, the wills, counſels, qualities and ſtates of men being diuers. For example, the Law of common right bindeth all men to keepe their promiſes, performe their compacts, and anſwer the Faith they haue giuen either for themſelues, or others. Notwithſtanding he which bargaineth with one vnder yeeres, can haue no benefit by this allegation, becauſe hee bringeth it againſt a perſon which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certaine men from the Law of common right, is againſt God, againſt Nature, againſt whatſoeuer may auaile to ſtrengthen and iuſtifie that Law before alleaged, or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpeciall cauſes are to be ordered by ſpeciall rules, that if men growne vnto ripe age, diſaduantage themſelues by bargaining, yet what they haue wittingly done, is ſtrong, and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe and manage their owne affaires, whereas youth for lacke of experience and iudgement, being eaſily ſubiect to circumuention, is therefore iuſtly exempt from the Law of common right, whereunto the reſt are iuſtly ſubiect? This plaine inequalitie betweene men of yeares, and vnder yeares, is a cauſe why Equitie and Iuſtice cannot apply equally the ſame generall Rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a ſpeciall priuiledge. Priuiledges are either tranſitorie or permanent. * Tranſitorie, ſuch as ſerue onely ſome one turne, or at the moſt extend no farther then to this or that man, with the end of whoſe naturall life they expire; Permanent, ſuch as the vſe whereof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong vnto certaine *kinds* of men and cauſes which neuer die. Of this nature are all immunities and preeminences, which for iuſt conſiderations one ſort of men inioyeth aboue another, both in the Church and Common-wealth, no man ſuſpecting them of contrarietie to any branch of thoſe Lawes or Reaſons, whereupon the generall right is grounded. Now there being generall Lawes & Rules whereby it cannot be denied, but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to prouide that the Miniſtery may be learned, that they which haue charge may reſide

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* *Ius ſingulare eſt, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam vtilitatem authoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt*, Paulus, ff. de Legib.

* *Priuilegium perſonale cum perſona extinguitur, & priuilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione.* Op de regulis, part 1. 127.

vpon it, and that it may not be free for them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſticall liuings, it remaineth in the next place to bee examined, what the Lawes of the Church of England doe admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what ſpeciall conſideration they ſeeme to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore, that to furniſh all places of Cure in this Realme, it is not an Armie of twelue thouſand learned men that would ſuffice, nor two Vniuerſities that can alwayes furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the liuings with Cure, that when they fall are able to yeeld ſufficient maintenane for learned men, is it not plaine, that vnleſſe the greateſt part of the people ſhould bee left vtterly without the publike vſe and exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedie but to take into the Eccleſiaſticall order, a number of men meanely qualified in reſpect of learning? For whatſoeuer we may imagine in our priuate Cloſets, or talke for communication ſake at our Boords, yea, or write in our Bookes, through a notionall conceit of things needfull, for performance of each man dutie, if once we come from the Theorie of learning, to take out ſo many learned men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whom the choyce ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made, what degree of skill wee muſt either admit, or elſe leaue numbers vtterly deſtitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with ſenſe of common equitie, will ſoone diſcerne, that beſides eminent and competent knowledge, wee are to deſcend to a lower ſtep receiuing knowledge in that degree, which is but tolerable. When wee commend any man for learning, our ſpeech importeth him to bee more then meanely qualified that way; but when Lawes doe require learning as a qualitie, which maketh capable of any function, our meaſure to iudge a learned man by, muſt be ſome certaine degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if euerie man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelfe, how ſhall we euer know when Lawes are broken, when kept, ſeeing one man may thinke a lower degree ſufficient, another may iudge them vnſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree. Wherefore of neceſſitie either wee muſt haue ſome Iudge in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient, are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the Law it ſelfe is to ſet downe the very loweſt degree of fitneſſe, that ſhall bee allowable in this kind. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Saint *Paul* requireth learning in Presbyters, yea ſuch learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is ſound, and to diſproue them that gaine-ſay it. What meaſure of abilitie in ſuch things ſhall ſerue to make men capable of that kind of Office, hee doth not himſelfe preciſely determine, but referreth it to the conſcience of *Titus*, and others, which had to deale in ordaining Presbyters. Wee muſt therefore of neceſſitie make this demand, whether the Church lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would haue choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſſe, them that may ſerue to performe the ſeruice of publique Prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments vnto the People, to ſolemnize Marriage, to viſit the Sicke, & burie the dead, to inſtruct by reading, although by preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feed Chriſts flocke. We conſtantly hold, that in this caſe the Apoſtles Law is not broken. He requireth more in

Titus 1.9.

Presbyters

Presbyters then there is found in many whom the Churche of England alloweth. But no man being tied vnto impoſſibilities, to doe that wee cannot, we are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore and a very indirect practice, when they publiſh large declamations to prooue that learning is required in the miniſterie, and to make the ſilly people beleeue that the contrarie is maintained by the Biſhops, and vpheld by the Lawes of the Land, whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether learning bee required, but whether a Church wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of learned men to furniſh all Congregations, ſhould doe better to let thouſands of ſoules grow ſauage, to let them liue without any publike ſeruice of God, to let their children die vnbaptized, to with-hold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing, as much as read vnto them concerning the way of life, then as it doth in this neceſſitie, to make ſuch Presbyters as are ſo farre forth ſufficient, although they want that abilitie of preaching which ſome others haue. In this point therefore wee obey neceſſitie, and of two euills wee take the leſſe; in the reſt a publique vtilitie is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certaine inconueniences tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The Law giueth libertie of non-Reſidence for a time to ſuch as will liue in Vniuerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie and the better inſtruct their Congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the peoples ſaluation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of Law beſtowed to the Churches great aduantage and benefit, thoſe neceſſarie helpes are procured by it, which turne by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come, then if their Paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby prouide in ſome part to remedie and helpe that euill, which the former neceſſitie hath impoſed vpon the Church. For compare two men of equall meaneneſſe, the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace, in ſuch ſort as the Law permitteth. Allot vnto both ſome nine yeares continuance with Cure of ſoules. And muſt not three yeares abſence in all probabilitie and likelihood, make the one more profitable then the other vnto Gods Church, by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three yeares, may adde vnto ſixe yeares trauaile following? For the greater abilitie there is added to the inſtrument, wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſaue ſoules, the more facilitie and expedition it hath to worke that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may be ſaid touching abſence, granted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops, which Schooles of grauitie, diſcretion and wiſedome, preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are in my poore opinion euen the fitteſt places that any ingenious mind can wiſh to enter into, betweene departure from priuate ſtudie, and acceſſe to a more publike charge of ſoules, yea no leſſe expedient, for men of the beſt ſufficiencie and moſt maturitie in knowledge, then the verie Vniuerſities themſelues are for the ripening of ſuch as be raw. Imployment in the families of Noble men, or in Princes Courts hath another end, for which the ſelfe-ſame leaue is giuen, not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly

redly whosoeuer doth well obserue, how much all inferiour things depend vpon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbes, will hardly iudge it either meete or good, that the Angels assisting them should bee driuen to betake themselues vnto other Stations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably bee supplyed, and by descending their roomes aboue should become vacant. For wee are not to dreame in this case of any platforme, which bringeth equally high and low vnto Parish Churches, nor of any constraint to maintaine at their owne charge men sufficient for that purpose; the one so repugnant to the Maiestie and Greatnesse of English Nobilitie, the other so improbable and vnlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, seeme not indeed to haue conceiued what either is. But the eye of Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and secret dispositions of men, it beholdeth how farre one starre differeth from another in glorie, and as mens seuerall degrees require, accordingly it guideth them, granting vnto principall Personages priuiledges correspondent to their high estates, and that not onely in Ciuill, but euen in Spirituall affaires, to the end they may loue that Religion the more, which no way seeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminisheth their dignitie and greatnesse, but to doe them good, doth them honour also, and by such extraordinarie fauours teacheth them to bee in the Church of God, the same which the Church of God esteemeth them, more worth then thousands. It appeareth therefore in what respect the Lawes of this Realme haue giuen libertie of non-residence to some, that their knowledge may be increased, and their labours by that meane bee made afterwards the more profitable to others, lest the houses of great men should want that daily exercise of Religion, wherein their example auayleth as much, yea many times peraduenture more then the Lawes themselues, with the common sort. A third thing respected both in permitting absence, and also in granting to some that libertie of addition or pluralitie, which necessarily inforceth their absence, is a meere both iust and conscionable regard, that as men are in qualitie, and as their seruices are in waight for the publike good, so likewise their rewards and incouragements by speciall priuiledge of Law, might somewhat declare how the State it selfe doth accept their paines, much abhorring from their bestiall and sauage rudenesse, which thinke that Oxen should onely labour, and Asses feed. Thus to Readers in Vniuersities, whose very paper and booke expences, their ancient allowances and stipends at this day doe either not or hardly sustaine; to Gouernours of Colledges, lest the great ouer-plus of charges necessarily inforced vpon them, by reason of their place, and very slenderly supplied, by meanes of that change in the present condition of things, which their Founders could not foresee; to men call'd away from their Cures, and imployed in waighter busines, either of the Church or Common-wealth, because to impose vpon them a burthen which requireth their absence, and not to release them from the dutie of Residence, were a kind of cruell and barbarous iniustice; to Residents in Cathedrall Churches, or vpon dignities Ecclesiasticall, for as much as these being roomes of greater Hospitalitie, places of more respect & consequence then the rest, they

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are the rather to bee furniſhed with men of beſt qualitie, and the men for their qualities ſake to bee fauoured aboue others, I ſay vnto all theſe in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore giuen leaue while themſelues beare waighter burthens, to ſupply inferiour by deputation, and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to learning, Nobilitie and Authoritie permitteth, that men which haue taken Theologicall degrees in Schooles, the Suffraganes of Biſhops, the houſhold Chaplens of men of honour, or in great Office, the brethren and ſonnes of Lords temporall, or of Knights, if God ſhall moone the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into holy Orders, may obtaine to themſelues a facultie or licence to hold two Eccleſiaſticall Liuings though hauing cure, any ſpirituall Perſon of the Queenes Councell three ſuch Liuings, her Chaplens, what number of promotions her ſelfe in her owne Princely wiſdome thinketh good to beſtow vpon them. But, as it fareth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for iuſt conſiderations we open vnto ſome, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom ſuch fauours were neither meant, nor ſhould be communicated. The greatneſſe of the Harueſt, and the ſcarcitie of able Workemen hath made it neceſſarie, that Law ſhould yeeld to admit numbers of men but ſlenderly and meanely qualified. Hereupon becauſe whom all other worldly hopes haue forſaken, they commonly reſerue miniſteriall Vocation, as their laſt and ſureſt refuge euer open to forlorne men, the Church that ſhould nouriſh them, whoſe ſeruice ſhee needeth, hath obtruded vpon her their ſeruice, that know not otherwiſe how to liue and ſuſtaine themſelues. Theſe finding nothing more eaſie then meanes to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other, which hath authoritie, and nothing more vſuall then too much facilitie in condiſcending vnto ſuch requeſts, are often receiued into that Vocation whereunto their vnworthineſſe is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggrauate the crime of *Ieroboams* prophane Apoſtaſie, then that he choſe to haue his Cleargie the ſcumme and refuſe of his whole Land? Let no man ſpare to tell it them, they are not faithfull towards God, that burthen wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarmes of vnworthy creatures. I will not ſay of all degrees in the Miniſterie, that which Saint *Chryſoſtome* doth of the higheſt, *He that will vndertake ſo waighty a charge, had need to be a man of great vnderſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with Diuine grace, for integritie of manners, puritie of life, and for all other vertues, to haue in him more then a man*; but ſurely this I will ſay with *Chryſoſtome*, *We need not doubt whether God bee highly diſpleaſed with vs, or what the cauſe of his anger is if things of ſo great feare & holines as are the leaſt & loweſt duties of his ſeruice, be throwne wilfully on them whoſe not onely meane, but bad & ſcandalous qualitie doth defile whatſoeuer they handle.* Theſe eye-ſores and blemiſhes, in continuall attendants about the Seruice of Gods Sanctuarie, doe make them euery day fewer, that willingly reſort vnto it, till at length all affection and zeale towards God bee extinct in them through a wearieſome contempt of their perſons, which for a time onely liue by Religion, and are for recompence in fine, the death of the Nourſe that feedeth them. It is not obſcure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the libertie, which Law is enforced to grant, and not onely this, but the like abuſe of that fauour alſo, which Law in other conſidera-

Chryſoſt. de Sacerd. l. 3. c. 14.

tions alreadie mentioned, affoordeth touching reſidence and pluralitie of ſpirituall Liuings. Now that which is practiſed corruptly to the detriment & hurt of the Church, againſt the purpoſe of thoſe very Lawes, which notwithſtanding are pretended in defence and iuſtification thereof, wee muſt needes acknowledge no leſſe repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, then the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants to the principles of iuſt Soueraignetie. Howbeit not ſo thoſe ſpeciall priuiledges which are but inſtruments wreſted and forced to ſerue malice. There is in the Patriarke of Heathen Philoſophers this precepts, [a] *Let no Husband-man, nor no Handy-craftſman be a Prieſt.* The reaſon whereupon he groundeth, is a maxime in the law of Nature. It importeth greatly the good *of all men that God bee reuerenced*, with whoſe honour it ſtandeth not that they which are publiquely imployed in his ſeruice, ſhould liue of baſe & manuarie Trades. Now compare herewith the Apoſtles words, [b] *Ye know theſe hands haue miniſtred to my neceſſities, and them that are with me.* What thinke wee? Did the Apoſtle any thing oppoſite herein, or repugnant to the Rules and Maximes of the Law of Nature? The ſelfe-ſame reaſons that accord his actions with the law of Nature ſhall declare our Priuiledges and his Lawes no leſſe conſonant. Thus therefore we ſee', that although they vrge very colourably the Apoſtles owne ſentences, requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be able to diuide rightly the word of God, that they who are placed in charge, ſhould attend vnto it themſelues, which in abſence they cannot doe, and that they which haue diuers Cures, muſt of neceſſitie be abſent from ſome, whereby the Law Apoſtolique ſeemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance, cannot otherwiſe bee vnderſtood, then ſo as to charge them with perpetuall reſidence: againe, though in euery of theſe cauſes, they infinitely heape vp the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of Imperiall authoritie, our owne Nationall Lawes & Ordinances prohibiting the ſame, and grounding euermore their prohibitions, partly on the Lawes of God, and partly on reaſons drawne from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and inferre contradiction betweene thoſe Lawes which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certaine caſes haue allowed the ordaining of ſundry Miniſters, whoſe ſufficiencie for learning is but meane, againe the licenſing of ſome to be abſent from their Flockes, and of others to hold more then one onely Liuing which hath cure of Soules, I ſay, to conclude repugnancie betweene theſe eſpeciall permiſſions, & the former generall prohibitions, which ſet not downe their owne limits, is erronious, and the manifeſt cauſe thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both ſorts of Law concerne. If then the conſiderations bee reaſonable, iuſt and good, whereupon wee ground whatſoeuer our Lawes haue by ſpeciall right permitted; if onely the effects of abuſed Priuiledges be repugnant to the Maximes of common right, this maine foundation of repugnancie being broken, whatſoeuer they haue built thereupon, falleth neceſſarily to ground. Whereas therefore, vpon ſurmiſe or vaine ſuppoſall of oppoſition betweene our ſpeciall, and the principles of common right, they gather that ſuch as are with vs ordained Miniſters, before they can preach, be neither lawfull, becauſe the Lawes already mentioned, forbid generally to create ſuch, neither are they indeed Miniſters, although wee commonly

a ἔτι γεωργὸν, ἔτι βάναυσον ἱερέα κατασατέον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρίστων τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς. Ariſt. Po. 7. c. 9

b Act. 20. 34. 1. Cor. 4. 12. 1. Theſ. 2. 9. 2. Theſ. 3. 8.

monly ſo name them, but whatſoeuer they execute by vertue of ſuch their pretended vocation is voide; that all our grants and tolerations, as well of this as the reſt are fruſtrate and of no effect, the perſons that enioy them poſſeſſe them wrongfully, and are depriuable at all houres; finally, that other iuſt and ſufficient remedie of euils there can bee none beſides the vtter abrogation of theſe our mitigations, and the ſtrict eſtabliſhment of former Ordinances to be abſolutely executed whatſoeuer follow, albeit the anſwere alreadie made in diſcouerie of the weake and vnſound foundation whereupon they haue built theſe erronious collections may bee thought ſufficient, yet becauſe our deſire is rather to ſatisfie if it be poſſible, then to ſhake them off, we are with very good will contented to declare the cauſes of all particulars more formally and largely, then the equitie of our owne defence doth require. There is crept into the minds of men, at this day a ſecret pernicious and peſtilent conceit that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian man doth conſiſt in diſcouerie of other mens faults, and in wit to diſcourſe of our owne profeſſion. When the World moſt abounded with iuſt, righteous and perfect men, their chiefeſt ſtudie was the exerciſe of pietie, wherein for their ſafeſt direction, they reuerently harkened to the readings of the Law of God, they kept in minde the Oracles and Aphoriſmes of wiſedome, which tended vnto vertuous life, if any ſcruple of Conſcience did trouble them for matter of Actions which they tooke in hand, nothing was attempted before counſell and aduiſe were had for feare leaſt raſhly they might offend. Wee are now more confident, not that our knowledge and iudgement is riper, but becauſe our deſires are another way. Their ſcope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeuour was reformation of life, [a] our vertue nothing but to heare gladly the reproofe of vice; they in the practice of their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we eſpecially our eares and tongues. We are growne as in many things elſe, ſo in this to a kinde of intemperancie, which (only Sermons excepted) hath almoſt brought all other duties of Religion out of taſte. At the leaſt they are not in that account and reputation which they ſhould bee. Now becauſe men bring all Religion in a manner to the only office of hearing Sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited doe imbrace any ſpeciall opinion different from other men, the Sermons that relliſh not that opinion, can in no wiſe pleaſe their appetite. Such therefore as preach vnto them, but hit not the ſtring they looke for, are reiected as vnprofitable, the reſt as vnlawfull, and indeed no Miniſters, if the facultie of Sermons want. For why? A Miniſter of the Word ſhould, they ſay, be able rightly to *diuide* the Word, Which Apoſtolique Canon, many thinke they doe well obſerue, when in opening the ſentences of holy Scripture they draw all things fauourably ſpoken vnto one ſide, but whatſoeuer is reprehenſiue ſeuere and ſharpe, they haue others on the contrary part whom that muſt alwayes concerne, by which their ouer partiall and vnindifferent proceeding while they thus labour amongſt the people to diuide the Word they make the Word a meane to diuide and diſtract the people. Ὀρθοτομεῖν *to diuide aright*, doth note in the Apoſtles Writings, ſoundneſſe of

[a] Αλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς πράττουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔσεσθαι σπουδαίοις· ὅμοιον τι ποιοῦντες τοῖς κάμνουσιν οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούουσι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι τῇ ἕξει τὸ σῶμα οὐ θεραπευόμενοι, οὐδ' οὗτοι τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντες. Ariſt. Eth. lib. 2. cap. 3.

doctrine onely, and in meaning standeth opposite to καινολογεῖν *the broaching of new opinions against that which is receiued.* For questionlesse the first things deliuered to the Church of Christ, were pure and sincere Truth. Which whosoeuer did afterwards oppugne could not choose but diuide the Church into two moities, in which diuision, such as taught what was first belieued helde the truer part, the contrary side in that they were teachers of noueltie erred. For preuention of which euill there are in this Church many singular and well deuised remedies, as namely the vse of subscribing to the Articles of Religion before admission to degrees of learning, or to any Ecclesiasticall liuing, the custome of reading the same Articles and of approuing them in publike Assemblies whersoeuer men haue Benefices with cure of soules, the order of testifying vnder their hands allowance of the Booke of Common Prayer, and the Booke of ordayning Ministers; finally, the Discipline and moderate seueritie which is vsed either in other wise correcting or silencing them that trouble and disturbe the Church with Doctrines which tend vnto Innouation, it being better that the Church should want altogether the benefit of such mens labours, then indure the mischiefe of their inconformitie to good Lawes; in which case if any repine at the course and proceedings of Iustice, they must learne to content themselues with the answere of *M. Curius,* which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the Body of the Common-wealth, in whose behalfe because it might haue beene pleaded that the partie was a man seruiceable, he therefore began his iudiciall sentence with this preamble, *non esse opus Reipu. eo ciue qui parere nesciret; The Common-wealth needeth men of qualitie, yet neuer those men which haue not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of *England* hath taken to prouide that they who are Teachers of others may doe it soundly, that the Puritie and Vnitie as well of ancient Discipline as Doctrine may be vpheld, that auoyding singularities, we may all glorifie God with one heart, and one tongue, they of all men do least approue, that most vrge the Apostles Rule and Canon. For which cause they alleage it not so much to that purpose, as to proue that vnpreaching Ministers (for so they terme them) can haue no true nor lawfull calling in the Church of God. Saint *Augustine* hath said of the will of man, that *simply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our wel-willing is from Grace.* We say as much of the Minister of God, *publikely to teach and instruct the Church, is necessary in euery Ecclesiasticall Minister, but abilitie to teach by Sermons is a Grace which God doth bestow on them whom he maketh sufficient for the commendable discharge of their dutie.* That therefore wherein a Minister differeth from other Christian men, is not as some haue childishly imagined, the *sound preaching of the Word of God,* but as they are lawfully and truly Gouernours to whom authoritie of Regiment is giuen in the Common-wealth, according to the order which Politie hath set, so Canonicall Ordination in the Church of Christ is that which maketh a lawfull Minister, *as touching the validitie of any Act which appertaineth to that vocation.* The cause why Saint *Paul* willed *Timothy* not to bee ouerhastie in ordaining Ministers, was (as wee very well may coniecture) because impositon of hands doth consecrate and make them Ministers, whether they haue gifts and qualities fit for the laudable discharge of their duties or no.

Valer. l. 6. c. 3.

Ex. mar. p. 21.

If

If want of learning and skill to preach did fruſtrate their Vocation, Miniſters ordained before they be growne vnto that maturitie ſhould receiue new Ordination, whenſoeuer it chanceth, that ſtudie and induſtrie doth make them afterwards more able to performe the Office, then which what conceit can bee more abſurd? Was not Saint *Auguſtine* himſelfe contented to admit an Aſſiſtant in his owne Church, a man of ſmall Erudition, conſidering that what hee wanted in knowledge, was ſupplied by thoſe vertues, which made his life a better Orator, then more learning could make others whoſe conuerſation was leſſe holy? Were the Prieſts, ſithence *Moſes*, all able and ſufficient men, learnedly to interprete the Law of God? or was it euer imagined, that this defect ſhould fruſtrate what they executed, and depriue them of right vnto any thing they claimed by vertue of their Prieſthood? Surely, as in Magiſtrates, the want of thoſe gifts which their Office needeth, is cauſe of iuſt imputation of blame in them that wittingly chooſe vnſufficient and vnfit men when they might doe otherwiſe, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor euery action of Magiſtracie fruſtrate in that reſpect. So whether it were of neceſſitie, or euen of very careleſſenes, that men vnable to preach ſhould be taken in Paſtors roomes, neuertheleſſe, it ſeemeth to bee an errour in them, which thinke that the lacke of any ſuch perfection defeateth vtterly their Calling. To wiſh that all men were ſo qualified, as their Places and Dignities require, to hate all ſiniſter and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let; to couet ſpeedie redreſſe of thoſe things whatſoeuer, whereby the Church ſuſtaineth detriment, theſe good and vertuous deſires cannot offend any but vngodly minds. Notwithſtanding, ſome in the true vehemencie, and others vnder the faire pretence of theſe deſires, haue aduentured that which is ſtrange, that which is violent and vniuſt. There are which in confidence of their generall allegations concerning the knowledge, the Reſidence and the ſingle Liuings of miniſters, preſume not onely to annihilate the ſolemne Ordinations of ſuch as the Church muſt of force admit, but alſo to vrge a kind of vniuerſall proſcription againſt them, to ſet downe Articles, to draw Commiſſions, and almoſt to name themſelues of the *Quorum*, for inquirie into mens eſtates and dealings, whom at their pleaſure they would depriue and make obnoxious to what puniſhment themſelues liſt, and that not for any violation of Lawes, either Spirituall or Ciuill, but becauſe men haue truſted the Lawes too farre, becauſe they haue held and inioyed the libertie which Law granteth, becauſe they had not the wit to conceiue as theſe men doe, that Lawes were made to intrap the ſimple, by permitting thoſe things in ſhew and appearance, which indeed ſhould neuer take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a ſecret condition to bee put in practice, *If they ſhould be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God*, which condition failing in all Miniſters that cannot preach in all that are abſent from their Liuings, and in all that haue diuers Liuings (for ſo it muſt bee preſumed, though neuer as yet prooued) therefore as men which haue broken the Law of God, and Nature, they are deprieueable at all houres. Is this the Iuſtice of that Diſcipline whereunto all Chriſtian Churches muſt ſtoope and ſubmit themſelues? is this the equitie wherewith they labour to reforme the World? I will no way

The Author of the *Abſtract.*

way diminish the force of those Arguments whereupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another Glasse, there are Ciuill as well as Ecclesiasticall Vnsufficiencies, Non-residences, and Pluralities; yea, the reasons which Light of Nature hath ministred against both are of such affinitie, that much lesse they cannot inforce in the one then in the other. When they that beare great Offices, bee persons of meane worth, the contempt whereinto their authoritie groweth, [n] weakeneth the sinew of the whole State. Notwithstanding, where many Gouernors are needfull, and they not many, whom their qualitie can commend, [o] the penurie of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable: Cities in the absence of their Gouernours, are as ships wanting Pilots at sea. But were it therefore [p] Iustice to punish whom superiour Authoritie pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be imployed elsewhere? In committing [q] many Offices to one man, there are apparantly these inconueniences, the Commonwealth doth lose the benefit of seruiceable men, which might be trayned vp in those roomes; it is not easie for one man to discharge many mens duties well; in seruice of Warfare and Nauigation, were it not the ouerthrow of whatsoeuer is vndertaken, if one or two should ingrosse such Offices as being now diuided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Neuertheless, be it farre from the minde of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations, Princes either ought of dutie to reuoke all such kind of grants, though made with very speciall respect to the extraordinarie merit of certayne men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their Offices, with speech to this or the like effect, *For as much as you* A. B. *by the space of many yeeres, haue done vs that faithfull seruice in most important affaires, for which wee alwayes iudging you worthy of much honour, haue therefore committed vnto you from time to time, very great and waightie Offices, which hitherto you quietly inioy; we are now giuen to vnderstand, that certaine graue and learned men haue found in the bookes of ancient Philosophers, diuers Arguments drawne from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderfull discommodities which vse to grow by Dignities thus heaped together in one; For which cause, at this present, mooued in conscience and tender care for the publike good, wee haue summoned you hither, to dispossesse you of those places, and to depose you from those roomes, whereof indeed by vertue of our owne grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other to thinke vs rash, light, or inconstant, in so doing: For we tell you plaine, that herein we will both say and doe that thing which the noble and wise Emperor sometime both said, and did, in a matter of farre lesse waight then this,* Quod inconsultò fecimus, consultò reuocamus, *That which we vnaduisedly haue done, we aduisedly will reuoke and vndo.* Now for mine owne part, the greatest harme I would wish them who thinke that this were consonant with equitie and right, is, that they might but liue where all things are with such kind of Iustice ordered, till experience haue taught them to see their error. As for the last thing which is incident into the cause whereof wee speake, namely, what course were the best and safest whereby to remedie such euils as the Church of God may sustaine, where the present libertie of Law is turned to great abuse, some light we may receiue from abroad, not vnprofitable for direction of Gods

owne

n Μεγάλων κυρίοι καθεσῶτες ἀνὴρ ὀλίγος ἐστὶ μεγάλα βλάπτουσι Aristo.

o *Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri.* Mamertin. pan. ad Iulian.

p *Neque enim æquum visum est absentem reipub. causa inter reos referri dum reipub. operatur.* Vlpian. l. 15. *si maritus, ad legem* Iulian. *de adulter.*

q *Arist. Polit. lib 2. cap. 11.* See the like Preamble framed by the Author of the *Abstract*, where hee fancieth a Bishop, deposing one vnapt to preach, whom himselfe had before ordayned.

owne ſacred Houſe and Family. The Romanes being a people full of generoſitie, and by nature courteous, did no way more ſhew their gentle diſpoſition, then by eaſie condeſcending to ſet their bondmen at libertie. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the Common-wealth, was beſtowed for the moſt part as an ordinarie reward of vertue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedome with that which their iuſt labours could gaine, & their honeſt frugalitie ſaue. But as the Empire daily grew vp, ſo the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honored, and vertue not cared for, neither did any thing ſeeme opprobrious out of which there might riſe commoditie and profit, ſo that it could be no maruell in a State thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenious ſort were become baſe, the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſtie, did ſome by robberies, burglaries, and proſtitutions of their bodies gather wherewith to redeeme libertie; others obtaine the ſame at the hands of their Lords, by ſeruing them as vile inſtruments in thoſe attempts, which had beene worthy to be reuenged with ten thouſand deaths. A learned, iudicious, and polite Hiſtorian, hauing mentioned ſo foule diſorders, giueth his iudgement & cenſure of them in this ſort, *Such eye-ſores in the Commonwealth haue occaſioned many vertuous minds, to condemne altogether the cuſtome of granting liberty to any bond-ſlaue, for as much as it ſeemed a thing abſurd, that a people which commanded all the world, ſhould conſiſt of ſo vile refuſe. But neither is this the only cuſtome wherein the profitable inuentions of former are depraued by latter Ages, and for my ſelfe I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſly vſed cuſtomes, which abrogation might peraduenture becauſe of greater inconueniences enſuing, but as much as may be I would rather adviſe that redreſſe were ſought, through the carefull prouidence of chiefe Rulers and Ouerſeers of the Commonwealth, by whom a yeerely ſuruay being made of all that are manumiſed, they which ſeeme worthy might bee taken and diuided into Tribes with other Citizens, the reſt diſperſed into Colonies abroad, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, that the Commonwealth might ſuſtaine neither harme nor diſgrace by them.* The waies to meet with diſorders growing by abuſe of Lawes, are not ſo intricate and ſecret, eſpecially in our caſe, that men ſhould need either much aduertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſell to that purpoſe may ſeeme needfull, this Church (God be thanked) is not deſtitute of men indued with ripe iudgement, whenſoeuer any ſuch thing ſhall be thought neceſſary. For which end at this preſent to propoſe any ſpeciall inuentions of mine owne, might argue in a man of my place & calling more preſumption perhaps then wit. I will therefore leaue it intire vnto grauer conſideration, ending now with requeſt only & moſt earneſt ſute, firſt, that they which giue Ordination, would, as they tender the very honor of Ieſus Chriſt, the ſafetie of men, & the endleſſe good of their owne ſoules, take heed, leſt vnneceſſarily, and through their default the Church be found worſe, or leſſe furniſhed then it might be: ſecondly, that they which by right of Patronage haue power to preſent vnto ſpiritual Liuings, & may in that reſpect much damnifie the Church of God, would, for the eaſe of their own account in that dreadful day, ſomwhat conſider what it is to betray for gaine the ſoules which Chriſt hath redeemed with bloud, what to violate the ſacred bond of fidelity & ſolemne promiſe, giuen at the firſt to God & his Church by them,

Dionyſ. Halicarn. Romantiq. l. 4.

from

from whoſe originall intereſt together with the ſelfe-ſame Title of right, the ſame Obligation of dutie likewiſe is deſcended: Thirdly, that they vnto whom the granting of Diſpenſations is committed; or which otherwiſe haue any ſtroke in the diſpoſition of ſuch preferments as appertayne vnto learned men, would bethinke themſelues what it is to reſpect any thing either aboue or beſides merit, conſidering how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and qualitie there is ſo little reſpect had, or ſo great vnto them whoſe deſerts are very meane, that nothing doth ſeeme more ſtrange then the one ſort, becauſe they are not accounted of, and the other becauſe they are, it being euery mans hope and expectation in the Church of God, eſpecially that the onely purchaſe of greater rewards ſhould bee alwayes greater deſerts, and that nothing ſhould euer bee able to plant a Thorne where a Vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honorable Perſonages, and they, who by vertue of any principall Office in the Common-wealth are inabled to qualifie a certayne number, and make them capable of fauours or faculties aboue others, ſuffer not their names to be abuſed, contrarie to the true intent & meaning of wholeſome Lawes, by men in whom there is nothing notable beſides couetouſneſſe and ambition: Fiftly, that the grauer and wiſer ſort in both Vniuerſities, or whoſoeuer they be, with whoſe approbation the markes and recogniſances of all learning are beſtowed, would thinke the Apoſtles caution againſt vnaduiſed Ordinations, not impertinent or vnneceſſary to be borne in minde, euen when they grant thoſe degrees of Schooles, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindneſſes beſtowed by way of humanitie, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, fauours which alwaies imply a teſtimonie giuen to the Church and Common-wealth, concerning mens ſufficiency for manners and knowledge; a teſtimonie, vpon the credit whereof ſundry Statutes of the Realme are built, a teſtimonie ſo far auaileable, that nothing is more reſpected for the warrant of diuers mens abilitie, to ſerue in the affaires of the Realme, a teſtimonie wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to bee alwayes giuen, and doe thereby induce into errour ſuch as deeme it a thing vnciuill to call the credit thereof in queſtion, let them looke that God ſhall returne backe vpon their heads, and cauſe them in the ſtate of their owne Corporations, to feele either one way or other the puniſhment of thoſe harmes, which the Church through their negligence doth ſuſtayne in that behalfe: Finally, and to conclude, that they who inioy the benefit of any ſpeciall Indulgence or fauour, which the Lawes permit, would as wel remember what in dutie towards the Church and in conſcience towards God they ought to doe, as what they may doe by vſing to their owne aduantage whatſoeuer they ſee tolerated, no man being ignorant that the cauſe why abſence in ſome caſes hath beene yeelded vnto, and in equitie thought ſufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through induſtrie elſewhere, the reaſon likewiſe wherefore pluralities are allowed vnto men of note, a very ſoueraigne and ſpeciall care, that as Fathers in the ancient world did declare the preeminence of prioritie in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their firſt borne; ſo the Church by a courſe not vnlike in aſſigning mens rewards, might teſtifie an eſtimation, had proportionably of their vertues, according to the ancient rule Apoſtolike, *They which excell in labour, ought to*

excell

excell in honour, and therefore vnleſſe they anſwere faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, vnleſſe ſincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to ſow becauſe they reape, and to ſow as much more abundantly, as they reape more abundantly then other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities, they formally bind themſelues, let them be well aſſured that the honie which they eate with fraude, ſhall turne in the end into true gall, for as much as Lawes are the ſacred image of his wiſdome who moſt ſeuerely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſubtle crimes that ſeldome are taken within the walke of humane Iuſtice. I therefore conclude that the grounds and maximes of common right whereupon Ordinations of Miniſters vnable to preach, tolerations of abſence from their cures, and the multiplications of their ſpirituall liuings are diſproued, doe but indefinitely enforce them vnlawfull, not vnlawfull vniuerſally and without exception; that the Lawes which indefinitely are againſt all theſe things, and the Priuiledges which make for them in certaine caſes are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Lawes of God and nature are violated through the effects of abuſed Priuiledges; that neither our Ordinations of men vnable to make Sermons, nor our diſpenſations for the reſt can bee iuſtly proued fruſtrate by vertue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition betweene the ſpeciall Lawes of this Church which haue permitted, and thoſe generall which are alledged to diſproone the ſame; that when priuiledges by abuſe are growne incommodious, there muſt be redreſſe; that for remedie of ſuch euils, there is no neceſſitie, the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part, the ſpecialties before mentioned; and that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntarie reformation thereof on all hands which may giue paſſage vnto any abuſe.

For the maine Hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions: let that before ſet downe in the 9. be read together with this laſt the 81. Paragraph.

FINIS.

Certayne

DIVINE TRACTATES, and other Godly SERMONS.

By

RICHARD HOOKER, sometimes Fellow of CORPVS CHRISTI *Colledge in* OXFORD.

The Contents follow.

LONDON
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1632.

TO THE READER.



He pleaſures of thy ſpacious walkes in Maſter HOOKERS Temple-Garden *(not vnfitly ſo called, both for the* Temple *whereof he was* Maſter, *and the Subiect,* Eccleſiaſticall Politie*) doe promiſe acceptance to theſe* Flowers, *planted and watered by the ſame hand, & for thy ſake compoſed into this Poſie. Sufficiently are they commended, by their fragrant ſmell, in the dogmaticall Truth; by their beautifull colours, in the accurate ſtile; by their medicinable vertue, againſt ſome diſeaſes in our neighbour-Churches now prouing epidemicall, and threatning farther infection; by their ſtrait feature and ſpreading nature, growing from the root of* Faith *(which, as here is proued, can neuer be rooted vp) and extending the branches of* Charitie *to the couering of* Noahs nakednesſe, *opening the windowes of* Hope *to mens miſtie conceits of their bemiſted forefathers. Thus and more then thus, doe the workes commend themſelues; the Work-man needs a better workman to commend Him (*ALEXANDERS *picture requires* APELLES *his pencill) nay, he needs it not,* His owne workes commend him in the gates, *and* being dead, he yet ſpeaketh; *the ſyllables of that memorable name Maſter* RICHARD HOOKER, *proclaiming more, then if I ſhould here ſtile him a painefull Student, a profound Scholler, a iudicious Writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receiue then this poſthume Orphan, for his owne, yea for thine owne ſake: and if the Printer hath with ouer-much haſte, like* MEPHIBOSHETHS *Nurſe, lamed the Child with ſlips and falls, yet be thou of* DAVIDS *mind,* Shew kindneſſe to him for his Father IONATHANS ſake. *God grant that the reſt of his brethren be not more then lamed, and that as* SAVLS three ſonnes died the ſame day with him, *ſo thoſe Three promiſed to perfect his* Politie, *with other iſſues of that learned braine, be not buried in the graue with their renowned Father. Farewell.*

W. S.

The Contents of theſe Treatiſes following.

1. *A Supplication made to the Councell by Maſter* WALTER TRAVERS.

2. *Maſter* HOOKERS *anſwer to the Supplication that Maſter* TRAVERS *made to the Councell.*

3. *A learned Diſcourſe of Iuſtification, Workes, and how the foundation of Faith is ouer-throwne.*

4. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride.*

5. *A Remedie againſt Sorrow and Feare, deliuered in a Funerall Sermon.*

6. *Of the certainty and perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect: eſpecially of the Prophet* HABAKKVKS *Faith.*

7. *Two Sermons vpon part of Saint* IVDES *Epiſtle.*

A SVPPLICATION MADE TO THE COVNCELL BY MASTER WALTER TRAVERS.

RIGHT Honourable, the manifold benefits which all the Subiects within this Dominion do at this present, and haue many yeeres enioyed, vnder her Maiesties most happie and prosperous raigne, by your godly wisedome, and carefull watching ouer this estate night and day: I truly and vnfainedly acknowledge from the bottome of my heart, ought worthily to binde vs all, to pray continually to Almightie God for the continuance and encrease of the life and good estate of your Honors, and to be readie with all good duties to satisfie and serue the same to our power. Besides publique benefits common vnto all, I must needs, and doe willingly confesse my selfe to stand bound by most speciall obligation to serue and honor you more then any other, for the honourable fauour it hath pleased you to vouchsafe both oftentimes heretofore, & also now of late, in a matter more deare vnto me thē any earthly commoditie, that is, the vpholding & furthering of my seruice in the ministring of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. For which cause, as I haue been alwaies careful so to carrie my selfe as I might by no means giue occasion to be thought vnworthie of so great a benefit, so do I still, next vnto her Maesties gracious countenance, hold nothing more deare and precious vnto me, then that I may alwaies remaine in your Honors fauour, which hath oftentimes bin helpfull and comfortable vnto me in my Miinisterie, and to all such as reaped any fruit of my simple and faithfull labour. In which dutifull regard, I humbly beseech your Honours to vouchsafe to do me this grace, to conceiue nothing of me otherwise then according to the dutie wherin I ought to liue, by any information against me, before your Honours haue heard my answer, and bin throughly informed of the matter. Which although it be a thing, that your

wisdomes not in fauour, but in iustice yeeld to all men, yet the state of the calling vnto the Ministerie, whereunto it hath pleased God of his goodnes to call me, though vnworthiest of all, is so subiect to mis-information, as except we may find this fauour with your Honours, we cannot looke for any other, but that our vnindifferēt parties may easily procure vs to be hardly esteemed of, & that we shal be made like the poore fisher-boates in the Sea, which euery swelling wane & billow raiseth and runneth ouer. Wherin my estate is yet harder then any others of my rank & calling, who are indeed to fight against flesh & bloud in what part soeuer of the Lords host and field they shall stand marshalled to serue, yet many of them deale with it naked & vnfurnished of weapons: but my seruice was in a place where I was to encounter with it wel appointed & armed with skill and with authoritie, whereof as I haue alwaies thus deserued, & therefore haue bin careful by al good meanes to entertaine stil your Honors fauorable respect of me, so haue I special cause at this present, wherin mis-information to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and other of the high Commission hath bin able so far to preuaile against me, that by their letter they haue inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of ministerie in the Temple or elsewhere, hauing neuer once called me before them to vnderstād by mine answer the truth of such things as had bin informed against me. We haue a storie in our books, wherein the Pharises proceeding against our Sauiour Christ without hauing heard him, is reproued by an honorable Counsellour (as the Euangelist doth tearme him) saying, Doth our Law iudge a man before it heare him, and know what he hath done? Which I do not mention, to the end that by an indirect & couert speech I might so compare these, who haue without euer hearing me, pronounced a heauie sentence against me: for, notwithstanding such proceedings, I purpose by Gods grace to carry my self towards them in all seeming dutie agreeable to their places: much lesse do I presume to liken my cause to our Sauiour Christs, who hold it my chiefest honor & happines to serue him, though it be but among the hindes & hired seruāts, that serue him in the basest corners of his house. But my purpose in mentioning it, is, to shew by the iudgement of a Prince & great man in Israel, that such proceeding standeth not with the law of God & in a princely pattern to shew it to be a noble part of an honorable Counsellour, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow & affect such a course in iustice, as is agreeable to the law of God. We haue also a plain rule in the word of God, not to proceed any otherwise against any Elder of the Church, much lesse against one that laboureth in the word & in teaching: which rule is deliuered with this most earnest charge and obtestation, I beseech and charge thee in the sight of God, & the Lord Iesus Christ, & the Elect Angels, that thou keepe those [rules] without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partialitie, or inclining to either part: which Apostolicall & most earnest charge, I referre it to your Honors wisdome how it hath bin regarded in so heauie a iudgement against me, without euer hearing my cause; and whether, as hauing God before their eies, and the Lord Iesus, by whom all former iudgements shall be tried again, and as in the presence of the elect Angels, witnesses & obseruers of the regimēt of the Church, they haue proceeded thus to such a sentēce. They alleage indeed

1. Tim. 5. verse 19. 21.

two

two reaſons in their letters whereupon they reſtraine my Miniſtery, which, if they were as ſtrong againſt me as they are ſuppoſed, yet I referre to your Honors wiſdomes, whether the quality of ſuch an offēce as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiſcretion, deſerue ſo grieuous a puniſhmēt both to the Church and me, in taking away my Miniſtery, and that poore little commodity which it yeeldeth for the neceſſary maintenance of my life; if ſo vnequall a ballancing of faults and puniſhments ſhould haue place in the common-wealth, ſurely we ſhould ſhortly haue no actions vpon the caſe, nor of treſpaſſe, but al ſhould be pleas of the Crown, nor any man amerced, or fined but for euery light offence put to his ranſome. I haue credibly heard, that ſome of the Miniſtery haue bin committed for grieuous tranſgreſſions of the lawes of God and men, being of no ability to do other ſeruice in the Church then to reade, yet hath it bin thought charitable & ſtanding with Chriſtian moderation and temperancy, not to depriue ſuch of miniſtery & beneficency, but to inflict ſome more tolerable puniſhment. Which I write not becauſe ſuch, as I think, were to be fauoured, but to ſhew how vnlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodnes of God not to be touched with any ſuch blame, and one who according to the meaſure of the gift of God, haue laboured now ſome yeers painefully, in regard of the weake eſtate of my body in preaching the Goſpell, and as I hope, not altogether vnprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honours to giue me leaue briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their Letters, and what anſwer, I haue to make vnto it.

The firſt is, that as they ſay I am not lawfully called to the function of the Miniſtery, nor allowed to preach according to the lawes of this Church of England.

For anſwer to this, I had need to diuide the points, and firſt to make anſwer to the former, wherein leauing to ſhew what by the holy Scriptures is required in a lawfull calling, and that all that is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your other waighty affaires, I reſt.

I this anſwer: My calling to the Miniſtery was ſuch as in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be vſed by the orders agreed vpon in the National Synods of the Low Countries, for the direction and guidance of their Churches, which orders are the ſame with thoſe wherby the French and Scottiſh Churches are gouerned, wherof I haue ſhewed ſuch ſufficient teſtimonial to my Lord the Archbiſhop of Cant. as is requiſite in ſuch a matter: whereby it muſt needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Miniſtery in thoſe Churches, then is my calling, being the ſame with theirs, alſo lawful. But I ſuppoſe notwithſtanding they vſe this generall ſpeech, they meane only my calling is not ſufficient, to deale in the Miniſtery within this land, becauſe I was not made Miniſter according to that order which in this cauſe is ordained by our lawes. Wherunto I beſeech your Honors to conſider throughly of mine anſwer, becauſe exceptiō now again is taken to my Miniſtery, wheras hauing bin heretofore called in queſtion for it, I ſo anſwered the matter, as I continued my miniſtery, & for any thing I diſcerned, looked to heare that no more obiected vnto me. The communion of Saints (which euery Chriſtian man profeſſeth to beleeue) is ſuch, as that the acts which are done in any true Church

of Christs according to his word, are held as lawful, being done in one Church as in another. Which as it holdeth in other acts of ministery, as baptisme, marriage and such like, so doth it in the calling to the ministery; by reason whereof all Churches doe acknowledge & receiue him for a minister of the word who hath beene lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the same profession. A Doctor created in any Vniuersity of Christendome, is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The Church of Rome it selfe & the Canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in Spaine, they may execute that belõgeth to their order in Italy, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Gospel neuer made any question of it. Which if they shall now begin to make doubt of, and deny such to be lawfully called to the Ministery, as are called by another order then our own, then may it well be looked for that other Churches will doe the like: and if a Minister called in the Low-Countries be not lawfully called in Englãd, then may they say to our preachers which are there that being made by another order then theirs, they cãnot suffer them to execute any act of Ministery amongst them; which in the end must needs breed a schisme & dangerous diuision in the Churches. Further I haue heard of those that are learned in the lawes of this land, that by expresse Statute to that purpose *Anno* 13. vpon subscription of the Articles agreed vpon *An.* 62. that they who pretend to haue bin ordered by another order then that which is now established, are of like capacity to enioy any place of ministery within the lãd, as they that haue bin ordered according to that is now by law in this case established. Which comprehending manifestly al, euen such as were made Priests according to the order of the Church of Rome, it must needs be, that the law of a Christiã land professing the Gospel, should be as fauourable for a minister of the word as for a Popish priest, which also was so found in M. *Whittingames* case, who notwithstãding such replies against him, enioyed still the benefit he had by his ministery, and might haue done vntill this day if God had spared him life so long; which if it be vnderstood so & practised in others, why should the change of the person alter the right, which the Law giueth to all other? The place of ministery, whereunto I was called, was not presentatiue: & if it had bin so, surely they would neuer haue presented any man whõ they neuer knew; & the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, & the ancient & best Canons, that no man should be made minister *sine titulo*: therfore hauing none, I could not by the orders of this Church haue entred into the ministery, before I had charge to tend vpon. When I was at *Antwerp*, & to take a place of ministery among the people of that nation, I see no cause why I should haue returned again ouer the seas for orders here, nor how I could haue done it, without disallowing the orders of the Churches prouided in the country where I was to liue. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the ministery is lawfull, and maketh me by our law of capacity to enioy any benefit or commodity, that any other by reason of his ministery may enioy. But my cause is yet more easie, who reaped no benefit of my ministery by law, receiuing onely a benenolence and voluntary contribution, and the ministery I dealt with being preaching only, which euery Deacon here may doe being licensed, and certaine that are neither Ministers

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nor Deacons: thus I anſwer the former of theſe two points, whereof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly deſire for a finall end thereof, that ſome competent Iudges in Law may determine of it; whereunto I referre and ſubmit my ſelfe with all reuerence and duty.

The ſecond is, that I preached without licence: whereunto this is my anſwer; I haue not preſumed vpon the calling I had to the Miniſtery abroad, to preach, or deale with any part of the Miniſtery within this Church, without the conſent and allowance of ſuch as vvere to allow me vnto it: my allowance vvas from the Biſhop of *London*, teſtified by his tvvo ſeueral Letters to the Inner Temple, vvho vvithout ſuch teſtimony vvould by no means reſt ſatisfied in it; vvhich letters being by me produced, I referre it to your Honors vviſedome, vvhether I haue taken vpon me to preach vvi hout being allowed (as they charge) according to the orders of the Realme. Thus hauing anſwered the ſecond point alſo, I haue done vvith the obiection of dealing vvithout calling or licence.

The other reaſon they alleadge is, concerning a late action wherin I had to deale vvith Maſter *Hooker*, Maſter of the Temple: in the handling of vvhich cauſe they charge me vvith an indiſcretion and vvant of duty, in that I inueighed (as they ſay) againſt certaine points of doctrine taught by him as erroneous not conferring vvith him, nor complayning of it to them. My anſwer hereunto ſtandeth in declaring to your Honors the vvhole courſe and carriage of that cauſe, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witneſſe, as neere as my beſt memory and notes of remembrance may ſerue me thereunto. After that I haue taken away that which ſeemeth to haue moued them to think me not charitably minded to Maſter *Hooker*, which is, becauſe he was brought in to Maſter *Alueyes* place, wherin this Church deſired that I might haue ſucceeded; vvhich place, if I vvould haue made ſute to haue obtained, or if I had ambitiouſly affected and ſought, I would not haue refuſed to haue ſatisfied by ſubſcription ſuch as the matter then ſeemed to depend vpon: wheras contrariwiſe, notwithſtanding I would not hinder the Church to doe that they thought to be moſt for their edification and comfort, yet did I neither by ſpeech, nor letter, make ſute to any for the obtaining of it, following herein that reſolution which I iudge to be moſt agreeable to the Word and Will of God, that is, That labouring and ſuing for places and charges in the Church is not lawfull. Further, whereas at the ſute of the Church ſome of your Honors entertained the cauſe, and brought it to a neere iſſue, that there ſeemed nothing to remaine, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when as he could not be ſatisfied but by my ſubſcribing to his late Articles, & that my anſwer agreeing to ſubſcribe according to any Law, and to the Statute prouided in that caſe, but praying to be reſpited for ſubſcribing to any other, which I could not in conſcience doe, either for the Temple (which otherwiſe, he ſaid, he would not commend me to) nor for any other place in the Church, did ſo little pleaſe my Lord Archbiſhop, as he reſolued that otherwiſe I ſhould not be commended to it. I had vtterly here no cauſe of offence againſt Maſter *Hooker*, whom I did in no ſort eſteeme to haue pre-

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uented or vndermined me, but that God diſpoſed of me as it pleaſed him by ſuch meanes and occaſions as I haue declared. Moreouer, as I had taken no cauſe of offence at Mr. *Hooker* for being preferred, ſo there were many witneſſes that I was glad that the place was giuen him, hoping to liue in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance & good will which hath bin betweene vs, and for ſome kind of affinity in the marriage of his neereſt kinred and mine: ſince his comming I haue ſo carefully endeuoured to entertaine all good correſpondence & agreement with him, as I think he himſelfe will beare me witneſſe of many earneſt Diſputations and Conferences with him about the matter; the rather, becauſe that contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but ſmally thereunto, but ioyned rather with ſuch as had alwayes oppoſed themſelues to any good order in this charge, and made themſelues to be brought indiſpoſed to his preſent ſtate and proceedings. For both knowing that Gods commandement charged me with ſuch duty, and diſcerning how much our peace might further the good ſeruice of God and his Church, and the mutuall comfort of vs both, I had reſolued conſtantly to ſeeke for peace, & though it ſhould flie from me (as I ſaw it did by meanes of ſome, who little deſired to ſee the good of our Church) yet according to the rule of Gods Word, to follow after it. Which being ſo (as hereof I take God to witnes, who ſearcheth the heart, & reines, and by his Sonne will iudge the World, both the quicke and dead) I hope no charitable iudgement can ſuppoſe me to haue ſtood euill-affected towards him for his place, or deſirous to fal into any cõtrouerſie with him. Which my reſolution I purſued, that whereas I diſcouered ſundry vnſound matters in his doctrine (as many of his Sermons taſted of ſome ſowre leauen, or other) yet thus I carried my ſelfe towards him. Matters of ſmaller weight, and ſo covertly diſcovered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly paſſed by, as one that diſcerned nothing of them, or had beene vnfurniſhed of replies. For other of great moment, and ſo openly deliuered, as there was iuſt cauſe of feare, leſt the Truth and Church of God ſhould be preiudiced and perilled by it, and ſuch as the conſcience of my duty and calling would not ſuffer me altogether to paſſe ouer, this was my courſe, To deuer, when I ſhould haue iuſt cauſe by my Text, the truth of ſuch doctrine as he had otherwiſe taught in generall ſpeeches, without touch of his perſon in any ſort, and further at conuenient opportunity to conferre with him in ſuch points. According to which determination, whereas he had taught certaine things concerning Predeſtination otherwiſe then the Word of God doth, as it is vnderſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpell, and not vnlike that wherwith *Coranus* ſometimes troubled his Church, I both deliuered the truth of ſuch points in a generall doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him alſo priuately vpon ſuch Articles. In which Conference, I remember, when I vrged the conſent of all Churches, & good Writers againſt him that I knew, and deſired if it were otherwiſe, what Authors he had ſeene of ſuch doctrin, he anſwered me, That his beſt Authour was his owne reaſon: which I wiſhed him to take heed of as a matter ſtanding with Chriſtian modeſty and wiſedome in a doctrine not receiued by the Church,

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not to truſt to his owne iudgement ſo far, as to publiſh it before he had conferred with others of his profeſſion, labouring by daily praier and ſtudie, to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they vnderſtood ſuch Doctrine: notwithſtanding, hee with wauering replying, that hee would ſome other time deale more largely in the matter, I wiſhed him, and praied him not ſo to doe, for the Peace of the Church, which by ſuch meanes might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but thinke, that men, who make any conſcience of their Miniſterie, will iudge it a neceſſarie dutie in them, to teach the Truth, and to conuince the contrarie. Another time, vpon like occaſion of this Doctrine of his, that the aſſurance of that we beleeue by the Word, is not ſo certaine, as of that we perceiue by ſenſe; I both taught the Doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of Faith to be greater, which aſſured both of things aboue, and contrarie to all ſenſe and humane vnderſtanding, and dealt with him alſo priuately vpon that point. According to which courſe, of late, when as he had taught that the Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which God hath reuealed vnto vs by his Sonne, though not a pure, and perfect Church: and further that hee doubted not, but that thouſands of the Fathers, which liued and died in the Superſtitions of that Church, were ſaued becauſe of their ignorance, which excuſeth them, miſ-alleaging to that end a * Text of Scripture to proone it: the matter being of ſet purpoſe openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment that might preiudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable waies, and other weake in Faith to ſuffer themſelues eaſily to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their Soules; I thought it my moſt bounden dutie to God, and to his Church, whileſt I might haue oportunitie to ſpeake with him, to teach the Truth in a generall ſpeech in ſuch points of Doctrine. * 1. Tim. 1. 13.

At which time I taught that ſuch as die, or haue died at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that Faith, which is taught in it, and namely, Iuſtification in part by works, could not be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaued. In which matter foreſeeing that, if I waded not warily in it, I ſhould be in danger to be reported (as hath falne out ſince notwithſtanding) to condemne all the Fathers: I ſaid directly and plainly to all mens vnderſtanding, that it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the Fathers were ſaued, but the meanes (I ſaid) was not their ignorance, which excuſeth no man with God, but their knowledge and Faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchſafed them by many notable Monuments and Records extant of it in all Ages. Which being the laſt point in all my Sermon, riſing ſo naturally from the Text I then expounded, as would haue occaſioned me to haue deliuered ſuch matter, notwithſtanding the former Doctrine had beene ſound, and being dealt in by a generall ſpeech without touch of his particular: I looked not that a matter of controuerſie would haue beene made of it, no more then had beene of my like dealing in former time. But farre otherwiſe then I looked for, M. *Hooker* ſhewing no griefe of offence taken at my ſpeech all the weeke long, the next Sabbath, leauing to proceed vpon his ordinarie Text, profeſſed to preach againe that he had done the day before, for

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some question that his Doctrine was drawne into, which he desired might be examined with all seueritie.

So proceeding, he bestowed his whole time in that discourse, concerning his former doctrine, and answering the places of Scripture, which I had * alleaged, to proue that a man dying in the Church of Rome, is not to be iudged by the Scriptures to be saued. In which long speech, and vtterly impertinent to his Text, vnder colour of answering for himselfe, hee impugned directly and openly to all mens vnderstanding the true Doctrin which I had deliuered, and added to his former points some other like (as willingly one errour followeth another) that is, that the Galathians ioyning with Faith in Christ Circumcision, as necessarie to Saluation, might not be saued. And that they of the Church of Rome may be saued by such a Faith of Christ, as they had, with a generall Repentance of all their errours, notwithstanding their opinion of Iustification, in part by their Workes and Merits. I was necessarily, though not willingly drawne to say something to the points he obiected against sound Doctrin, which I did in a short Speech in the end of my Sermon, with protestation of so doing, not of any sinister affection to any man, but to beare witnesse to the Truth according to my Calling. And wished, if the matter should needs further be dealt in, some other more conuenient way might be taken for it, wherein I hope, my dealing was manifest to the consciences of all indifferent hearers of me that day, to haue beene according to Peace, and without any vncharitableneese being duly considered.

* Act. 18. 4. Gal. 5. 2, 3, 4.

For that I conferred with him the first day, I haue shewed that the cause requiring of mee the dutie, at the least not to be altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, that the time also being short, wherin I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being small, vpon experience of former Conferences, my expectation being that the Church should be no further troubled with it, vpon the motion I made of taking some other course of dealing. I suppose my deferring to speake with him till some fit oportunitie, cannot in Charitie be iudged vncharitable.

The second day, his vnlooked for opposition with the former reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessitie some publique answer; which being so temperate, as I haue shewed, if notwithstanding it be censured as vncharitable, and punished so grieuously as it is, what should haue beene my punishment, if (without all such cautions and respects as qualified my speech) I had before all, and in the vndetstanding of all so reproued him offending openly, that others might haue feared to do the like? Which yet if I had done might haue beene warranted by the rule and charge of the Apostle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the rest may also feare*; and by his example, who when *Peter* in this very case which is now betweene vs, had (not in preaching) but in a matter of conuersation not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the Gospell, conferred not priuately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproued him openly before all, that others might heare, and feare, and not dare to doe the like: all which reasons together weighed, I hope, will shew the manner of my dealing to haue beene charitable, and warrantable in euerie sort.

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The next Sabbath day after this, Master *Hooker* kept the way he had entred into before, & bestowed his whole houre and more only vpon the questions he had moued and maintained, wherein he so set forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their disagreement from vs, as if we had consented in the greatest, and waightiest points, and differed only in certaine smaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not such as he would haue made men beleeue. The one in that he said, They acknowledged all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin, though some of them freed her from sinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that she was free from sinne. Another in that he said, They teach Christs righteousnesse to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For *Thomas Aquinas* their chiefe Schoole-man, and Archbishop *Catherinus* teach, That Christ tooke away onely originall sin, and that the rest are to be taken away by our selues; yea, the Councell of Trent teacheth, that righteousnesse, wherby we are righteous in Gods sight, is an inherent righteousnesse: which must needs be of our owne works, and cannot be vnderstood of the righteousnes inherent only in Christs person, and accounted vnto vs. Moreouer, he taught the same time, that neither the Galathians, nor the Church of Rome did directly ouerthrow the foundation of Iustification by Christ alone, but only by consequent, and therefore might well be saued; or else neither the Churches of *Lutherans*, nor any which hold any manner of error could be saued, because (saith he) euery error by consequent ouerthroweth the foundation. In which discourses & such like he bestowed his whole time and more, which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the Peace of the Church, he would truly not haue done. Whose example could not draw me to leaue the Scripture I took in hand, but standing about an houre to deliuer the doctrine of it, in the end vpon iust occasion of the Text, leauing sundry other his vnsound speeches, and keeping me still to the principall; I confirmed the beleeuing the doctrine of Iustification by Christ onely, to be necessarie to the iustification of all that should be saued, and that the Church of Rome directly denieth that a man is saued by Christ, or by Faith alone without the works of the Law. Which my answer, as it was most necessarie for the seruice of God, and the Church, so was it without any immodest, or reprochfull speech to Master *Hooker*. Whose vnsound and wilfull dealings in a cause of so great importance to the faith of Christ, and saluation of the Church, notwithstanding I knew well what speech it deserued, and what some zealous earnest man of the spirit of *Iohn* and *Iames*, sur-named [a] *Boanerges*, sonnes of Thunder, would haue said in such a case: yet I chose rather to content my selfe in exhorting him to reuisite his doctrine, as [a] *Nathan* the Prophet did the deuice which without cõsulting with God he had of himselfe giuen to *Dauid*, concerning the building of the Temple, and with [b] *Peter* the Apostle to indure to be withstood in such a case, nor vnlike vnto this. This in effect was that which passed between vs concerning this matter, and the inuectiues I made against him, wherwith I am charged; which rehearsall, I hope, may cleere me (with all that shall indifferently consider it) of the blames laid vpon me for want of dutie to M. *Hooker*, in not conferring with him,

[a] *Mark.* 3. 17.
[a] 2 *Sam.* 7. 2, 3, 4, 5.
[b] *Gal.* 2. 11. 14.

him, whereof I haue ſpoken ſufficiently alreadie: and to the high Commiſſion, in not reuealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwer. My anſwer is, That I proteſt, no contempt nor wilfull neglect of any lawfull authoritie ſtayed me from complaining vnto them, but theſe reaſons following.

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Maſter *Hooker*, notwithſtanding he had bin ouercarried with a ſhew of charity to preiudice the Truth, yet whē it ſhould be ſufficiently proued, would haue acknowledged it, or at the leaſt induced with peace, that it might be offered without either offence to him, or to ſuch as would receiue it; either of which would haue taken away any cauſe of iuſt complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation, and deſire, but that he replyed to the truth, and obiected againſt it, I thought hee might haue ſome doubts, and ſcruples in himſelfe, which yet if they were cleered, hee would either embrace ſome doctrine, or at leaſt ſuffer it to haue his courſe; which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long as the matter was not bitterly, and immodeſtly handled betweene vs.

Another reaſon was the cauſe it ſelfe, which according to the parable of the Tares (which are ſaid to be ſowne amongſt the Wheat) ſprung up firſt in his graſſe. Therefore as the ſeruants in that place are not ſaid to haue come to complaine to the Lord, till the Tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kind: ſo I thinking it yet but a time of diſcouering of it, what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cut it downe.

For further anſwer, it is to be conſidered, that the conſcience of my dutie to God, and to his Church, did bind me at the firſt to deliuer ſound doctrine in ſuch points, as had beene otherwiſe vttered in the place, where I had now ſome yeeres taught the truth. Otherwiſe the rebuke of the [b] Prophet had fallen vpon me for not going vp to the breach, & ſtanding in it, and the [c] perill for anſwering the bloud of the Citie, in whoſe watch Tower I ſate, if it had been ſurpriſed by my default. Moreouer, my publike proteſtation, in being vnwilling, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more conuenient way might be taken for it. And laſtly, that I had reſolued (which I vttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to haue proteſted the next Sabbath day, that I would no more anſwer in that place any obiections to the doctrine taught by any meanes, but ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it. Theſe I truſt may make it appeare, that I failed not in dutie to authoritie; notwithſtanding I did not complaine, nor giue ouer ſo ſoone dealing in the caſe. If I did, how is he cleere, which can alleage none of all theſe for himſelfe, who leauing the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinary calling, voluntarily diſcourſed vpon ſchoole-points and queſtions, neither of edification nor of truth, who after all this, as promiſing to himſelfe, and to vntruth a victorie by my ſilence, added yet in the next Sabbath day to the maintenance of his former opinions, theſe which follow?

b *Ezec.* 33. 33.
c *Ezec.* 33. 6.

That no additament taketh away the foundation, except it be a priuatiue, of which ſort neither the works added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, nor circumciſion by the Galathians were: as one denyeth him not to be a man, that ſaith he is a righteous man, but he that ſaith he is a dead man: whereby it might

might seeme that a man might, vvithout hurt, adde vvorkes of Christ, and pray also, that God and S. *Peter* vvould saue them.

That the Galathians case is harder then the case of the Church of Rome, because the Galathians ioyned circumcision vvith Christ, which God hath forbidden, and abolished: but that vvhich the Church of Rome ioyned vvith Christ, were good works which God hath commanded. Wherin he committed a double fault; one, in expounding all the questions of the Galathians, and consequently of the Romans, and other Epistles, of Circumcision only & the Ceremonies of the Law (as they do vvho answer for the Church of Rome in their Writings) contrary to the cleere meaning of the Apostle, as may appeare by many strong, and sufficient reasons: the other, in that he said, the addition of the Church of Rome vvas of vvorks commanded of God, wheras the least part of the works, vvherby they looked to merit, was of such vvorks, and most were of supererogation, and of vvorks which God neuer cõmanded, but was highly displeased vvith, as of Masses, Pilgrimages, Pardons, paines of Purgatory, and such like: Further that no one sequell vrged by the Apostle against the Galathians for ioyning Circumcision with Christ, but might be aswell enforced against the Lutherans, that is, that for their vbiquity it may bee aswell said to them, If yee hold the Body of Christ to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are vnder the curse of the Law, saying, cursed be he that fulfilleth not all things vvritten in this Book, vvith such like: he added yet further, that to a Bishop of the Church of Rome, to a Cardinall, yea to the Pope himself, acknowledging Christ to be the Sauiour of the World denying other errours, and being discomforted for want of works whereby he might be iustified, he would not doubt but vse this speech; Thou holdest the foundation of Christian Faith, though it be but by a slender thred; Thou holdest Christ though but as by the hem of his Garment, why shouldst thou not hope that vertue may passe from Christ to saue thee? That, which thou holdest of Iustification by thy works, ouerthroweth indeed by consequent the foundation of Christian Faith; but be of good cheere, thou hast not to doe with a captious Sophister, but with a mercifull God, who will iustifie thee for that thou holdest, and not take the advantage of doubtfull construction to condemne thee. And if this he said, be an errour, I hold it willingly; for it is the greatest comfort I haue in this world, without which I would not wish either to speake or to liue. Thus far, being not to be answered in it any more, he was bold to proceed; the absurdity of which speech I need not to stand vpon. I thinke the like to this and other such in this Sermon, and the rest of this matter hath not beene heard in publike places within this Land since Queene *Maries* dayes. What consequence this Doctrin may be of, if he be not by authority ordered to reuoke it, I beseech your HH. as the truth of God and his Gospell is deare and precious vnto you, according to your godly wisdomes to consider.

I haue beene bold to offer to your HH. a long and tedious Discourse of these matters, but speech being like to Tapestry, which if it be folded vp, sheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being vnlapt and laid open sheweth plainely to the eye all the worke that is in it; I thought it necessary to vnfold this Tapestrie, and to hang vp the whole chamber of it in your most Ho-

norable Senate: that so you may the more easily discerne of all the pieces, and the sundry workes and matters contained in it. Wherin my hope is your HH. may see I haue not deserued so great a punishment as is laid vpon the Church for my sake, and also vpon my selfe in taking from me the exercise of my Ministery: which punishment how heauy it may seeme to the Church or fall out indeed to be, I referre it to them to iudge, and spare to write what I feare; but to my selfe it is exceeding grieuous, for that it taketh from me the excercise of my calling. Which I doe not say is deare vnto me as the means of that little benefit whereby I liue (although this be a lawfull consideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the authority vnder whose protection I most willingly liue, euen by Gods Commandement, both vnto them, and vnto me:) but which ought to be more precious to me then my life, for the loue which I should beare to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and salvation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like seruice to God, nor of such vse and profit to men by any meanes: for which cause, as I discerne, how deare any Ministery ought to be vnto me, so it is my hearty desire, and most humble request vnto God, to your HH. and to all the authority I liue vnder, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may spend my life according to his Example, who in a word of like sound of fuller sense, comparing by it the bestowing of his life to the Offring powred out vpon the Sacrifice of the faith of Gods people, & especially of this Church, wherupon I haue already powred out a great part thereof in the same calling, from which I stand now restrained. And if your HH. shall finde it so that I haue not deserued so great a punishment, but rather performed the duty, which a good and faithfull Seruant ought in such a case to doe his Lord, and the people he putteth him in trust withall carefully to keepe; I am a most humble Suiter by these presents to your HH. that by your godly wisdome, some good course may be taken for the restoring of me to my Ministery and place againe. Which so great a fauour shall bind me yet in a greater obligation of dutie (which is already so great, as it seemed nothing could be added vnto it, to make it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and increase of your good estate, and to be readie withall the poore meanes God hath giuen mee, to doe your HH. that faithfull seruice I may possibly performe: but if, notwithstanding my cause be neuer so good, your HH. can by no meanes pacifie such as are offended, not restore mee againe, then am I to rest in the good pleasure of God, and to commend to your HH. protection vnder her Maiesties my priuate life, while it shal be led in duty and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himselfe a people with his precious bloud, and is making readie to come to iudge both the quicke and the dead, to giue to euery one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or euill, to the wicked and vnbeleeuer, iustice vnto death, but to the faithfull and such as loue his truth, mercy and grace to life euerlasting.

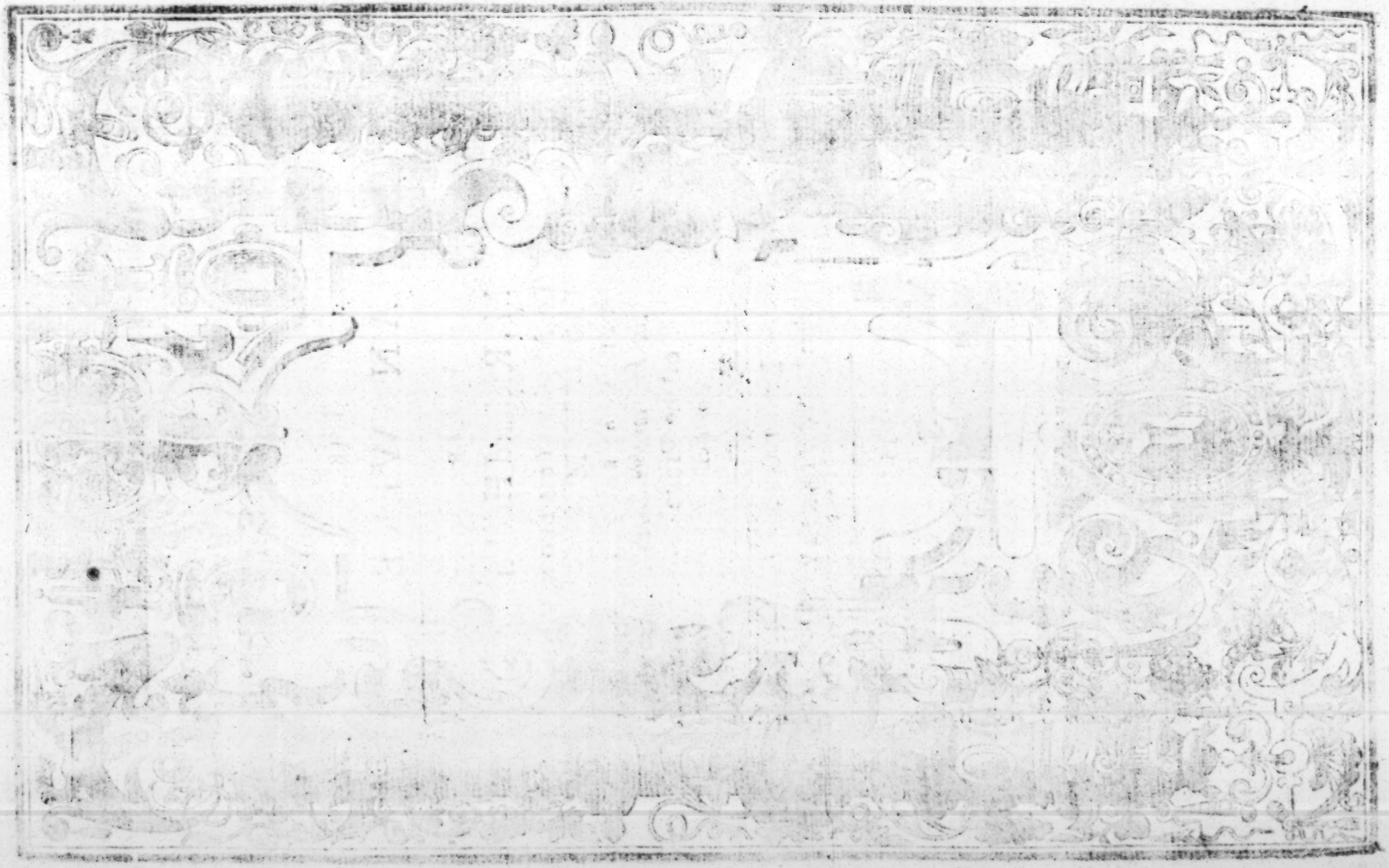
Your Honors most bounden, and most humble Suppliant,

WALTER TRAVERS, *Minister of the Word of God.*

THE ANSWERE OF Mr. Richard Hooker TO A SVPPLICATION, Preferred by Mr. WALTER TRAVERS, to *the Honourable Lords* of the Priuie Councell.

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1635.



MASTER HOOKERS ANSWERE TO THE SVPPLICATION THAT MASTER TRAVERS made to the COVNCELL.

To my LORD of Canterbury *his Grace.*

MY duty in moſt humble wiſe remembred. May it pleaſe your Grace to vnderſtand, that wheras there hath beene a late Controuerſie rayſed in the Temple, and purſued by Maſter *Trauers*, vpon conceit taken at ſome words by me vttered with a moſt ſimple and harmeleſſe meaning; in the heate of which purſuit, after three publike Inuectiues, ſilence being enioyned him by authoritie; he hath hereupon for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the right Honorable Lords and others of her Maieſties Priuie Councel with a writing, & alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be copied out, and ſpred through the hands of ſo many, that wel nigh all ſorts of men haue it in their boſomes: the matters wherewith I am therein charged being of ſuch qualitie as they are, and my ſelfe being better knowne to your Grace, then to any other of their Honours beſides; I haue choſen to offer to your Graces hands, a plaine declaration of my innocency in all thoſe things, wherwith I am ſo hardly and ſo heauily charged, leſt if I ſtill remaine ſilent, that which I doe for quietneſſe ſake, be taken as an Argument, that I lacke what to ſpeake truely and iuſtly in mine owne defence.

2. Firſt, becauſe Maſter *Trauers* thinketh it is expedient to breed an opinion in mens minds, that the roote of all inconuenient euents which are now ſprung out, is the ſurly & vnpeaceable diſpoſition of the man with whom he hath to do, therfore the firſt in the rancke of accuſations laid againſt me is my inconformitie, which haue ſo little inclined to ſo many and ſo earneſt Exhortations and Conferences, as my ſelfe, he ſaith, can witneſſe, to haue beene

ſpent vpon mee, for my better faſhioning vnto good correſpondence and agreement.

3. Indeed, when at the firſt, by meanes of ſpeciall well-willers, without any ſute of mine, as they very well know, (although I doe not thinke it had beene a mortall ſin, in a reaſonable ſort to haue ſhewed a moderate deſire that way) yet when by their indeuour without inſtigation of mine, ſome reuerend and honorable, fauourably affecting mee, had procured her Maieſties grant of the place, at the very point of my entring thereinto, the euening before I was firſt to preach, hee came and two other Gentlemen ioyned with him: the effect of his Conference then was, that he thought it his dutie to aduiſe me not to enter with a ſtrong hand, but to change my purpoſe of preaching there the next day, and to ſtay till he had giuen notice of me to the Congregation, that ſo their allowance might ſeale my calling. The effect of mine Anſwere was, that as in place where ſuch order is, I would not breake it; ſo here where it neuer was, I might not of mine owne head take vpon me to beginne it; but liking very well the motion of the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requeſted him not to miſlike my Anſwer, though it were not correſpondent to his mind.

4. When this had ſo diſpleaſed ſome, that whatſoeuer was afterwards done, or ſpoken by me, it offended their taſte, angry informations were daily ſent out, intillegence giuen far and wide what a dangerous enemy was crept in, the worſt that iealouſie could imagine was ſpoken and written to ſo many, that at the length ſome knowing me well, and perceiuing how iniurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more vnto my diſcredit, wrought meanes to bring *Mr Towers* and me to a ſecond conference. Wherein when a common friend vnto vs both, had quietly requeſted him to vtter thoſe things wherewith hee found himſelfe any way grieued, he firſt renewed the memorie of my entring into this charge by vertue onely of an humane creature (for ſo the want of that * formalitie of popular allowance was then cenſured,) and vnto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of cauſeleſſe ſurmiſes; as that I had conſpired againſt him, and that I ſought ſuperioritie ouer him; and partly of faults, which to note, I ſhould haue thought it a greater offence then to commit, if I did account them faults and had heard them ſo curiouſly obſerued in any other then my ſelfe, they are ſuch ſilly things; as praying in the entrance of my Sermons only, and not in the end, naming Biſhops in my Prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receiue the Communion with ſuch like, which I would bee as loth to recite as I was ſorrie to heare them obiected, if the rehearſall thereof were not by him thus wreſted from mee. Theſe are the conferences wherewith I haue beene wooed to entertaine peace and good agreement.

* A meere formalitie it had beene to me in that place, whereas no man had euer vſed it before me, ſo it could neither further me, if I did vſe it, nor hinder me, if I did not.

5. As for the vehement exhortations he ſpeaketh of, I would gladly know ſome reaſon wherefore he thought them needfull to be vſed. Was there any thing found in my ſpeeches or dealings which gaue them occaſion, who are ſtudious of peace, to thinke that I diſpoſed my ſelfe to ſome vnquiet kinde of proceedings? Surely, the ſpeciall Prouidence of God, I doe now ſee it was, that the firſt words I ſpake in this place, ſhould make the firſt thing wherof I

am accuſed, to appeare not onely vntrue, but improbable to as many as then heard me with indifferent eares, and doe, I doubt not, in their conſciences cleere me of this ſuſpicion. Howbeit I grant this were nothing if it might be ſhewed, that my deeds following were not ſuteable to my words. If I had ſpoken of peace at the firſt, and afterwards ſought to moleſt and grieue him, by croſſing him in his function, by ſtorming if my pleaſure were not asked and my will obeyed in the leaſt occurences, by carping needleſſy ſometimes at the manner of his teaching; ſometimes at this, ſometimes at that point of his doctrine; I might then with ſome likelihood haue beene blamed, as one diſdaining a peaceable hand when it hath beene offered. But if I bee able (as I am) to proue, that my ſelfe haue now a full yeere together borne the continuance of ſuch dealings, not only without any manner of reſiſtance, but alſo without any ſuch complaint as might let or hinder him in his courſe, I ſee no cauſe in the world, why of this I ſhould be accuſed, vnleſſe it be, leſt I ſhould accuſe, which I meant not. If therfore I haue giuen him occaſion to vſe conferences & exhortations vnto peace, if when they were beſtowed vpon me I haue deſpiſed them, it wil not be hard to ſhew ſome one word or deed wherwith I haue gone about to worke diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Onely I require if any thing be ſhewed, it may be prooued, and not obiected only as this is, *That I haue ioyned with ſuch as haue alwayes oppoſed to any good order in his Church, & made themſelues to be thought indiſpoſed to the preſent eſtate and proceedings.* The words haue reference as it ſeemeth vnto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my comming to the Temple, went not ſo effectually perhaps forward as he vvhich deuiſed them, would haue wiſhed. An order as I learne there was tendred, that Communicants ſhould neither kneele, as in the moſt places of the Realme; nor ſit, as in this place the cuſtome is; but vvalke to the one ſide of the Table, and there ſtanding til they had receiued, paſſe afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondering vvhat it ſhould meane, others deliberating vvhat to doe: till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might doe as they had been accuſtomed, vvhich was granted and as Maſter *Trauers* had miniſtred his way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which vnproſperous beginning of a thing, (ſauing only for the inconuenience of needleſſe alterations otherwiſe harmleſſe) did ſo diſgrace that order in their conceit, who had to allow or diſallow it, that it tooke no place. For neither they could euer induce themſelues to thinke it good, and it ſo much offended Maſter *Trauers* who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he ſince that time, although contented himſelfe to receiue it as they do at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meete they ſhould euer receiue it out of his, which would not admit that order of receiuing it, & therfore in my time hath beene alwayes preſent not to miniſter, but onely to bee miniſtred vnto.

Another order there was likewiſe deuiſed, but an order of much more waight and importance. This ſoile, in reſpect of certaine immunities and other ſpecialties belonging vnto it, ſeemed likely to beare that which in other

word places

places of the Realme of England doth not take. For which cauſe requeſt was made to ſome of her Maieſties Priuie Councel, that wheras it is prouided by a Statute, there ſhould be Collectors and Side-men in Churches, which thing or ſomewhat correſpondent vnto it, this place did greatly want, it would pleaſe their Honours to motion ſuch a matter to the Ancients of the Temple. And according to their Honorable maner of helping forward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their Letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon although theſe Houſes neuer had vſe of ſuch Collectors & Side-men, as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a Boxe to receiue mens deuotion for the poore, appointing the Treaſurer of both Houſes to take care for beſtowing it where need is, and granting further, that if any could be intreated (as in the end ſome were) to vndertake the labour of obſeruing mens ſlacknesse in diuine duties, they ſhould be allowed, their complaints heard all times, and the faults they complained of, if Maſters *Alwayes* priuate admonition did not ſerue, then by ſome other meanes redreſſed, but according to the old receiued Orders of both Houſes. Wherby the ſubſtance of their Honors Letters were indeed fully ſatisfied. Yet becauſe Maſter *Trauers* intended not this, but as it ſeemed another thing, therefore notwithſtanding the Orders which haue beene taken, and for any thing I know, doe ſtand ſtill in as much force in this Church now, as at any time heretofore: He complaineth much of the good Orders which he doth meane haue beene withſtood. Now it were hard if as many, as any way oppoſe vnto theſe and the like Orders, in his perſwaſion good, do thereby make themſelues to be thought diſlikers of the preſent ſtate and proceedings. If they, whom he aymeth at, haue any otherwiſe made themſelues to be thought ſuch, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will, I hope, diſcloſe to whom it appertayneth, both the perſons whom hee thinketh, and the cauſes why hee thinketh them ſo ill-affected. But whatſoeuer the men be, doe their faults make me faultie? They doe, if I ioyne my ſelfe with them. I beſeech him therefore to declare wherein I haue ioyned with them. Other ioyning then this with any man here, I cannot imagine: It may be I haue talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably vſed the duties of common humanitie, with ſome ſuch as he is hardly perſwaded of. For I know no Law of God or man by force wherof they ſhould be as Heathens and Publicans vnto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cauſe, or if with cauſe, yet ſuch cauſe as he is priuy vnto, & not I. Could he or any reaſonable man thinke it a charitable courſe in mee, to obſerue them that ſhew by external courteſies a fauourable inclination towards him, and if I ſpie out any one amongſt them, of whom I thinke not wel, hereupon to draw ſuch an accuſation as this againſt him, and to offer it where he hath giuen vp his againſt me? Which notwithſtanding, I will acknowledge to be iuſt and reaſonable, if he or any man liuing ſhal ſhew that I vſe as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who by word or deed hath euer giuen me cauſe to ſuſpect or coniecture him, ſuch as here they are termed, with whom complaint is made that I ioyne my ſelfe. This being ſpoken therefore and written without all poſſibilitie of proofe, doth not Maiſter *Trauers* giue me ouer great cauſe to ſtand in ſome feare, leſt he make too little conſcience

how

how he vſeth his tongue or penne? Theſe things are not laid againſt me for nothing, they are to ſome purpoſe if they take place. For in a mind perſwaded that I am, as he deciphereth me, one which refuſe to be at peace with ſuch as imbrace the truth, and ſide my ſelfe with men ſiniſterly affected thereunto, any thing that ſhall be ſpoken concerning the vnſoundneſſe of my doctrine, cannot chooſe but be fauourably entertained. This preſuppoſed, it will haue likelihood enough, which afterwards followeth, that *many of my Sermons haue taſted of ſome ſowre leauen or other*, that in them he hath *diſcouered ſundry vnſound matters*. A thing much to be lamented, that ſuch a place as this which might haue beene ſo well prouided for, hath falne into the hands of one no better inſtructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found that hee iudgeth my words, as they doe colours, which looke vpon them with greene ſpectacles, and thinke that which they ſee is greene, when indeed that is greene whereby they ſee?

7. Touching the firſt point of this diſcouery which is about the matter of Predeſtination, to ſet downe that I ſpake, (for I haue it written) to declare and confirme the ſeuerall branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I haue ſo many things to touch, that I can but touch them onely. Neither is it herein ſo needfull for me to iuſtifie my ſpeech, when the very place and preſence where I ſpake doth it ſelfe ſpeake ſufficiently for my cleering. This matter was not broached in a blind Alley, or vttered where none was to heare it that had skill with authority to controll, or couertly inſinuated by ſome glyding ſentence.

8. That which I taught was at *Pauls Croſſe*; it was not hudled in amongſt other matters in ſuch ſort that it could paſſe without noting, it was opened, it was proued, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood vpon. I ſee not which way my Lord of *London*, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controlement afterwards, to heare any man there teach otherwiſe then *the Word of God doth*, not as it is vnderſtood by the priuate interpretation of ſome one or two men, or by a ſpeciall conſtruction receiued in ſome few bookes, but as it is vnderſtood *by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpell*, by them all, and therefore euen by our owne alſo amongſt others. A man that did meane to proue that he ſpeaketh, would ſurely take the meaſure of his words ſhorter.

9. The next thing diſcouered, is an opinion about the aſſurance of mens perſwaſion in matters of faith. I haue taught he ſaith: *That the aſſurance of things which we beleeue by the Word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceiue by ſence*. And is it as certain? Yea, I taught as he himſelf, I truſt, wil not deny, that the things which God doth promiſe in his Word, are ſurer vnto vs then any thing wee touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certaine of them? If we be, why doth God ſo often proue his promiſes vnto vs, as he doth by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the proofe then of the thing prooued, otherwiſe it is no proofe. How is it, that if ten men do all look vpon the Moone, euery one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the Moon as another: but many beleeuing one and the ſame promiſes, all haue not one and the ſame fulneſſe of perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſu-

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red of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer of it then they are, whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith that liueth vpon the earth, hath alwaies need to labour, and ſtriue, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heauenly and ſpirituall things, may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?

10. The Sermon wherein I haue ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point, was long before this late controuerſie roſe betweene him and me, vpon requeſt of ſome of my friends ſeen, and read by many, and amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcerne: and I neuer heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing vnſound matter. My caſe were very hard, if as oft as any thing I ſpeake diſpleaſing one mans taſte, my doctrine vpon his onely word ſhould be taken for ſowre leauen.

11. The reſt of this diſcouery is all about the matter now in queſtion, wherein hee hath two faults predominant, which would tyre out any that ſhould anſwer vnto euery point ſeuerally: vnapt ſpeaking of Schoole controuerſies; and of my words ſometimes ſo vntoward a reciting, that he which ſhould promiſe to draw a mans countenance, and did indeed expreſſe the parts, at leaſtwiſe the moſt of them truly, but peruerſly place them, could not repreſent a more offenſiue viſage, then vnto me my owne ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places as hee hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that writing is ſufficient wherein I haue ſet downe both my words and meaning in ſuch ſort, that where this accuſation doth depraue the one, and either miſinterpret, or without iuſt cauſe miſlike the other, it will appeare ſo plainely, that I may ſpare very well to take vpon me a new and a needleſſe labour here.

12. Onely at one thing which is there to be found, becauſe Maſter *Trauers* doth here ſeeme to take ſuch a ſpeciall aduantage, as if the matter were vnanſwerable, hee conſtraineth me either to detect his ouer-ſight, or to confeſſe mine owne in it. In ſetling the queſtion betweene the Church of Rome and vs about Grace and Iuſtification, leſt I ſhould giue them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propoſe to our ſelues ſuch in ſtead of theirs, as we can refute, I took it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how far we doe agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement; not generally (as Maſter *Trauers* his * words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtning that vpon me, wherwith, ſauing only by him, I was neuer in my life touched;) but about the matter only of Iuſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at that time. What was then my

* His words be theſe: *The next Sabbath day after this* Mr. Hooker *kept the way hee had entred into before, and beſtowed his whole houre and more, onely vpon the queſtions he had mooued and maintained. Wherein he ſo ſet out the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their diſagreement from vs, as if we had conſented in the greateſt & waightieſt points, & differed only in certaine ſmaller matters. Which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not ſuch as he would haue made men beleeue: The one, in that he ſaid they acknowledge all men ſinners, euen the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from ſinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that ſhee was free from ſinne: Another in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſts righteouſneſſe to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For* Thomas Aquinas *their chiefe Schoolman, and Archbiſhop* Catharinus *teach, That Chriſt tooke away onely originall ſinne, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelues: yea the Councell of Trent teacheth, That the righteouſneſſe whereby wee are righteous in Gods ſight, is inherent righteouſneſſe, which muſt needs be our owne workes, and cannot be vnderſtood of the righteouſneſſe inherent onely in Chriſts perſon and accounted vnto vs.*

offence

offence in this case? I did, as he saith, so set it out, as if we haue consented in the greatest and waightest points, and differed only in smaller matters. It will not be found, when it commeth to the ballance, a light difference where we disagree, as I did acknowledge that we doe about the very essence of the Medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease. Did I goe about to make a shew of agreement in the waightest points, and was I so fond as not to conceale our disagreement about this? I doe wish that some indifferencie were used by them, that haue taken the waighing of my words.

13. Yea, but our agreement is not such in two of the chiefest points, as I would haue men beleeue it is: and what are they? The one is, I said, *They acknowledge all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin, though some of them free her from sin.* Put the case I had affirmed, that only some of them free her from sin, and had deliuered it as the most currant opinion amongst them, that she was conceiued in sinne: doth not *Bonauenture* say plainely, *Omnes ferè*; In a manner all men doe hold this? Doth he not bring many reasons wherefore all men should hold it? Were their voces since that time euer counted, and their number found smaller which hold it, then theirs that hold the contrarie? Let the question then be, whether I might say, The most of them *acknowledged all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin her selfe.* To shew that their generall receiued opinion is the contrarie, The Tridentine Councel is alledged, peraduenture not altogether so considerately. For if that Councel haue by resolute determination freed her, if it hold as Master *Trauers* saith it doth, that shee was free from sin, then must the Church of Rome, needs condemne them that hold the contrarie. For what that Councell holdeth, the same they all doe and must hold. But in the Church of Rome, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to thinke and defend the one or the other? So that by this argument, the Councell of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from sinne, *Ergo*, It is plaine that none of them may, and therefore vntrue that most of them do acknowledge her a sinner, were forcible to ouerthrow my supposed Assertion, if it were true that the Councel did hold this. But to the end it may cleerely appeare how it neither holdeth this nor the contrarie, I will open what many do conceiue of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Father of Trent perceiued, that if they should define of this matter, it would bee dangerous howsoeuer it were determined. If they had freed her from her originall sin, the reasons against them are vnanswerable, which *Bonauenture* and others do alledge, but especially *Thomas*, whose line as much as may be they follow. Again, if they did resolue the other way, they should controll themselues in another thing, which in no case might be altered. For they professe to keepe no day holy in the honour of an vnholy thing; and the Virgins Conception they honour with a * Feast, which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Constitution of *Xystus Quartus*. And that which is worse, the world

* This doth much trouble *Thomas*, holding her Conception stayned with the naturall blemish inherent in mortall seed. And therefore hee putteth it off with two answers, the one, That the Church of Rome doth not allow, but tollerate the Feast, which answere now will not serue: the other, That being sanctified before birth, but vnto how long a while after her Conception, therefore vnder the name of her Conception-day, they honour the time of her Sanctification. So that besides this, they haue now no leaue to make the certaine allowance of their Feast, and their vncertaine sentence concerning her sinne to cleaue together. *Tom. 3. parte quæst. 27. artic. 3.*

might

might perhaps hereupon suspect, that if the Church of Rome did amisse before in this, it is not impossible for her to faile in other things. In the end they did wisely quote out their Canon by a middle thred, establishing the Feast of the Virgins Conception, and leaving the other question doubtfull as they found it: giuing onely a caueat, that no man should take the decree, which pronounceth all mankind originally sinfull, for a definitiue sentence concerning the blessed Virgin. This in my sight is plaind by their owne words, *Declarat hæc ipsa sancta Synodus, &c.* Wherefore our Country men at Rhemes mentioning this point, are maruaillous wary how they speake; they touch it as though it were a hot cole: *Many godly deuout men iudge that our blessed Lady was neither borne nor conceiued in sin.* Is it their wont to speake nicely of things definitiuely set downe in that Councell? In like sort we find that the rest, which haue since the time of the Tridentine Synode written of original sin, are in this point for the most part either silent or very sparing in speech; and when they speake, either doubtfull what to thinke, or whatsoeuer they thinke themselues, fearefull to set downe any certaine determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Councell otherwise then they themselues doe, let him expound it whose sentence was neither last asked, nor his pen least occupied in setting it downe. I meane *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the Thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confesse, that it is a matter which neither expresse euidence of Scripture, nor the Tradition of the Fathers, nor the sentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too surly and selfe-willed, which defending their opinion, are displeased with them by whom the other is maintained: finally, that the Fathers of Trent haue not set downe any certainty about this question, but left it doubtfull and indifferent. Now whereas my words which I had set downe in writing before I vttered them, were indeed these, *Although they imagine that the mother of our Lord Iesus Christ were for his honour, and by his speciall protection preserued cleane from all sin, yet concerning the rest they teach as we doe, that all haue sinned.* Against my words they might with more pretence take exception, because so many of the thinke she had sin, which exception notwithstanding, the Proposition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, because they grant that many whom they count graue and deuout amongst them, thinke that she was cleere from all sin. But whether Master *Trauers* did note my words himselfe, or take them vpon the credit of some other mans noting, the Tables were faulty wherin it was noted: *All men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin.* When my speech was rather, *All men, except the blessed Virgin.* To leaue this, another fault he findeth that I said, *They teach Christs righteousnes to be the onely meritorious cause of taking away sin and differ from vs only in the applying of it,* I did say and doe, *They teach as we doe, that although Christ be the onely meritorious cause of our iustification, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applyed: So by the merits of Christ there can be no hope nor iustification, without the application of his merits: But about the manner of applying Christ, about the number and power of meanes, whereby he is applyed, they dissent from them.* This of our dissenting from them is acknowledged.

Our agreement in the former is denyed to be such as I pretend. Let their

Annot. in Rom. 5 Sect. 9.

Lib. 5. defens. fidei.

their owne words therefore, and mine concerning them, be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confeſſe, *our ſinnes doe ſhut, and onely the merits of Chriſt open the entring vnto bleſſednesse?* And Soto, *It is put for a ground, that all ſince the fall of* Adam *obtaine ſaluation only by the paſſion of Chriſt: howbeit as no cauſe can be effectuall without applying, ſo neither can any man be ſaued to whom the ſuffering of Chriſt is not applied.* In a word, who not? when the Councell of Trent reckoning vp the cauſes of our firſt iuſtification, doth name no end but Gods glorie and our felicitie; no efficient, but his Mercie; no inſtrumentall, but Baptiſme; no meritorious, but Chriſt, whom to haue merited the taking away of no ſinne, but originall, is not their opinion: which himſelfe will find when he hath well examined his witneſſes *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Ieſuites are maruailous angrie with the men, out of whoſe gleanings Maſter *Trauers* ſeemeth to haue taken this; they openly diſclaime it, they ſay plainly, *of all the Catholikes there is no one that did euer ſo teach*, they make ſolemne proteſtation, *We beleeue and profeſſe that Chriſt vpon the Croſſe hath altogether ſatisfied for all ſinnes, as well originall as actuall.* Indeed they teach that the merit of Chriſt doth not take away actuall ſinne, in ſuch ſort as it doth originall, wherein if their doctrine had beene vnderſtood, I for my ſpeech had neuer beene accuſed. As for the Councell of Trent concerning inherent righteouſneſſe, what doth it here? No man doubteth but they make another formal cauſe of Iuſtification then we doe. In reſpect whereof, I haue ſhewed already, that we diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our ſpirituall Diſeaſe. Moſt true it is which the grand Philoſopher hath, *Euery man iudgeth well of that which he knoweth*, and therfore till we know the things throughly, whereof vve iudge, it is a point of iudgement to ſtay our iudgement.

Orthod. lib. 3.

In 4. Sent. diſt. 1 queſt 4. art. 6.

Bellarm. Iudic. de lib Concor. Mendac. 18. Nemo Catholicorum vnquam ſic docuit; ſed credimus & profitemur Chriſtum in cruce pro omnibus omninò peccatis ſatisfeciſſe, tam originalibus quàm actualibus.

15. Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcouering the vnſoundneſſe of my Doctrine, ſome paines he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that *I beſtowed my whole houre and more, my time, and more then my time, in Diſcourſes vtterly impertinent to my Text.* Which if I had done, it might haue paſt without complaining of to the Priuie Councell.

16. But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures and my ordinarie calling, and diſcourſed vpon Schoole-points, and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no Lecture in the Law or in Phyſick. And except the bounds of ordinarie calling may be drawne like a purſe, how are they ſo much wider vnto him then to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinarie calling, ſhould reproue that in me which he vnderſtood not, and I labouring that both hee and others might vnderſtand, could not doe this without forſaking my calling? The matter whereof I ſpake was ſuch, as being at the firſt by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and ſolemnly taken vpon him to diſproue. If therefore it were a Schoole queſtion, and vnfit to be diſcourſed of there, that which was in me but a propoſition onely at the firſt, wherfore made he a Probleme of it? Why tooke he firſt vpon him to maintaine the negatiue of that, vvhich I had affirmatiuely ſpoken, onely to ſhew mine owne opinion, little thinking that ever it would haue a queſtion? Of what nature ſoeuer the queſtion were of, I could doe no leſſe then there explaine my ſelfe to them, vnto whom I was accuſed of vnſound Doctrine;

wherein if to ſhew vvhat had beene through ambiguitie miſtaken in my words, or miſapplied by him in this cauſe againſt me, I vſed the diſtinctions and helpes of Schooles, I truſt that herein I haue committed no vnlawfull thing. Theſe Schoole-implements are acknowledged by* graue and wiſe men not vnprofitable to haue beene inuented. The moſt approoued for learning and iudgement doe vſe them without blame; the vſe of them haue beene well liked in ſome that haue taught euen in this very place before me: the qualitie of my hearers is ſuch, that I could not but thinke them of capacitie verie ſufficient for the moſt part to conceiue harder then I vſed any; the cauſe I had in hand did in my iudgement neceſſarily require them which were then vſed; when my words ſpoken generally without diſtinctions had beene peruerted, what otherway was there for me, but by diſtinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appeare to all men whether they were conſonant to truth or no? And althogh Maſter *Trauers* be ſo inured with the Citie, that hee thinketh it vnmeete to vſe any ſpeech vvhich ſauoreth of the Schoole, yet his opinion is no Canon: though vnto him, his minde being troubled, my ſpeech did ſeeme like fetters and manicles, yet there might bee ſome more calmely-affected vvhich thought otherwiſe; his priuate iudgement vvill hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I ſpake *were neither of edification nor truth.* They might edifie ſome other for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he prooueth to the contrarie. For it is no proofe to crie *Abſurdities, the like whereunto haue not beene heard in publique places within this Land ſince Queene* Maries *dayes.* If this came in earneſt from him, I am ſorry to ſee him ſo much offended without cauſe. More ſorrie that his fit ſhould be ſo extreme to make him ſpeake he knoweth not what: That I neither *affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church. Mihi pro minimo eſt,* It doth not much mooue me; when Maſter *Trauers* doth ſay that, which I truſt a greater then Maſter *Trauers* vvill gainſay.

* *Calu. Inſt. l. 1. cap 6. Sect 3.*

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath ſaid be granted him, let it be as he vvould haue it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much diſallowed by all mens iudgements as by his, what is all this to his purpoſe? He alledgeth this to be the cauſe why he bringeth it in: The high Commiſſioners *charge him with an indiſcretion and want of dutie, in that hee inueighed againſt certaine points of doctrine taught by meas erroneous, not conferring firſt with me, nor complaing of it to them.* Which faults, a ſea of ſuch matter as hee hath hitherto waded in, will neuer be able to ſcoure from him. For the auoiding of Schiſme and diſturbance in the Church, which muſt needs grow if all men might thinke what they liſt, and ſpeake openly what they thinke, therefore by a* Decree agreed vpon by the Biſhops, and confirmed by her Maieſties authoritie it was ordred, that erronious doctrine, if it were taught publikely, ſhould not bee publikely refuted, but that notice thereof ſhould bee giuen vnto ſuch as are by her Highneſſe appointed to heare and to determine ſuch

* In the Aduertiſements publiſhed in the 7. yeere of her Maieſties Raigne: If any Preacher or Perſon, Vicar, or Curate ſo licenſed ſhall fortune to preach any matter tending to diſſention or to derogation of the Religion & Doctrine receiued, that the hearers denounce the ſame to the Ordinary, or the next Biſhop of the ſame place, but not openly to contrary or to impugne the ſame ſpeech ſo diſorderly vttered, whereby may grow offence, and diſquiet of the people, but ſhall be conuinced and reproued by the Ordinary, after ſuch agreeable order as ſhall be ſeen to him according to the grauity of the offence: And that it be preſented within one moneth after the words ſpoken.

cauſes

cauſes. For breach of which Order when he is charged with lack of duty, all the faults that can be heaped vpon me, wil make but a weak defence for him: asſurely his defence is not much ſtronger when he alleageth for himſelfe that, *He was in ſome hope his ſpeech in prouing the truth, & clearing thoſe ſcruples which I had in myſelfe, might cauſe me either to imbrace ſound doctrine, or ſuffer it to be imbraced of others, which if I did, he ſhould not need to complaine*; that, *It was meet he ſhould diſcouer firſt what I had ſowne, and make it manifeſt to be tares, and then deſire their ſithe to cut it downe*; that *conſcience did bind him to do otherwiſe then the foreſaid order requireth*; that *he was vnwilling to deale in that publike manner, & wiſhed a more conuenient way were taken for it*; that *he had reſolued to haue proteſted the next Sabbath day that he would ſome otherway ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deale more in that place.* Be it imagined [let me not be taken as if I did compare the offenders when I doe not, but their anſwers only] be it imagined that a Libeller did make this apologie for himſelfe, I am not ignorant that if I haue iuſt matter againſt any man, the Law is open, there are Iudges to heare it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I haue taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a man, yet without breach of duty, for as much as I am able to yeeld a reaſon of my doing, I conceiue ſome hope that a little diſcredit amongſt men would make him aſhamed of himſelfe, and that his ſhame would worke his amendment; which if it did, other accuſation there ſhould not need; could his anſwer be thought ſufficient, could it in the iudgement of diſcreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope which Maſter *Trauers* conceiued to recla'me me by publike ſpeech, iuſtifie his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church.

18. His thinking it meet *he ſhould firſt openly diſcouer to the people the tares that had bin ſowne amongſt them, and then require the hand of Authority to mowe them downe*, doth onely make it a queſtion, whether his opinion that this was meete, may bee a priuiledge or protection againſt that lawfull conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing vnmeete. Which queſtion I leaue for them to diſcuſſe whom it moſt concerneth. If the order be ſuch that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good conſcience, the perill whereof could be no greater to him then it needes muſt be to all others whom it toucheth in like cauſes, then this is euident, it will be a moſt effectuall motiue not only for England, but alſo for other reformed Churches, euen Geneua it ſelfe [for they haue the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconuenience be obſerued. In the meane while the breach of it may in ſuch conſideration be pardoned [which truely I wiſh howſoeuer it bee,] yet hardly defended as long as it ſtandeth in force vncanceld.

19. Now whereas he confeſſeth another way had *beene more conuenient*, and that he found in himſelfe ſecret vnwillingneſſe to do that which he did, doth hee not ſay plainly in effect that the light of his owne vnderſtanding proued the way that he tooke peruerſe and crooked; reaſon was ſo plaine and pregnant againſt it, that his minde was alienated, his will auerted to another courſe? yet ſomewhat there was which ſo farre ouer-ruled, that it muſt needes be done even againſt the very ſtreame, what doth it bewray? Finally his pur-

posed protestation, whereby he meant openly to make it knowne, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therfore would satisfie men otherwise, *and deale no more in this place*, sheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to stay himselfe from further offending; but it serueth not his turne. He is blamed because the thing he had done was amisse, and his answer is, That which I would haue done afterwards had beene well, if so be I had done it.

20. But as in this he standeth perswaded, that he hath done nothing besides dutie, so he taketh it hardly that the High Commissioners should charge him with indiscretion. Wherefore as if he could so wash his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himselfe: how he waded in matters *of smaller waight*, & how in things of greater *moment*; how warily hee dealt; how *naturally* hee tooke his things *rising from the Text*, how closely he kept himselfe to *the Scripture he tooke in hand*; how much paines he *tooke to confirme the necessity of beleeuing Iustification by Christ only*, and to shew how the *Church of Rome denyeth that a man is saued by faith alone, without works of the Law*; what *the Sons of thunder would haue done*, if they had beene in his case; that his *answer was very temperate without* immodest *or reprochfull speech*, that when he might *before all haue reproued me*, he did not, *but contented himselfe with exhorting me* before all, *to follow Nathans example and reuisite my doctrine*, when he might haue followed S. *Pauls* example in *reproving Peter*, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter, to endure to be withstood*. This testimonie of his discreet carrying himselfe in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and giuen him by another then by himselfe, might make somewhat for the praise of his person; but for defence of his action unto them by whom he is thought vndiscreete, for not conferring priuately before hee spake, will it serue to answere, that when he spake, he did it considerately? Hee perceiueth it will not, and therefore addeth reasons such as they are. As namely, how he purposed at the first to take another course, and that was this, *Publikely to deliuer the truth of such Doctrine as I had otherwise taught, and at conuenient opportunitie to conferre with me vpon such points*. Is this the rule of Christ, If thy brother offend openly in his speech, controll it first with cõtrary speech openly, and confer with him afterwards vpon it, when conuenient opportunity serueth? Is there any Law of God, or of Man, wherupon to ground such a resolution, any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed, thus to do or to be done vnto? He cãnot but see how weake an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this course, first in one matter, and so afterwards in another, to approoue himselfe, now following it againe. For if the very purpose of doing a thing so vncharitable bee a fault, the deed is a greater fault, and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The waight of the cause, which is his third defence, relieueth him as little. The waightier it was, the more it required considerate aduice and consultation, the more it stood him vpon to take good heed, that nothing were rashly done or spoken in it. But he meaneth *waightie* in regard of the wonderfull danger, except he had presently withstood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cause being of such moment that might preiudice the faith of Christ, incourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable*

wayes,

wayes, and other weake in faith, to ſuffer themſelues to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their ſoules, he thought it his bounden dutie to ſpeake before he talked with me. A man that ſhould reade this, and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at the leaſt denied the Diuinitie of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech and can teſtifie, that nothing paſſed my lips more then is contayned in their writings; whom for ſoundneſſe of doctrine, learning, and iudgement Maſter *Trauers* himſelfe doth, I dare ſay, not only allow, but honour, they which heard and doe know that the doctrine here ſignified in ſo fearefull manner, the doctrine that was ſo dangerous to the faith of Chriſt, that was ſo likely *to encourage ill-affected men, to continue ſtill in damnable wayes*, that gaue ſo great cauſe to tremble for feare of the preſent *deſtruction of ſoules*, was onely this, *I doubt not but God was mercifull to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers, liuing heretofore in Popiſh Superſtition, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly*, and this ſpoken in a Sermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Poperie, they will hardly be able to diſcerne how Chriſtianitie ſhould herewith be ſo grieuouſly ſhaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuſe is alſo taken from him. For what doth it boot him to ſay, *The time was ſhort wherin he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, ſurely might haue beene either verie well omitted, or at the leaſt more conueniently for a while deferd; euen by their iudgements that caſt the moſt fauourable aſpect towards theſe his haſtie proceedings? The poyſon which men had taken at my hands, was not ſo quick and ſtrong in operation, as in eight dayes to make them paſt cure; by eight dayes delay there was no likelihood that the force and power of his ſpeech could die; longer Meditation might bring better & ſtronger proofs to minde, then extemporall dexteritie could furniſh him with; and who doth know whether time the onely Mother of ſound iudgement and diſcreete dealing, might haue giuen that action of his ſome better ripeneſſe, which by ſo great feſtination hath, as a thing borne out of Time, brought ſmall ioy vnto him that begat it? Doth he thinke it had not beene better that neither my ſpeech had ſeemed in his eyes as an arrow ſticking in a thigh of fleſh, nor his own as a child wherof he muſt needs be deliuered by an houre? His laſt way of disburdening himſelfe, is by caſting his load vpon my backe, as if I had brought him, by former cõferences out of hope, that any fruit would euer come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip vp thoſe conferences, whereof he maketh but a ſlipperie and looſe relation. In one of them the queſtion betweene vs was whether the perſwaſion of Faith concerning remiſſion of ſins, eternall life, and whatſoeuer God doth promiſe vnto man, be as free from doubting as the perſwaſion which we haue by ſenſe concerning things taſted, felt, and ſeene? For the negatiue I mentioned their Example, whoſe Faith in Scripture is moſt commended, & the experience which all faithfull men haue continually had of themſelues. For proofe of the affirmatiue, which he held, I deſiring to haue ſome reaſon, heard nothing but *All good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, vpon requeſt, to ſee ſome one of them, *Peter Martyr's* common places were brought, where the leaues were turned down, at a place ſounding to this effect, that *the Goſpel doth make Chriſtians more vertuous, then moral Philoſophie*

doth make Heathens: which came not neere the queſtion by many miles.

22. In the other Conference he queſtioned about the matter of Reprobation, miſliking firſt that I had termed God a permiſſiue, and no poſitiue cauſe of the euill, which the Schoole-men doe call *malum culpæ*: Secondly, that to their obiection who ſay, *If I be elected, doe what I will, I ſhall be ſaued*, I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditionall, to ſaue his Elect beleeuing, fearing, and obediently ſeruing him: Thirdly, that to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch as grudge & repine againſt God for reiecting caſt-awayes, I had taught that they are not reiected, no not in the purpoſe & counſell of God, without a fore-ſeene worthineſſe of reiection going, though not in time yet in order, before. For if Gods electing doe in order (as needs it muſt) preſuppoſe the fore-ſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be, nor only the poſitiue fore-ſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſiue of their being miſerable, becauſe election is through mercy, & mercy doth alwayes preſuppoſe miſerie: it followeth, that the very choſen of God acknowledge to the prayſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it downe, *Thoſe ſhall liue and not dye*, they lay as vgly ſpectacles before him, as Lepers couered with dung and mire, as vlcers putrified in their fathers loynes, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation; and ſhall any forſaken creature be able to ſay vnto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſigne me vnto endleſſe torments, onely to ſatisfie thine owne will, finding nothing in me for which I could ſeeme in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feele euerlaſting flames?

23 When I ſaw that Maſter *Trauers* carped at theſe things only, becauſe they lay not open, I promiſed at ſome conuenient time to make them cleere as light both to him & all others. Which if they that repoone mee will not grant me leaue to do, they muſt thinke that they are for ſome cauſe or other, more deſirous to haue me reputed an vnſound man, then willing that my ſincere meaning ſhould appeare and be approoued. When I was farther asked what my grounds were, I anſwered, that S. *Pauls* words concerning this cauſe were my grounds. His next demand, what Authour I did follow in expounding S. *Paul*, and gathering the doctrine out of his words, againſt the iudgement (he ſaith) of *all Churches*, and *all good Writers*. I was well aſſured that to controll this ouer-reaching ſpeech, the ſentences which I might haue cited out of Church Confeſſions, together with the beſt learned Monuments of former times, & not the meaneſt of our owne, were mo in number then perhaps he would willingly haue heard of: but what had this booted me? For although he himſelfe in generalitie doe much vſe thoſe formall ſpeeches, *All Churches*, and *all good Writers:* yet as he holdeth it in Pulpit lawfull to ſay in generall, the *Paymins* thinke this, or the *Heathens* that, but vtterly vnlawfull to cite any ſentence of theirs that ſay it; ſo he gaue me at that time great cauſe to thinke that my particular alleadging of other mens words, to ſhew their agreement with mine, would as much haue diſpleaſed his mind as the thing it ſelfe for which it had beene alleaged. For he knoweth how often he hath in publike place bitten me for this, although I did neuer in any Sermon vſe many of the Sentences of other Writers, and doe make moſt without any, hauing

alwayes

alwayes thought it meeteſt neither to affect nor to contemne the vſe of them.

24. Hee is not ignorant that in the very entrance to the talke, which wee had priuatly at that time, to prooue it vnlawful altogether in preaching either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwiſe to cite any thing but meere Canonicall Scripture, he brought in, *The Scripture is giuen by inſpiration, and is profitable to teach, improoue, &c.* Vrging much the vigour of theſe two clauſes, *The man of God* and *euery good worke.* If therefore the worke were good which hee required at my hands, if priuately to ſhew, why I thought the doctrine I had deliuered to be according to S. *Pauls* meaning, were a good worke, can they which take the place before alledged for a Law, condemning euery man of God, who in doing the worke of preaching any way vſeth humane authoritie, like it in me, if in the work of ſtrengthening that which I had preached, I ſhould bring forth the teſtimonies & the ſayings of mortall men? I alledged therefore, that which might vnder no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely reaſons, not meaning thereby my owne reaſon as now it is reported but true ſound diuine reaſon; reaſon whereby thoſe Concluſions might be out of S. *Paul* demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are knowne; Theologicall reaſon without principles in Scripture that are plaine, ſoundly deduced more doubtfull inferences, in ſuch ſort that being heard they cannot be denyed, nor any thing repugnant vnto them receiued, but whatſoeuer was before otherwiſe by miſcollecting gathered out of darke places, is thereby forced to yeeld it ſelfe, & the true conſonant meaning of ſentences, not vnderſtood, is brought to light. This is the reaſon which I intended. If it were poſſible for me to eſcape the Ferula in any thing I doe or ſpeake, I had vndoubtedly eſcaped it in this. In this I did that which by ſome is inioyned as the only allowable, but granted by all as the moſt ſure & ſafe way, whereby to reſolue things doubted of in matters appertaining to Faith and Chriſtian Religion. So that Maſter *Trauers* had here ſmal cauſe giuen him to be wearie of conferring, vnleſſe it were in other reſpects then that poore one which is heere pretended, that is to ſay, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

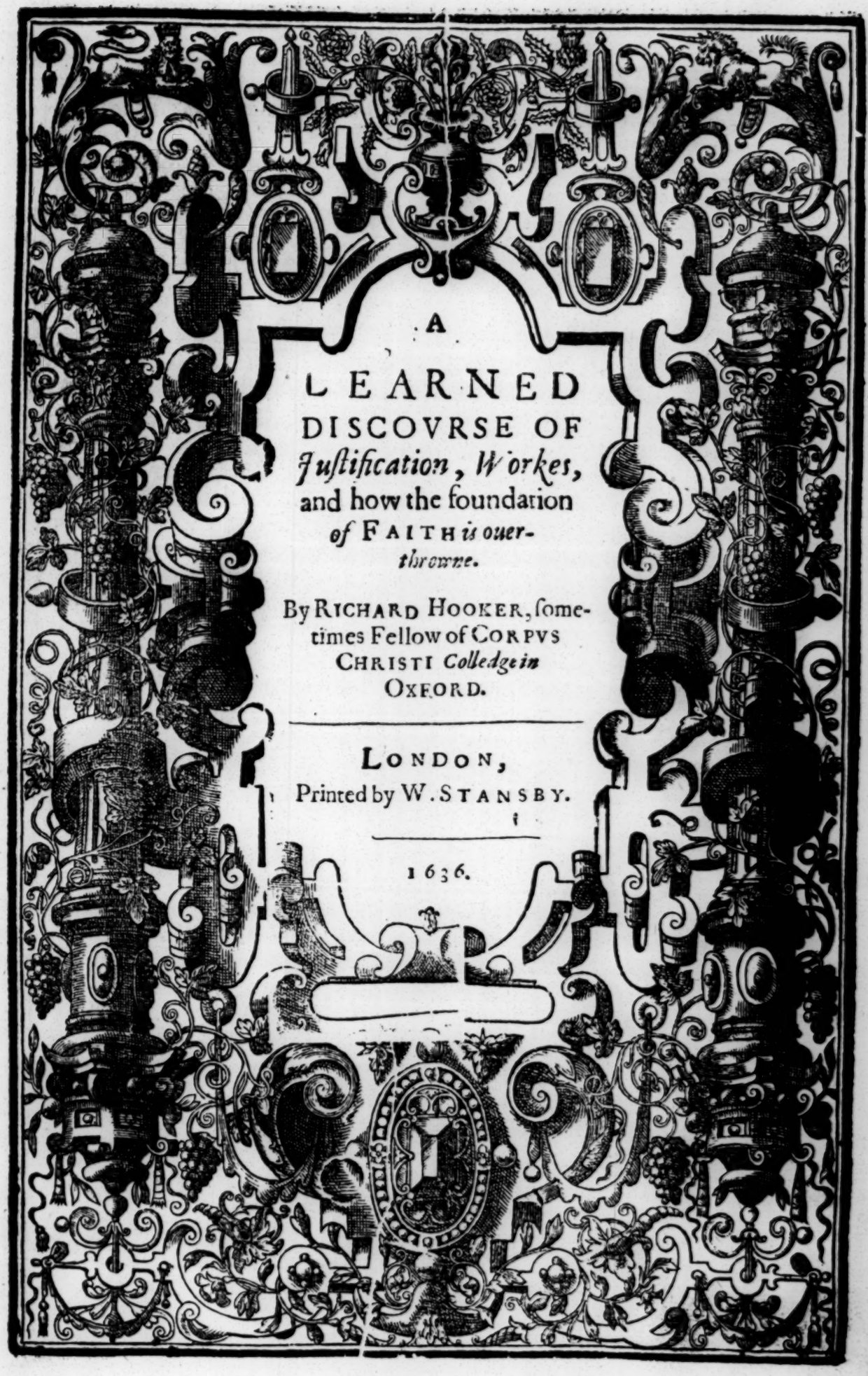
25. Yet behold his firſt reaſon of not complayning to the High Commiſſion, is, that ſith I offended onely through an ouer-charitable inclination, he conceiued good hope, when I ſhould ſee the truth cleared, & ſome ſcruples, which were in my mind, remooued by his diligence, I would yeeld. But what experience ſoeuer he had of former conferences, how ſmall ſoeuer his hope was that fruit would come of it if he ſhould haue conferred, will any man iudge this a cauſe ſufficient, why to open his mouth in publike without any one word priuately ſpoken? He might haue conſidered that men doe ſometimes reape, where they ſow but with ſmall hope; he might haue conſidered that although vnto me (whereof he was not certaine neither) but if to me his labour ſhold be as water ſpilt or powred into a torne diſh, yet to him it could not be fruitleſſe to doe that which order in Chriſtian Churches, that which charitie amongſt Chriſtian men, that which at many mens hands euen common humanitie it ſelfe, at his, many other things beſides did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in ſo great haſt with ſo ſmal

aduice

aduice,but ſuch as muſt needs be vnpleaſant, and mingled with much acerbitie? Surely, he which wil take vpon him to defend,that in this there was no ouer-ſight,muſt beware leſt by ſuch defences, he leaue an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more ſtiffe to maintaine what hee hath done, then carefull to doe nothing but that which may iuſtly be maintained.

26. Thus haue I as neere as I could, ſeriouſly anſwered things of waight; with ſmaller I haue dealt as I thought their qualitie did require. I take no ioy in ſtriuing, I haue not beene nuzled or trained vp in it, I would to Chriſt they which haue at this preſent inforced me hereunto, had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that I might neuer haue beene conſtrained to ſtrike ſo much as in mine own defence. Wherfore to proſecute this long and tedious contention no further, I ſhall wiſh that your Grace and their Honours (vnto whoſe intelligence the dutifull regard which I haue of their iudgments, maketh me deſirous, that as accuſations haue beene brought againſt me, ſo that this my anſwer therunto may likewiſe come) did both with the one and the other, as *Conſtantine* with books containing querulous matter. Whether this be conuenient to be wiſht or no, I cannot tel. But ſith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutuall waſte of the parties contending, till a common enemie dance in the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily that the graue aduice which *Conſtantine* gaue for reuniting of his Clergy ſo many times, vpon ſo ſmall occaſions, in ſo lamentable ſort diuided, or rather the ſtrict commandement of Chriſt vnto his, that they ſhould not be diuided at all, may at the length, if it be his bleſſed wil, preuaile ſo farre, at the leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the cauſes which haue either bred it or brought it vp, that things of ſmal moment neuer diſioyne them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſme, bands of ſo great force haue linked; that a reſpectiue eye towards things, wherwith we ſhould not be diſquieted, make vs not, as through infirmitie the very Patriarkes themſelues ſometimes were, full gorged, vnable to ſpeake peaceably to their owne brother: finally, that no ſtrife may euer be heard of againe but this, who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue Peace and Vnitie with ſwifteſt paces.

FINIS.



A

LEARNED

DISCOVRSE OF

Iuſtification, Workes,

and how the foundation

of FAITH *is ouer-*

throwne.

By RICHARD HOOKER, ſome-

times Fellow of CORPVS

CHRISTI *Colledge in*

OXFORD.

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1636.



TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Whereas many, desirous of resolution in some points handled in this learned Discourse, were earnest to haue it copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath beene thought most worthy and very necessary to be printed: that not onely they might bee satisfied, but the whole Church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the Author from the suspicion of some errours, which he hath beene thought to haue fauoured. Who might well haue answered with Cremutius *in* Tacitus, [a] Verba mea arguuntur, adeo factorum innocens sum. *Certainely, the euent of that time wherein hee liued, shewed that to be true, which the same* [b] *Author spake of a worse,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus; *and that there is not* [c] minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. *But he hath so quit himselfe, that all may see, how, as it was said of* Agricola, Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my Author said of the same man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, iniuria virtutum fuerit. *But as*

[a] Lib. 4. Ann.

[b] Lib. 1. Hist.

[c] In vita Agricolæ.

of

of all other his writings, so of this I will adde that, which Velleius *spake in commendation of* Piso, Nemo fuit,
Lib. 2. qui magis, quæ agenda erant, curaret, sine vlla ostentatione agendi. *So not doubting, Good Christian Reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy fauourable acceptance of this Worke (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his learned Labours) I take my leaue; from*

Corpus Christi Colledge
in Oxford the sixt of
July. 1612.

Thine in Christ Iesus,

HENRY IACKSON.



A LEARNED DISCOVRSE OF IVSTIFICATION, WORKES, AND HOW THE foundation of FAITH is ouerthrowne.

ABAK. 1. 4.

The wicked doth compasse about the righteous; therefore peruerse iudgement doth proceed.



Or the better manifestation of the Prophets meaning in this place, we are first to consider *the wicked*, of whom hee saith, *That they compasse about the righteous*: Secondly, the *righteous*, that are compassed about by them: and thirdly, That which is inferred; *Therefore peruerse iudgement proceedeth.* Touching the first, there are two kindes of wicked men, of whom, in the fift of the former to the Corinthians, the blessed Apostle speaketh thus: *Doe ye not iudge them that are within? But God iudgeth them that are without.* There are wicked therefore whom the Church may iudge, and there are wicked whom God onely iudgeth: wicked within, and wicked without the wals of the Church. If within the Church, particular persons bee apparantly such, as cannot otherwise be reformed; the rule of the Apostolicall iudgement, is this; *Separate them from among you*: if whole Assemblies, this; *Separate your selues from among them: For what societie hath light with darknesse?* But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cause we haue heard at large heretofore in what sort he vrgeth God to iudge them.

1. 2. 3. 1.Cor.5.12.13. 2.Cor.6.verse 15.

2. Now concerning the righteous, there neither is, nor euer was any meere naturall man absolutely righteous in himselfe, that is to say, voide of all vnrighteousnesse, of all sinne. We dare not except, no not the blessed Virgin her selfe; of whom although we say with S. *Augustine*, for the honour sake which wee owe to our Lord and Sauiour Christ, wee are not willing in this cause to moue any question of his mother: yet forasmuch as the Schooles of Rome

haue made it a question; we may answere with * *Eusebius Emissenus*, who speaketh of her and to her in this effect: *Thou diddest, by speciall prerogatiue, nine monethes together entertaine within the closet of thy flesh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honour of the World, the common ioy of Men: Hee, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he tooke the bloud, which was to be shed for the life of the World; of thee he tooke that, which euen for thee he payed. A peccati enim veteris nexu, per se non est immunis, nec ipsa genetrix Redemptoris:* the Mother of the Redeemer, her selfe is not otherwise loosed from the bond of ancient sinne, then by redemption if Christ haue paid a ransome for all, euen for her, it followeth, that all without exception were captiues. If one haue dyed for all, then all were dead in sin; all sinful therefore, none, absolutely righteous in themselues; but we are absolutely righteous in Christ. The World then must shew a righteous man, otherwise it is not able to shew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Christ is made to vs wisdome, Iustice, Sanctification, & Redemption: Wisdome*, because he hath reuealed his Fathers will: *Iustice*, because he hath offered vp himselfe a sacrifice for sin: *Sanctification*, because he hath giuen vs his spirit, *Redemption*, because he hath appointed a day to vindicate his Children out of the bands of corruption, into libertie, which is glorious. How Christ is made *Wisdome*, and how *Redemption*, it may be declared, when occasion serueth. But how Christ is made the *righteousnesse* of men, we are now to declare.

3 There is a glorifying righteousnesse of men in the World to come; as there is a iustifying and sanctifying righteousnesse here. The righteousnesse, wherewith we shall be clothed in the World to come, is both perfect & inherent. That whereby here we are iustified, is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are sanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the vnderstanding of that grand question, which hangeth yet in controuersie betweene vs and the Church of Rome, about the matter of iustifying righteousnesse.

4 First, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, were for his honor and by his speciall protection, preserued cleane from all sinne: yet touching the rest they teach as we doe; that infants which neuer did actually offend, haue their natures defiled, destitute of Iustice, auerted from God; that in making man righteous, none doe efficiently worke with God, but God. They teach as we doe, that vnto Iustice no man euer attayned, but by the Merits of Iesus Christ. They teach as we doe, that although Christ as God, be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cause of our Iustice: yet in vs also there is something required. God is the cause of our naturall life, in him we liue: but he quickeneth not the body without the soule in the body. Christ hath merited to make vs iust: but as a medicine, which is made for health doth not heale by being made, but by being applied: so by the Merits of Christ there can be no Iustification, without the application of his Merits. Thus farre we ioyne hands with the Church of Rome.

5 Wherein then doe we disagree? Wee disagree about the nature and essence of the medicine, whereby Christ cureth our Disease; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of meanes, which God requireth;

* Or whosoeuer it be that was the author of those Homilies that go vnder his name.

a Knowing how the Scholder his numemen hold this question, some Criticall wits may perhaps halfe suspect that these two words, *Per se*, are In-mates. But if the place which they haue be their owne, their sense can be none other then that which I haue giuen them by a paraphrasticall interpretation.

They teach as we doe, that God doth iustifie the soule of man alone, without any coefectiue cause of Iustice.

Deus sine medio coefficiuo animam iustificat. Casal. de quadr. port. iust. l. 1. c. 8. Idem lib. 3. c. 9.

The difference betwixt the Papists and vs about iustification.

quireth in vs for the effectuall applying thereof to our ſoules comfort. When they are required to ſhew what the righteouſneſſe is, whereby a Chriſtian man is iuſtified: they [a] anſwere, that it is a diuine ſpirituall qualitie, which qualitie receiued into the ſoule, doth firſt make it to be one of them, who are borne of God: and ſecondly, indue it with power, to bring forth ſuch workes, as they doe that are borne of him; euen as the ſoule of man being ioyned to his bodie, doth firſt make him to be of the number of reaſonable creatures; and ſecondly inable him to performe the naturall functions which are proper to his kind: that it maketh the ſoule amiable and gracious in the ſight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and waſheth out all the ſtaines, and pollutions of ſinne, that by it, through the merit of Chriſt, we are deliuered as from ſinne, ſo from eternall death and condemnation, the reward of ſinne. This grace they will haue to be applied by infuſion: to the end, that as the body is warme by the heate, which is in the body, ſo the ſoule might be righteous by the inherent grace: which grace they make capable of increaſe; as the body may bee more and more warme, ſo the ſoule more and more iuſtified, according as grace ſhall be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good workes are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the firſt receit of grace in their diuinitie, is the firſt iuſtification; the increaſe thereof the ſecond iuſtification. As grace may be increaſed by the merit of good workes; ſo it may be diminiſhed by the demerit of ſinnes veniall, it may bee loſt by mortall ſinne. In as much therefore as it is needfull in the one caſe to repaire; in the other, to recouer the loſſe which is made: the infuſion of grace hath her ſundry after-meales, for the which cauſe, they make many wayes to apply the infuſion of grace. It is applyed to Infants through Baptiſme, without either Faith, or Workes, and in them really it taketh away originall ſiune, and the puniſhment due vnto it: it is applyed to Infidels and wicked men in the firſt iuſtification, through Baptiſme without Workes, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both ſinnes actuall and originall together, withall whatſoeuer puniſhment, eternall, or temporall, thereby deſerued. Vnto ſuch as haue attained the firſt iuſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receit of grace, it is applyed farther by good workes to the increaſe of former grace, which is the ſecond iuſtification. If they worke more and more, grace doth more and more increaſe, and they are more and more iuſtified. To ſuch as diminiſhed it by veniall ſinnes, it is applyed by holy Water, *Aue Maries*, Croſſings, Papall ſalutations, and ſuch like, which ſerue for reparations of grace decayed. To ſuch as haue loſt it through mortall ſinne, it is applyed by the Sacrament (as they terme it) of Penance: which Sacrament hath force to conferre grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it only cleanſeth out the ſtaine or guilt of ſinne committed; and changeth the puniſhment eternall into a temporall ſatisfactorie puniſhment, here, if time doe ſerue, if not, hereafter to be indured, except it be lightned by Maſſes, workes of Charitie, Pilgrimages, Faſts, and ſuch like; or elſe ſhortned by Pardon, for terme, or by plenarie Pardon quite remooued, and taken away. This is the myſterie of the Man of ſinne. This maze the Church of Rome doth cauſe her followers to treade,

[a] Tho. Aquin. 1.2. quæſt. 100. *Gratia gratum faciens, ideſt, iuſtificans, eſt in anima quiadam reale & poſitiuũ qualitas: quæda (art 2. concl.) ſupernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infuſa, vt Magiſter; ſed aliquid (art. 3.) præter virtutes infuſas fidem, ſpem, charitatẽ habitudo quædã (art 3. ad. 3.) qua præſupponi tur in virtutibus iſtis ſicut earum principiũ & radix, eſſentiam animæ tanquam ſubiectum occupat non potentias; ſed abipſa (art. 4. ad. 1) efflunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ mouentur ad actus, plur. vid. quæſt. 113. de Iuſtificatione.*

when they aske her the way to iuſtification. I cannot ſtand now to vnrip this building, and to ſift it piece by piece; onely I will paſſe by it in few words, that that may befall Babylon in the preſence of that, which God hath builded, as happened vnto *Dagon* before the Arke.

[a] *Phil.3.v.* 6. Doubtleſſe, ſaith the [a] Apoſtle, *I haue counted all things loſſe, and iudge them to be dung, that I may winne Chriſt; and to be found in him not hauing my owne righteouſneſſe, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſnes, which is of God through faith.* Whether they ſpeake of the firſt, or ſecond iuſtification, they make it the eſſence of a diuine qualitie inherent, they make it righteouſneſſe which is in vs. If it bee in vs, then is it ours, as our ſoules are ours, though wee haue them from God, and can hold them no longer then pleaſeth him: for if hee withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, wee fall to duſt: but the righteouſneſſe wherein wee muſt be found, if wee will be iuſtified, is not our owne; therefore we cannot be iuſtified by any inherent qualitie. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſſe for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth vs, if we be faithfull, for by faith we are incorporated into Chriſt. Then although in our ſelues we be altogether ſinfull, and vnrighteous, yet euen the man which is impious in himſelfe, full of iniquitie, full of ſinne, him being found in Chriſt through faith, and hauing his ſinne remitted through Repentance: him God vpholdeth with a gracious eye: putteth away his ſinne by not imputing; taketh quite away the puniſhment due thereunto, by pardoning it: and accepteth him in Ieſus Chriſt, as perfectly righteous, as if hee had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: ſhall I ſay more perfectly righteous, then if himſelfe had fulfilled the whole Law? I muſt take heed what I ſay: but the Apoſtle ſaith, [*] *God made him to bee ſinne for vs who knew no ſinne, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him.* Such wee are in the ſight of God the Father, as is the very Sonne of God himſelfe. Let it be counted folly, or phrenſie, or furie, whatſoeuer; it is our comfort, and our wiſedome; we care for no knowledge in the World but this, That Man hath ſinned, and God hath ſuffered; that God hath made himſelfe the Sonne of Man, and that Men are made the righteouſneſſe of God. You ſee therefore that the Church of Rome, in teaching iuſtification by inherent grace, doth peruert the Truth of Chriſt, and that by the hands of the Apoſtles we haue receiued otherwiſe then ſhe teacheth. Now concerning the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification, we deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that vnleſſe we worke, we haue it not: only wee diſtinguiſh it as a thing different in nature from the righteouſneſſe of iuſtification: wee are righteous, the one way by the faith of *Abraham*; the other way, except we doe the workes of *Abraham*, wee are not righteous. Of the one, Saint PAVL; *To him that worketh not, but beleeueth, faith is counted for righteouſneſſe.* Of the other, S. IOHN; *Qui facit iuſtitiam, iuſtus eſt*; He is righteous, which worketh righteouſneſſe. Of the one, S. *Paul* doth proue by *Abrahams* Example, that wee haue it of faith without workes. Of the other, S. *Iames* by *Abrahams* Example, that by workes we haue it, and not onely by faith. Saint *Paul* doth plainly ſeuer theſe two parts of Chriſtian righteouſnes one from the other. For in the ſixt to the *Rom.* thus he writeth, *Being freed from ſinne, and made ſeruants to God, yee haue your fruit in holineſſe,*

[*] *2.Cor.5.21.*

Rom.4.5.
Rom.6.

and

and the end euerlaſting life. Yee are made free from ſinne, and made ſeruants vnto God; this is the righteouſneſſe of iuſtification: *yee haue your fruit in holineſſe*; this is the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification. By the one we are intereſſed in the right of inheriting; by the other wee are brought to the actuall poſſeſſion of eternall bliſſe, and ſo the end of both is euerlaſting life.

7. The Prophet *Abak.* doth here tearme the Iewes *righteous* men, not onely becauſe being iuſtified by Faith they were free from ſinne: but alſo becauſe they had their meaſure of fruits in holineſſe. According to whoſe example of charitable iudgement, which leaueth it to God to diſcerne what we are, and ſpeaketh of them according to that, which they doe profeſſe themſelues to bee, although they bee not holy men, whom men doe thinke, but whom God doth know indeed to be ſuch: yet let euery Chriſtian man know, that in Chriſtian equitie, hee ſtandeth bound for to thinke and ſpeake of his Brethren, as of men that haue a meaſure in the fruit of holineſſe, and a right vnto the Titles, wherewith God, in token of ſpeciall fauour and mercie, vouchſafeth to honour his choſen ſeruants. So wee ſee the Apoſtles of our Sauiour Chriſt, doe vſe euery where the name of *Saints*; ſo the Prophet, the name of *righteous*. But let vs all bee ſuch as wee deſire to bee tearmed. *Reatus impij eſt pium nomen*, ſaith *Saluianus*. Godly names doe not iuſtifie godleſſe men. We are but vpbrayded, when we are honoured with Names and Titles, whereunto our liues and manners are not ſutable. If indeed we haue our fruit in holineſſe, notwithſtanding we muſt note, that the more we abound therein, the more need we haue to craue, that we may be ſtrengthened and ſupported. Our very Vertues may be ſnares vnto vs. The enemie, that waiteth for all occaſions to worke our ruine, hath found it harder to ouerthrow an humble Sinner, then a proud Saint. There is no mans caſe ſo dangerous, as his whom Satan hath perſwaded, that his owne righteouſneſſe ſhall preſent him pure and blameleſſe in the ſight of God. If wee could ſay, we were not guiltie of any thing at all in our conſciences (we know our ſelues farre from this innocency; we cannot ſay, wee know nothing by our ſelues; but if we could,) ſhould wee therfore plead not-guiltie before the preſence of our Iudge, that ſees further into our hearts, then we our ſelues can doe? If our hands did neuer offer violence to our Brethren, a bloudie thought doth proue vs Murtherers before him: if we had neuer opened our mouth to vtter any ſcandalous, offenſiue, or hurtfull word, the cry of our ſecret cogitations is heard in the eares of God. If we doe not commit the ſinnes, which daily and hourely, either in deede, word, or thoughts, wee doe commit; yet in the good things which we doe, how many defects are there intermingled! God in that which is done, reſpecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all thoſe things wherein we haue regarded our owne glorie, thoſe things, which men doe to pleaſe men, and to ſatisfie our owne liking, thoſe things which we do by any reſpect, not ſincerely, and purely for the loue of God: and a ſmall ſcore will ſerue for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holieſt & beſt thing we do be conſidered, we are neuer better affected vnto God, then when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times diſtracted! How little reuerence doe we ſhew vnto the grand Maieſtie of God, vnto whom we ſpeake! How

little remorſe of our owne miſeries! How little taſte of the ſweet influence of his tender mercies doe wee feele! Are we not as vnwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in ſaying, *Call vpon me* he had ſet vs a very burdenſome taske? It may ſeeme ſomewhat extreame, which I will ſpeake: therefore let every one iudge of it, euen as his owne heart ſhall tell him, and no otherwiſe; I will but onely make a demand: If God ſhould yeeld vnto vs, not as vnto *Abraham*, If fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good perſons could be found in a Citie, for their ſakes that Citie ſhould not be deſtroyed: but, and if he ſhould make vs an offer thus large; Search all the Generations of men, ſithence the Fall of our Father *Adam*, finde one man, that hath done one action, which hath paſt from him pure, without any ſtaine or blemiſh at all, and for that one mans only action, neither man nor Angell ſhall feele the torments which are prepared for both. Doe you thinke that this ranſome, to deliuer men and Angels, could be found to be among the ſonnes of men? The beſt things, which wee doe, haue ſomewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we doe any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed God doth liberally promiſe whatſoeuer appertaineth to a bleſſed life, to as many as ſincerely keep his Law, though they be not exactly able to keepe it, Wherefore we acknowledge a dutifull neceſſitie of doing well; but the meritorious dignitie of doing well, we vtterly renounce. We ſee how farre we are from the perfect righteouſneſſe of the Law; the little fruit which wee haue in Holineſſe, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and vnſound: wee put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the World for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our debt-bookes: our continuall ſuit to him is, and muſt be, to beare with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the people of whom the Prophet ſpeaketh, were they all, or were the moſt part of them ſuch, as had care to walke vprightly? Did they thirſt after righteouſneſſe? Did they wiſh? Did they long with the righteous Prophet; *O that our wayes were made ſo direct, that we might keepe thy ſtatutes?* Did they lament with the righteous Apoſtle; *O miſerable men, the good which wee wiſh and purpoſe, and ſtriue to do, we cannot?* No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this people, doe ſhew the contrary. How grieuouſly hath *Eſay* mourned ouer them! *O ſinfull nation, laden with iniquitie, wicked ſeed, corrupt children*! All which notwithſtanding, ſo wide are the bowels of his compaſſion inlarged, that he denieth vs not, no, not when we were laden with iniquitie, leaue to commune familiarly with him, libertie to craue and intreate, that what plagues ſoeuer we haue deſerued, we may not be in worſe caſe then vnbeleeuers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans, and Infidels. Ieruſalem is a ſinfull polluted Citie: but Ieruſalem compared with Babylon, is righteous. And ſhall the righteous be ouerborne? ſhall they be compaſt about by the wicked? But the Prophet doth not only complaine; Lord, how commeth it to paſſe, that thou handleſt vs ſo hardly, of whom thy Name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen Nations, that deſpiſe thee? No, hee breaketh out through extremity of griefe, & inferreth violently; This *proceeding is peruerſe*, the righteous are thus handled; *therefore peruerſe iudgement doth proceed.*

Rom. 7. 19.

Cap. 1. verſ. 4.

9. Which

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for yee to heare, and me to ſpeake, if neceſſitie did not draw me to another taske. *Paul* and *Barnabas* being requeſted to preach the ſame things againe, which once they had preached, thought it their duties to ſatisfie the godly deſires of men, ſincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it ſeeme burdenous for me, or for yee vnprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occaſion vnto theirs being offred me. When we had laſt the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the Hebrewes in hand, and of that Epiſtle theſe words: *In theſe laſt dayes he hath ſpoken vnto vs by his Sonne:* After wee had thence collected the nature of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and had defined it to be a communitie of men, *ſanctified through the profeſſion of the Truth, which God hath taught the world by his Sonne; and had declared, that the ſcope of Chriſtian doctrine is the comfort of them, whoſe hearts are ouer-charged with the burden of ſinne; and had proued that the doctrine profeſſed in the Church of Rome, doth bereaue men of comfort both in their liues and in their deaths: the concluſion in the end, whereunto we came was this; the Church of Rome being in faith ſo corrupted, as ſhe is, and refuſing to be reformed, as ſhe doth, we are to ſeuer our ſelues from her, the example of our Fathers may not retaine vs in communion with that Church; vnder hope, that we ſo continuing, may be ſaued as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciſull to ſaue thouſands of them, though they liued in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this laſt ſentence, namely, theſe words: *I doubt not, but God was merciſull to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtiotins, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly:* this ſentence, I beſeech you, to marke, & to ſift it with the ſeueritie of auſtere iudgement, that if it be found to be gold, it may be ſutable to the precious foundation, whereon it was then laid: for, I proteſt, that, if it be hay or ſtuble, my owne hand ſhall ſet fire on it. Two queſtions haue riſen by reaſon of this ſpeech before alledged. The one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with popiſh errors and ſuperſtitions, may bee ſaued.* The other, *Whether their ignorance: be a reaſonable inducement to make vs thinke, they might.* We are then to examine: firſt, what poſſibilitie: then, what probabilitie there is that God might be merciſull vnto ſo many of our Fathers.

Heb.1.ver.2.

*By ſanctification, I meane a ſeparation from others, not profeſſing as they doe. For true holines conſiſteth not in profeſſing, but in obeying the truth of Chriſt

10. So many of our Fathers liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, yet by the mercy of God to be ſaued? No; this could not be: God hath ſpoken by his Angell from heauen, vnto his people concerning Babylon (by Babylon we vnderſtand the Church of Rome;) *Goe out of her, my people, that yee be not partakers of her plagues.* For anſwere whereunto, firſt, I doe not take the words to be meant onely of temporall plagues, of the corporall death, ſorrow, famine and fire, whereunto God in his wrath hath condemned Babylon; and that to ſaue his choſen people from theſe plagues, he ſaith, *Goe out*, with like intent, as in the Goſpell, ſpeaking of Hieruſalems deſolations, he ſaith, *Let them that are in Iudea, flie vnto the Mountaines, and them that are in the midſt thereof depart out*; or, as in the former times to *Lot*, *Ariſe, take thy wife, and thy daughters, which are there, leſt thou be deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the Citie*: but for as much as here it is ſaid, *Goe out of Babylon*; wee doubt, their everlaſting deſtruction, which

Apoc.18.4.

Mauh.24.16.

Gen.19.15.

which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily implied in this ſentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of your fathers to bee ſaued: ſith they were ſo farre from departing out of Babylon, that they tooke her for their mother, and in her boſome yeelded vp the Ghoſt?

11. Firſt, for the plagues being threatned vnto them, that are partakers in the ſinnes of Babylon, we can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this ſentence: vnleſſe we ſhew, what the ſinnes of Babylon be; and what they be, which are ſuch partakers of them, that their euerlaſting plagues are ineuitable. The ſinnes, which may bee common both to them of the Church of Rome, and to others departed thence, muſt be ſeuered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of Babylon, leaſt yee be partakers of her ſinnes*: ſheweth plainely, that he meaneth ſuch ſinnes, as, except we ſeparate our ſelues, wee haue no power in the world to auoid ſuch impieties, as by their Law they haue eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either doe indeed aſſent or elſe are by powerable meanes forced, in ſhew and appearance, to ſubiect themſelues. As for example, in the Church of Rome it is maintained, that the ſame credit and reuerence that we giue to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be giuen to vnwritten verities; That the Pope is ſupreme head miniſteriall ouer the vniuerſall Church militant; That the bread in the Euchariſt is tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt; That it is to be adored, and to be offered vp vnto God, as a ſacrifice propitiatorie for quicke and dead; That Images are to be worſhipped; Saints to be called vpon as interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome Hereſies doe concerne things only beleeued, as the tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall Elements in the *Euchariſt*; ſome concerne things which are practiſed and put in vre, as the adoration of the Elements tranſubſtantiated: wee muſt note, that *erroneouſly*, the practice of that is ſometime receiued, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not *heretically* maintained. They are all partakers in the maintenance of Hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing Hereſie to be Hereſie, doe notwithſtanding in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and iudgement they condemne: but Hereſie is heritically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation, without an actuall repentance, is ineuitable. Leſt any man therefore ſhould thinke, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeake indifferently of them all: let my words, I beſeech you be well marked: *I doubt not, but God was mercifull to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers*: which thing I will now, by Gods aſſiſtance, ſet more plainely before your eyes.

12. Many are partakers of the errour, which are not of the Hereſie of the Church of Rome. The people following the conduct of their guides, and obſeruing, as they did, exactly that which was preſcribed, thought they did God good ſeruice, when indeed they did diſhonour him. This was their error: but the Hereſie of the Church of Rome, their dogmaticall Potions oppoſite vnto Chriſtian truth, what one man amongſt tenne thouſand, did euer vnderſtand? Of them, which vnderſtand Romane Hereſies, and allow them, all are

not

not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the firſt founders and eſtabliſhers of them: which crime toucheth none but their Popes, and Councels; the people are cleare and free from this. Of them, which maintaine Popiſh Hereſies, not as Authors, but Receiuers of them from others, all maintaine them not as Maſters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but onely the Predicants and Schoolemen. Of them, which haue beene partakers in this ſin of teaching Popiſh hereſie, there is alſo a difference; for they haue not all beene Teachers of all Popiſh Hereſie. *Put a difference*, ſaith S. *Iude*; *haue compaſſion vpon ſome.* Shall we lap vp all in one condition? Shall we caſt them all head-long? Shall we plunge them all into that infernall and euerlaſting flaming lake? Them that haue beene partakers of the errors of Babylon, together with them which are in the Hereſie? Them which haue beene the Authors of Hereſie, with them that by terror and violence haue beene forced to receiue it? Them who haue taught it, with them whoſe ſimplicitie hath by ſleights and conueyances of falſe Teachers, beene ſeduced to beleeue it? Them which haue beene partakers in one, with them which haue beene partakers in many? Them which in many, with them which in all? *Verſe 22.*

13. Notwithſtanding I grant, that, although the condemnation of them, bee more tolerable then of theſe: yet from the man, that laboureth at the plough, to him that ſitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the ſinnes of Babylon; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneouſly practiſe that which the guides heretically taught; to all, without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindneſſe. But woe worth the houre wherein wee were borne, except we might promiſe our ſelues better things; things which accompanie mans ſaluation, euen where we know, that worſe, and ſuch as accompany condemnation are due. Then muſt wee ſhew ſome way, how poſſibly they might eſcape. What way is there that ſinners can find to eſcape the iudgement of God, but onely by appealing to the ſeate of his ſauing mercy? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we doe not extend to Deuils and damned ſpirits. God hath mercy vpon thouſands, but there be thouſands alſo which hee hardeneth. Chriſt hath therefore ſet the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his ſauing mercy, within the compaſſe of theſe termes: *God ſent not his owne Sonne to condemne the world, but that the world through him might be ſaued.* In the third of S. *Iohns* Goſpel mercy is reſtrained to Beleeuers: *He that beleeueth ſhall not be condemned; He that beleeueth not, is condemned already, becauſe he beleeueth not in the Sonne of God.* In the ſecond of the Reuelation, mercy is reſtrained to the penitent. For of *Iezabel* and her ſectaries, thus he ſpeaketh: *I gaue her ſpace to repent, and ſhe repented not. Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her, into a great affliction, except they repent them of their workes, and I will kill her children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers, is, if they were not altogether faithleſſe and impenitent. *Iohn 3. 17.* *Reuel. 2. 22.*

14. They are not all faithleſſe, that are weake in aſſenting to the truth, or ſtiffe in maintaining things any way oppoſite to the truth of Chriſtian doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though they

hold

hold it but weakely, and as it were with a ſlender thred, although they frame many baſe and vnſutable things vpon it, things that cannot abide the tryall of the fire; yet ſhall they paſſe the fierie triall and be ſaued, which indeed haue builded themſelues vpon the Rocke, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt, but they were faithleſſe. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be ſaued. Then let vs ſee, what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may thinke, that thouſands of our Fathers, being in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, did notwithſtanding hold the foundation.

15. If the foundation of Faith doe import the generall ground, whereupon we reſt, when we doe beleeue, the writings of the Euangeliſts and the Apoſtles are the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, *Credimus quia legimus*, ſaith S. *Ierome*: O that the Church of Rome did as * ſoundly interprete theſe fundamentall writings, whereupon we build our faith, as ſhe doth willingly hold and imbrace them.

* They miſinterpret, not onely by making falſe and corrupt gloſſes vpon the ſcripture, but alſo by forcing the old vulgar tranſlation as the onely authentical: howbeit they refuſe no booke which is Canonical, though they admit ſundry which are not.

16. But if the name of *Foundation* doe note the principall thing which is beleeued: then is that the foundation of our Faith which S. *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: [a] *God manifeſted in the fleſh, iuſtified in the Spirit, &c.* that of Nathaniel, [b] *Thou art the ſonne of the liuing God: Thou art the King of Iſrael.* that of the Inhabitants of Samaria: [c] *This is Chriſt the Sauiour of the world*: he that directly denieth this, doth vtterly raſe the very foundation of our Faith. I haue proued heretofore, that, although the Church of Rome hath plaid the Harlot worſe then euer did Iſrael, yet are they not as now the Synagogue of the Iewes, which plainely deny Chriſt Ieſus, quite and cleane excluded from the new Couenant. But as Samaria compared with Hieruſalem is termed *Aholath*, a Church or Tabernacle of her owne; contrariwiſe, Ieruſalem *Aholibath*, the reſting place of the Lord: ſo whatſoeuer we terme the Church of Rome, when we compare her with reformed Churches ſtill we put a difference, as then betweene Babylon and Samaria, ſo now betweene Rome and the Heatheniſh aſſemblies. Which opinion, I muſt, and will recall; I muſt grant and will, that the Church of Rome, together with all her children, is cleane excluded. There is no difference in the world betweene our Fathers and Saracens, Turkes, and Paynims; if they did directly denie Chriſt crucified for the ſaluation of the world.

a 1. *Tim.* 3. 16.
b *Iohn* 1. 49.
c *Iohn* 4. 42.

17 But how many millions of them were knowne ſo to haue ended their mortall liues, that the drawing of their breath hath ceaſed with the vttering of this Faith, *Chriſt my Sauiour, my redeemer Ieſus?* Anſwer is made, That this they might vnfainedly confeſſe, and yet be farre enough from ſaluation. For, behold, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I Paul ſay vnto you, that if yee be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing.* Chriſt in the worke of mans ſaluation is alone: the Galathians were caſt away by ioyning *Circumciſion*, and the other Rites of the Law with Chriſt: the Church of Rome doth teach her children to ioyne other things likewiſe with him; therefore their faith, their beliefe, doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true, that they doe indeed ioyne other things with Chriſt: but how? Not in the worke of redemption it ſelfe, which they grant, that Chriſt alone hath performed ſufficiently for the ſaluation of

Gal. 5. 2.

the

the whole world; but in the application of this ineſtimable treaſure, that it may be effectuall to their ſaluation: how demurely ſoeuer they confeſſe, that they ſeeke remiſſion of ſinnes, no otherwiſe then by the bloud of Chriſt, vſing humbly the meanes appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy bloud; they teach, indeed, ſo many things pernicious in Chriſtian Faith, in ſetting downe the meanes, whereof they ſpeake, that the very foundation of Faith, which they hold, is thereby * plainely ouerthrowne, and the force of the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt extinguiſhed. We may therefore diſpute with them, vrge them euen with as dangerous ſequels, as the Apoſtle doth the Galatians. But I demand, if ſome of thoſe Galatians heartily imbracing the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſincere and ſound in faith (this one onely errour excepted) had ended their liues before they were euer taught, how perilous an opinion they held: ſhall we thinke, that the danger of this errour did ſo ouer-waigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not ſaue them? I grant they ouerthrew the foundation of faith by conſequent: doth not that ſo likewiſe, which the [a] *Lutheran* Churches doe at this day ſo ſtifly and ſo firmely maintaine? For mine owne part, I dare not here denie the poſſibilitie of their ſaluation, which haue beene the chiefeſt inſtruments of ours: albeit they carried to their graue a perſwaſion ſo greatly repugnant to the truth. Foraſmuch therefore as it may bee ſaid of the Church of Rome, ſhee hath yet a little ſtrength, ſhe doth not directly denie the foundation of Chriſtianitie: I may, I truſt without offence, perſwade my ſelfe, that thouſands of our Fathers in former times liuing and dying within her wals, haue found mercy at the hands of God.

18. What although they repented not of their errors? God forbid, that I ſhould open my mouth to gain-ſay that which Chriſt himſelfe hath ſpoken: *Except yee repent, yee ſhall all periſh.* And if they did not repent, they periſhed. But withall note, that we haue the benefit of a double repentance: the leaſt ſinne, which we commit in Deed, Thought, or Word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things do eſcape vs in euery of theſe, which we doe not know? How many, which we doe not obſerue to be ſinnes? And without the knowledge, without the obſeruation of ſinne, there is no actuall repentance. It cannot then be choſen, but that for as many as hold the foundation; and haue all holden ſinnes and errors in hatred; the bleſsing of repentance for vnknowne ſinnes and errours, is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Ieſus Chriſt, for ſuch ſuiters as crie with the Prophet DAVID: *Purge me, O Lord from my ſecret ſinnes.*

19. But we waſh a wall of loome; we labour in vaine; all this is nothing; it doth not proue; it cannot iuſtifie, that which we goe about to maintaine. Infidels and Heathen men are not ſo godleſſe, but that they may, no doubt, crie God mercy, and deſire in generall to haue their ſinnes forgiuen them. To ſuch as denie the foundation of faith, there can be no ſaluation (according to the ordinarie courſe, which God doth vſe in ſauing men) without a particular repentance of that error. The Galatians thinking, that vnleſſe they were circumciſed, they could not be ſaued, ouerthrew the foundation of faith directly: therefore if any of them did die ſo perſwaded, whether before or after they

* Plainely in all mens ſight whoſe eyes God hath inlightned to behold his truth. For they, which are in error, are in darkeneſſe, and ſee not that, which in light is plaine. In that which they teach concerning the natures of Chriſt, they hold the ſame with *Neſtorius* fully, the ſame with *Eutiches* about the proprieties of his nature.

[a] The opinio of the *Lutherans* thoughit beno direct deniall of the foundation may notwithſtanding be damnable vnto ſome; and I do not think but that in many reſpects it is leſſe damnable as at this day ſome maintain it, then it was in them which held it at firſt; as *Luther* and others whom I had an eye vnto in this ſpeech. The queſtion is not whether an errour with ſuch and ſuch circumſtances: but ſimply, whether an error ouerthrowing the foundation, doe exclude all poſſibilitie of ſaluation, if it be not recanted, and expreſſy repented of.

they were told of their errors, their end is dreadfull; there is no way with them but one, death & condemnation. For the Apostle speaketh nothing of men departed, but saith generally of all, *If you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. You are abolished from Christ, whosoeuer are iustified by the law; yee are fallen from grace, Gal. 5.* Of them in the Church of Rome the reason is the same. For whom Antichrist hath seduced, concerning them did not S. *Paul* speake long before, they receiued not the word of truth, that they might not be saued? therefore God would *send them strong delusions to beleiue lies, that all they might be damned which beleeued not the truth, but had pleasure in vnrighteousnesse.* And S. *Iohn, All that dwell vpon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the booke of life, Apoc.* 13. Indeed many in former times as their Bookes and Writings doe yet shew, held the foundation, to wit, saluation by Christ alone, and therefore might be saued. God hath alwayes had a Church amongst them, which firmely kept his sauing truth. As for such as hold with the Church of Rome, that wee cannot bee saued by Christ alone without workes; they doe not onely by a circle of consequence, but directly deny the foundation of faith; they hold it not, no not so much as by a thred.

2. Thess. 2. 11.

Apoc. 13. v. 8.

20. This to my remembrance, being all that hath beene opposed with any countenance or shew of reason, I hope, if this be answered, the cause in question is at an end. Concerning generall repentance therefore: what? A Murtherer, a Blasphemer, an vncleane person, a Turke, a Iew, any sinner to escape the wrath of God by a generall repentance, *God forgiue mee?* Truely it neuer came within mine heart, that a generall repentance doth serue for all sinnes: it serueth only for the common ouersights of our sinfull life, & for the faults, which either we doe not marke, or doe not know, that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for sinnes, wherein they knew they displeased God; or else they fall not within the compasse of my first speech. Againe, that otherwise they could not be saued, than holding the foundation of Christian faith, we haue not onely affirmed, but proued. Why is it not then confessed, that thousands of our fathers, which liued in Popish superstitions, might yet by the mercie of God be saued? first, if they had directly denied the very foundations of Christianitie, without repenting them particularly of that sin: he which saith there could be no saluation for them, according to the ordinary course, which God doth vse in sauing men, granteth plainely, or at the least closely insinuateth, that an extraordinary priuiledge of mercy might deliuer their soules from hell, which is more then I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for feare of some Heresie, which the Church of Rome maintaineth. But how many were there amongst our Fathers, who being seduced by the common errour of that Church, neuer knew the meaning of her Heresies? So that, although all Popish Heretickes did perish: thousands of them which liued in Popish superstitions, might be saued. Thirdly, seeing all that held Popish Heresies, did not hold all the Heresies of the Pope: why might not thousands, which were infected with other leauen, liue and die vnsowred with this, and so be * saued? fourthly, if they all held this Heresie, many there were that held it, no doubt, but onely in a generall forme of words, which a fauorable interpretation might expound in a sense differing farre

* For this is the onely thing alledged to proue the impossibilitie of their saluation: The Church of Rome ioyneth workes with Christ which is a deniall of the foundation, and vnlesse we hold the foundation we can not be saued.

farre enough from the poyſoned conceit of Hereſie. As for example; Did they hold, that wee cannot bee ſaued by Chriſt, without good workes. Wee our ſelues doe, I thinke, all ſay as much, with this conſtruction, ſaluation being taken as in that ſentence, *Corde creditur ad iuſtitiam, ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*, except infants and men, cut off vpon the point of their conuerſion: of the reſt none ſhall ſee God, but ſuch as ſeeke peace and holineſſe, though not as a cauſe of their ſaluation, yet as a way which they muſt walke, which will be ſaued. Did they hold, that without workes we are not iuſtified? Take iuſtification ſo as it may alſo imply ſanctification, and Saint Iames doth ſay as much. For except there be an ambiguitie in the ſame tearme, Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Iames* doe contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguitie in the name either of faith, or of works, being meant by them both in one and the ſame ſenſe. Finding therefore, that iuſtification is ſpoken of by Saint *Paul*, without implying ſanctification, when hee prooueth, that a man is iuſtified by faith without workes; finding likewiſe that iuſtification doth ſometime imply ſanctification alſo with it: I ſuppoſe nothing to be more ſound, then ſo to interpret Saint *Iames*, ſpeaking not in that ſenſe, but in this.

21. We haue already ſhewed, that there be two kinds of Chriſtian righteouſneſſe: the one without vs, which we haue by imputation; the other in vs, which conſiſteth of faith, hope, and charitie, and other Chriſtian vertues. And Saint *Iames* doth prooue, that *Abraham* had not onely the one, becauſe the thing beleeued was imputed vnto him for righteouſneſſe: but alſo the other, becauſe he offered vp his Sonne. God giueth vs both the one iuſtice and the other: the one, by accepting vs for righteous in Chriſt; the other, by working Chriſtian righteouſneſſe in vs. The proper and moſt immediate efficient cauſe in vs of this latter, is the Spirit of adoption we haue receiued into our hearts. That whereof it conſiſteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are thoſe infuſed vertues, proper and peculiar vnto Saints, which the Spirit in the very moment, when firſt it is giuen of God, bringeth with it: the effects whereof are ſuch actions as the Apoſtle doth call the fruits of workes, the operations of the Spirit. The difference of the which operations from the roote whereof they ſpring, maketh it needfull to put two kinds likewiſe of ſanctifying righteouſneſſe, *Habituall*, and *Actuall*. *Habituall*, that holineſſe, wherewith our ſoules are inwardly indued, the ſame inſtant, when firſt we beginne to be the Temples of the holy Ghoſt. *Actuall*, that holineſſe, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life; the holineſſe for the which *Enoch*, *Iob*, *Zacharie*, *Elizabeth*, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures ſo highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of theſe wee doe firſt receiue: I anſwere, that the Spirit, the vertues of the Spirit, the habituall iuſtice, which is ingrafted, the externall iuſtice of *Ieſus Chriſt*, which is imputed: theſe we receiue all at one and the ſame time; whenſoeuer we haue any of theſe, we haue all; they goe together. Yet ſith no man is iuſtified except hee beliéue, and no man belieueth except he hath faith, and no man except he hath receiued the Spirit of adoption, hath faith: foraſmuch as they do neceſſarily inferre iuſtification, and iuſtification doth of neceſſitie preſuppoſe them: we muſt needs hold that imputed righteouſneſſe, in dignitie being the chiefeſt, is not with-

ſtanding in order the laſt of all theſe: but *actuall righteouſneſſe*, which is the righteouſneſſe of good workes, ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentiuely marked, ſheweth plainely how the faith of true Beleeuers cannot bee diuorced from hope and loue; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet vnto iuſtification neceſſarie; how faith is perfected by good workes, and not works of ours without faith: finally, how our Fathers might hold, that wee are iuſtified by Faith alone, and yet hold truely, that without workes wee are not iuſtified. Did they thinke that men doe merit rewards in heauen, by the workes they performe on earth? The ancient vſe *meriting* for *obtaining*, and in that ſenſe they of *Wittingberge* haue it in their confeſſion; *We teach that good workes commanded of God, are neceſſarily to be done, and by the free kindneſſe of God they merit their certaine rewards.* Therefore ſpeaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their ſpeech in a ſound meaning, as wee may take our Fathers, and might for as much as their meaning is doubtfull, and charity doth alwaies interpret doubtfull things fauourably: what ſhould induce vs to thinke, that rather the damage of the worſt conſtruction did light vpon them all, then that the bleſſing of the better was granted vnto thouſands? Fiftly, if in the worſt conſtruction that may be made, they had generally all imbraced it liuing, might not many of them dying, vtterly renounce it? Howſoeuer men when they ſit at eaſe, doe vainely tickle their hearts with the vaine conceit, of I know not what proportionable correſpondence, betweene their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high ſpeculations they dreame that God hath meaſured, weighed, and laid vp, as it were, in bundles for them: notwithſtanding, we ſee by daily experience, in a number euen of them, that when the houre of death approacheth, when they ſecretly heare themſelues ſummoned forthwith to appeare, and ſtand at the Barre of that Iudge, whoſe brightneſſe cauſeth the eyes of the Angels themſelues to dazle, all theſe idle imaginations doe then beginne to hide their faces, to name merits then is to lay their ſoules vpon the racke, the memorie of their owne deeds is lothſome vnto them, they forſake all things, wherein they haue put any truſt or confidence, no ſtaffe to leane vpon, no eaſe, no reſt, no comfort then, but onely in Ieſus Chriſt.

22. Wherefore if this propoſition were true: *To hold in ſuch wiſe, as the Church of Rome doth, that we cannot be ſaued by Chriſt alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith*; I ſay, that if this propoſition were true: * nertheleſſe ſo many wayes I haue ſhewed, whereby wee may hope that thouſands of our Fathers which liued in Popiſh ſuperſtition, might bee ſaued. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the Galatians, concerning Circumciſion; nor this of the Church of Rome, by Workes be any direct deniall of the foundation, as it is affirmed, that both are? I needе not wade ſo farre as to diſcuſſe this Controuerſie, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo cleare, as I hope it is. Howbeit, becauſe I deſire, that the truth euen in that alſo ſhould receiue light, I will doe mine endeuour to ſet downe ſomewhat more plainely: firſt, the foundation of Faith, what it is: Secondly, what is directly to denie the foundation: Thirdly, whether they whom God hath choſen to be Heires of life, may fall ſo farre as directly to denie

* They may ceaſe to put any confidence in works, and yet neuer thinke, liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtitiō, they did amiſſe. *Pighius* dyed Popiſh, & yet denied Poperie in the Article of Iuſtification by workes long before his death.

nie it: Fourthly, whether the Galatians did ſo by admitting the errour about *Circumciſion* and the *Law:* laſt of all, whether the Church of Rome for this one opinion of Workes, may be thought to doe the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, then are the Aſſemblies of Turkes and Iewes.

23. This word foundation being figuratiuely vſed, hath alwayes reference to ſomewhat which reſembleth a materiall building, as both that Doctrine of *Lawes* and the communitie of Chriſtians doe. By the Maſters of Ciuill Policie nothing is ſo much inculcated, as *that Common-weales are founded vpon Lawes*; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwiſe then by a common acception of Lawes, whereby they are to be kept in order. The ground of all Ciuil Lawes is this: *No man ought to be hurt or iniured by another*; Take away this perſwaſion, and ye take away all the Lawes: take away Lawes, and what ſhall become of Common-weales? So it is in our ſpirituall Chriſtian Communitie: I doe not meane that Body Myſticall, whereof Chriſt is onely *the head, that building vndiſcernable by mortall eyes, wherein Chriſt is the [a] chiefe corner ſtone: but I ſpeake of the viſible Church; the foundation whereof is the [b] doctrine which the Prophets and Apoſtles profeſt. The marke whereunto their Doctrine tendeth, is pointed at in theſe words of *Peter* vnto Chriſt, [c] *Thou haſt the words of eternall life:* in thoſe words of *Paul* to Timothy, [d] *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe vnto ſaluation.* It is the demand of Nature it ſelfe, *What ſhall we doe to haue eternall life?* The deſire of immortalitie and the knowledge of that, whereby it may bee obtained, is ſo naturall vnto all men, that euen they who are not perſwaded, that they ſhall, doe notwithſtanding wiſh, that they might know a way how to ſee no end of life. And, becauſe naturall meanes are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of death: there is no people in the earth ſo ſauage, which hath not deuiſed ſome ſupernaturall helpe or other, to flye for ayd and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the Enemies of the Lawes. A longing therefore to be ſaued, without vnderſtanding the true way how, hath beene the cauſe of all the Superſtitions in the World. O that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſſe, and wot not whither they goe, could giue vs vnderſtanding hearts, worthily to eſteeme the riches of the mercy of God towards vs, before whoſe eyes the doores of the Kingdome of Heauen are ſet wide open! ſhould wee offer violence vnto it? it offereth violence vnto vs, and we gather ſtrength to withſtand it. But I am beſides my purpoſe, when I fall to bewaile the cold affection, which we beare towards that whereby we ſhould be ſaued; my purpoſe being onely to ſet downe, what the ground of ſaluation is. The Doctrine of the Goſpell propoſeth ſaluation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attayning thereunto? Yet the Damoſell poſſeſt with a Spirit of diuination, ſpake the truth: [e] *Theſe men are the Seruants of the moſt High God, which ſhew vnto vs the way of Saluation:* [f] *A new and liuing way, which Chriſt hath prepared for vs, through the vaile, that is, his fleſh*; Saluation purchaſed by the death of Chriſt. By this foundation the children of God before the written Law, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſons of men; the reuerend Patriarkes both poſſeſt it liuing, and ſpake expreſly of it at the houre of their death. It [h] comforted *Iob* in the midſt of griefe; as it was afterwards the anker-hold of all the righteous in Iſ-

What the foundation of Faith is

Vocatâ ad concionem multitudine, quæ coaleſcere in populi vnius corpus nulla re præterquâ legibus poterat; Liu. de Rom. lib. 1.

* *Epheſ.* 1. 23. & 4. 15.

a *Epheſ.* 2. 20.

b *Epheſ.* 2. 20.

c *Iohn* 6. 63.

d 2. *Tim.* 3. 15.

e *Acts* 16. 17.

f *Heb.* 10. 20.

g *Gen.* 49.

h *Iob* 19.

rael, from the writing of the Law, to the time of Grace. Euery Prophet maketh mention of it. It was famouſly ſpoken of about the time, when the comming of Chriſt to accompliſh the promiſes, which were made long before it, drew neere, that the ſound thereof was heard euen amongſt the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their Saluation; he, that long expected hope of Iſrael; hee, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed.* So that now he is a name of ruine, a name of death and condemnation, vnto ſuch as dreame of a new *Meſſias*, to as many as looke for ſaluation by any other, but by him. *For* [i] *amongſt men there is giuen no other name vnder heauen wherby we muſt be ſaued.* Thus much S. *Marke* doth intimate by that, which he doth put in the front of this Booke, making his entrance with theſe words: *The beginning of the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, the Sonne of God.* His Doctrine he termeth the Goſpell, becauſe it teacheth Saluation; the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, becauſe it teacheth Saluation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the Goſpell is erected; that very Ieſus whom the *Virgin* conceiued of the Holy Ghoſt, whom *Simeon* imbraced in his armes, whom *Pilate* condemned, whom the *Iewes* crucified, whom the *Apoſtles* preached, he is [k] Chriſt, the Lord, the onely Sauiour of the World: [l] *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I haue briefly opened that principle in Chriſtianitie, which wee call the foundation of our faith. It followeth now, that I declare vnto you, what is directly to ouerthrow it. This will be better opened, if wee vnderſtand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

i *Act.* 4.12.

k *Luke* 1.11.

l 1. *Cor.* 3.

24. There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who neuer heard the Name of Chriſt, held the foundation of Chriſtianitie, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the Prouidence of God; his infinite Wiſedome, ſtrength, power; his goodneſſe, and his mercy towards the children of men; that God hath iudgement in ſtore for the wicked, but for the righteous, which ſerue him, rewards, &c. In this which they confeſſed, that lyeth couered, which we beleeue; in the Rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our faith concerning Chriſt, lieth ſecretly wrapt vp, and is vertually contained: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they neuer had it. Might we not with as good a colour of Reaſon defend, that euery Plough-man hath all the Sciences, wherin Philoſophers haue exceld? For no man is ignorant of their firſt Principles, which do vertually containe, whatſoeuer by naturall meanes is or can be knowne. Yea, might wee not with as great reaſon affirme, that a man may put three mightie Oakes whereſoeuer three Akornes may be put? For vertually an Akorne is an Oake. To auoide ſuch Paradoxes, wee teach plainely, that to hold the foundation, is in expreſſe termes to acknowledge it.

25. Now, becauſe the foundation is an affirmatiue Propoſition, they all ouerthrow it who denie it; they directly ouerthrow it, who denie it directly; and they ouerthrow it by conſequent, or indirectly, which hold any one aſſertion whatſoeuer, whereupon the direct denial thereof may bee neceſſarily concluded. What is the Queſtion betweene the Gentiles and vs, but this, *Whether ſaluation bee by Chriſt?* What betweene the Iewes and vs, but this,

Whether

Whether by this Ieſus, whom we call Chriſt, yea or no? This to be the maine point, whereupon Chriſtianitie ſtandeth, it is cleere by that one ſentence of *Feſtus* concerning *Pauls* accuſers: *They brought no crime of ſuch things as I ſuppoſed, but had certaine queſtions againſt him of their ſuperſtition, and of one Ieſus, which was dead, whom* PAVL *affirmed to be aliue.* Where we ſee that Ieſus, dead and raiſed for the ſaluation of the World, is by Iewes denied, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintained. The Fathers therefore in the Primitiue Church when they wrote; *Tertullian*, the Booke, which he calleth *Apologeticus*; *Minutius Fœlix*, the Booke, which he intitleth *Octauius*; *Arnobius*, the ſeauen Bookes againſt the Gentiles; *Chryſoſtome*, his Orations againſt the Iewes; *Euſebius*, his ten Bookes of *Euangelicall demonſtration*: they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianitie againſt them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the Fathers againſt *Nouatians*, *Pelagians*, and other Heretikes of the like note, refell Poſitions, whereby the foundation of Chriſtian Faith was ouerthrowne by conſequent onely. In the former ſort of Writings the foundation is proued; in the later, it is alledged as a proofe, which to men that had beene knowne directly to denie, muſt needs haue ſeemed a very beggerly kind of diſputing. All Infidels therefore denie the foundation of Faith directly; by conſequent, many a Chriſtian man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches haue denied it, and doe denie it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the foundation of Chriſtianitie? not directly; for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches: but by conſequent, in reſpect whereof wee condemne them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation wee doe and muſt hold them Chriſtians.

26. We ſee what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent, to denie it. The next thing which followeth, is, whether they whom God hath choſen to obtaine the glory of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, may once effectually called, and through faith iuſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to denie the foundation, which their hearts haue before imbraced with ioy and comfort in the Holy Ghoſt: for ſuch is the faith, which indeed doth iuſtifie. Deuils know the ſame things, which we beleeue, and the minds of the moſt vngodly may be fully perſwaded of the Truth: which knowledge in the one and in the other is ſometimes termed faith, but equiuocally, being indeed no ſuch faith as that, whereby a Chriſtian man is iuſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption, which worketh faith in vs, in them not: the things which we beleeue, are by vs apprehended, not onely as true, but alſo as good, and that to vs: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Chriſtian man the more he increaſeth in faith, the more his ioy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort haue a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non Ignoro pleroſque conſcientiâ meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe per mortem magis optare, quàm credere. Malunt enim extingui penitus, quam ad ſupplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith *Minutius*, that there bee many, who being conſcious, what they are to looke for, doe rather wiſh that they might, then thinke that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to liue,

becauſe they hold it better that death ſhould conſume them vnto nothing, then God reuiue them vnto puniſhment. So it is in other Articles of Faith, whereof wicked men thinke, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrarie ſide, to the other, there is no griefe or torment greater, then to feele their perſwaſion weake in things, whereof when they are perſwaded, they reape ſuch comfort and ioy of ſpirit: ſuch is the faith whereby wee are iuſtified; ſuch, I meane, in reſpect of the qualitie. For touching the principall obiect of faith, longer then it holdeth the foundation whereof we haue ſpoken, it neither iuſtifieth, nor is, but ceaſeth to be faith, when it ceaſeth to beleeue, that Ieſus Chriſt is the onely Sauiour of the World. The cauſe of life ſpirituall in vs, is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoule of man, as a thing which (when the minde apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabite or poſſeſſe the minde. The minde conceiueth Chriſt by hearing the Doctrine of Chriſtianitie, as the light of Nature doth the mind to apprehend thoſe truthes which are meerly rationall, ſo that ſauing truth, which is farre aboue the reach of humane reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, then by the Spirit of the almighty, be conceiued. All theſe are implyed, whereſoeuer any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the ſpirituall life. Wherefore if we haue read that [a] *the Spirit is our life*; or [b] *the Word our life*; or [c] *Chriſt our life*: we are in euery of theſe to vnderſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpell, apprehended as a Sauiour, and aſſented vnto through the power of the holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectuall conceit and comprehenſion of Chriſt ſo imbraced, Saint *Peter* calleth [d] *the ſeed whereof we be new borne*: our firſt imbracing of Chriſt, is our firſt [e] reuiuing from the ſtate of death and condemnation. [f] *He that hath the Sonne, hath life*, ſaith Saint *Iohn*, *and he that hath not the Sonne of God hath not life*. If therefore he which once hath the Sonne, may ceaſe to haue the Sonne, though it be for a moment, hee ceaſeth for that moment to haue life. But the life of them which haue the Sonne of God [g] is euerlaſting *in the World to come*. But becauſe as Chriſt being raiſed from the dead dieth no more, death hath no more power ouer him: So the iuſtified man [h] being allyed to God in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, doth as neceſſarily from that time forward alwayes liue, as Chriſt [i] by whom he hath life, liueth alwayes. I might if I had not otherwhere largely done it already, ſhew by many and ſundry manifeſt, and cleere proofes, how the motions and operations of life, are ſometimes ſo indiſcernable, and ſo ſecret, that they ſeeme ſtone-dead, who notwithſtanding are ſtill aliue vnto God in Chriſt. For as long as that abideth in vs, which animateth, quickeneth, and giueth life, ſo long we liue and we know that the cauſe of our faith abideth in vs for euer. If Chriſt the fountaine of life, may flit and leaue the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what ſhall become of his promiſe, *I am with you to the Worlds end?* If the Seed of God which containeth Chriſt, may bee firſt conceiued, and then caſt out: how doth S. *Peter* tearme it [k] *immortall?* How doth S. *Iohn* affirme, [l] *It abideth?* If the Spirit, which is giuen to cheriſh, and preſerue the Seed of life, may be giuen and taken away, how is it [m] the earneſt of our inheritance vntill Redemption? how doth it continue with vs for euer? If therefore the man which is once iuſt by faith, ſhall liue by faith, and liue for euer: it followeth that

a *Rom.* 8. 10.
b *Phil.* 2. 15.
c *Col.* 3. 4.
d 1. *Pet.* 1.
e *Epheſ.* 2. 5.
f 1. *Iohn* 5. 12.
g 1. *Iohn* 5. 13. Perpetuitie of Faith.
h *Rom.* 6. 10.
i *Iohn* 14. 19.
k 1. *Pet.* 1.
l 1. *Iohn* 3. 9.
m *Epheſ.* 1. 14. *Iohn* 4. 16.

that he which once doth beleeue the foundation, muſt needs beleeue the foundation for euer. If he beleeue it for euer, how can he euer directly denie it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, ſo long as Faith continueth, is excluded. But you will ſay, that as hee that is to day holy, may to morrow forſake his holineſſe, and become impure; as a friend may change his minde, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither: ſo Faith may die in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, grace may bee extinguiſhed, they which beleeue, may be quite turned away from the Truth. The caſe is cleere, long experience hath made this manifeſt: it needs no proofe. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forſake God: but is God as ready to forſake vs? Our minds are changeable: is his ſo likewiſe? Whom God hath iuſtified, hath not Chriſt aſſured, that it is *his Fathers will to giue them a kingdome?* Notwithſtanding it ſhall not be otherwiſe giuen them, then if they continue * grounded and ſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moued away from the hope of the Goſpel; [a] *if they abide in loue and holineſſe.* Our Sauiour therefore, when hee ſpake of the ſheepe effectually called, and truely gathered into his fold, [b] *I giue vnto them eternall life, and they ſhall neuer periſh, neither ſhall any plucke them out of my hands*; in promiſing to ſaue them, he promiſed, no noubt, to preſerue them in that, without which there can be no ſaluation, as alſo from that whereby it is irrecouerably loſt. Euery error in things appertaining vnto God, is repugnant vnto faith; euery fearefull cogitation, vnto hope; vnto loue, euery ſtragling inordinate deſire; unto holineſſe, euery blemiſh wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our liues are ſtained. But Hereſie; ſuch as that of *Ebion Cerinthus*, and others againſt whom the Apoſtles were forced to bend themſelues both by word, and alſo by writing; that repining diſcouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we haue Iſrael in the Deſart for a patterne: coldneſſe, ſuch as that in the Angels of Epheſus; foule ſins, knowne to be expreſly againſt the firſt, or ſecond Table of the Law, ſuch as *Noah*, *Manaſſes*, *Dauid*, *Salomon*, and *Peter* committed; theſe are each in their kind ſo oppoſite to the former vertues, that they leaue no place for ſaluation without an actuall repentance. But Infidelitie, extreame deſpaire, hatred of God and all goodneſſe, obduration in ſinne cannot ſtand where there is but the leaſt ſparke of faith, hope, loue, and ſanctitie: euen as cold in the loweſt degree cannot be, where heat in the higheſt degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the firſt kind, no man liueth, which ſinneth not; and in the ſecond, as perfect as any doe liue may ſinne: yet ſith the man which is borne of God, hath a promiſe, that in him [c] *the ſeede of God ſhall abide*, which ſeed is a ſure preſeruatiue againſt the ſinnes that are of the third ſuite: greater and cleerer aſſurance we cannot haue of any thing then of this, that from ſuch ſinnes God ſhall preſerue the righteous, as the apple of his eye for euer. Directly to denie the foundation of faith, is plaine Infidelitie; where faith is entred, there Infidelitie is for euer excluded; therefore by him which hath once ſincerely beleeued in Chriſt, the foundation of Chriſtian faith can neuer be directly denied. Did not *Peter?* Did not *Marcellinus?* Did not others both directly denie Chriſt, after that they had beleeued, and againe beleeue, after they had denied? No doubt, as they

Ob.

Sol.

* *Col* 1. 23.

a 1. *Tim.* 2. 15.

b *Iohn* 10.

c 1. *Iohn* 3. 9.

they confesse in words, whose condemnation is neuertheless their not beleeuing: (for example we haue *Iudas:*) So likewise, they may beleeue in heart, whose condemnation, without repentance, is their not confessing. Although therefore *Peter* and the rest, for whose faith Christ hath prayed, that it might not faile, did not by denyall, sinne the sinne of Infidelitie, which is an inward abnegation of Christ, (for if they had done this, their faith had cleerely fayled:) yet because they sinned notoriously and grieuously, committing that, which they knew to be expresly forbidden by the Law, which saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue*; necessarie it was that he, which purposed to saue their soules, should, as he did, touch their hearts with true vnfained repentance, that his mercie might restore them againe to life, whom sinne had made the children of death and condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may safely set downe, that if the iustified erre, as he may, and neuer come to vnderstand his errour, God doth saue him through generall repentance: but if he fall into Heresie, he calleth him at one time or other by actuall repentance: but from Infidelitie, which is an inward direct deniall of the foundation, he preserueth him by speciall prouidence for euer. Whereby we may easily know, what to thinke of those Galatians, whose hearts were so possest with the loue of the Truth, that if it had beene possible, they would haue pluckt out their eyes to bestow vpon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly * changed, both in perswasion and affection: so that the Galatians, when S. *Paul* wrote vnto them were not now the Galatians, which they had beene in former time, for that through errour they wandred, although they were his sheepe. I doe not deny, but that I should deny, that they were his sheepe, if I should grant, that through errour they perished. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perillous, euen in them which held it only as an errour, because it ouerthroweth the foundation by consequent. But in them which obstinately maintaine it, I cannot thinke it lesse then a damnable Heresie. Wee must therefore put a difference betweene them which erre of Ignorance, retaining neuertheless a mind desirous to be instructed in truth, and them, which, after the truth is laid open persist in the stubborne defence of their blindnesse. Heretical defenders, froward and stif-necked teachers of circumcision, the blessed Apostle cals doggs: Silly men, who were seduced to thinke they taught the truth, he pitieth, he taketh vp in his armes, he louingly imbraceth, he kisseth, and with more then fatherly tenderneſse doth so temper, qualifie, and correct the speech he vseth toward them, that a man cannot easily discerne, whether did most abound, the loue, which hee bare to their godly affection, or the griefe, which the danger of their opinion bred him. Their opinion was dangerous: was not theirs also, who thought the Kingdome of Christ should be earthly? was not theirs which thought the Gospell only should be preached to the Iewes? What more opposite to prophetical doctrine, concerning the coming of Christ, then the one? Concerning the Catholike Church, then the other? Yet they which had these fancies, euen when they had them, were not the worst men in the world. The Heresie of *Free-will* was a milstone about the Pelagians necke: shall we therefore giue sentence of death inexitable against

* Howsoeuer men be changed (for changed they may be, euen the best amongst men) if they that haue receiued, as it seemeth, some of the Galatians which fell into error, had receiued the gifts and graces of God which are called ἀμεταμελητα, such as faith, hope, & Charitie are, which God doth neuer take away from him, to whom they are giuen, as it it repented him to haue giuen them; if such might bee so farre changed by errour, as that the very roote of faith should be quite extinguished in them, and so their saluation vtterly lost: it would shake the hearts of the strongest and stoutest of vs all. See the contrarie in *Beza* his obseruations vpon the harmony of Confessions

againſt all thoſe Fathers in the Greeke Church, which being miſſe-perſwaded, died in the error of free Will? Of theſe Galatians therefore, which firſt were iuſtified and then deceiued, as I can ſee no cauſe, why as many as died before admonition, might not by mercy be receiued, euen in errour: ſo I make no doubt, but as many as liued, till they were admoniſhed, found the mercy of God effectuall in conuerting them from their * errour, leſt any one that is Chriſts, ſhould periſh. Of this I take it, there is no controuerſie; onely againſt the ſaluation of them that died, though before admonition, yet in errour, it is obiected, that their opinion was a very plaine direct deniall of the foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had beene ſo perſwaded, they would haply haue vſed the termes otherwiſe ſpeaking of the Maſters themſelues, who did firſt ſet that error abroach, [a] certaine of the Sects of the Phariſes which beleeued. What difference was there betweene theſe Phariſes, and other Phariſes, from whom by a ſpeciall deſcription they are diſtinguiſhed, but this? These which came to *Antioch*, teaching the neceſſitie of Circumciſion, were Chriſtians; the other, enemies of Chriſtianitie. Why then ſhould theſe be termed ſo diſtinctly Beleeuers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our beleefe; beſides which there was no other thing, that made the reſt to be no beleeuers? Wee need goe no farther then S. *Pauls* very reaſoning againſt them, for proofe of this matter: ſeeing you know God, or rather are knowne of God, how turne you againe to impotent rudiments? [b] The Law engendreth ſeruants, her children are in bondage; [c] They which are gotten by the Goſpell, are free. [d] Brethren, we are not children of the ſeruant, but of the free woman, and wil yee yet bee vnder the Law? That they thought it vnto ſaluation neceſſarie, for the Church of Chriſt, to * obſerue Dayes, and Moneths, and Times, and Yeeres, to keepe the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their errour. Yet hee which condemneth their errour, confeſſeth, that notwithding, they knew God, and were knowne of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sons begotten of the immortall ſeed of the Goſpel. Let the heauieſt words which hee vſeth, bee waighed, conſider the drift of thoſe dreadfull concluſions: If yee be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit yon nothing: As many as are iuſtified by the Law, are fallen from Grace. It had bin to no purpoſe in the world, ſo to vrge them; had not the Apoſtle beene perſwaded, that at the hearing of ſuch ſequels, no benefit by Chriſt, a defection from Grace, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? becauſe that they knew, that in Chriſt, and in Grace, their ſaluation lay; which is a plaine direct acknowledgement of the foundation. Leſt I ſhould herein ſeeme, to hold that which no one learned, or godly hath done: let theſe words be conſidered, which import as much as I affirme. * Surely thoſe brethren, which in S. *Pauls* time, thought that God did lay a neceſſitie vpon them to make choice of dayes and meates; ſpake as they beleeued, and could not but in words condemne the libertie, which they ſuppoſed to be brought in againſt the authoritie of diuine Scripture. Otherwiſe it had beene needleſſe for Saint *Paul* to admoniſh them, not to condemne ſuch as eate without ſcrupuloſitie, whatſoeuer was ſet before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of it ſelfe, did at once ouerthrow all Scriptures, whereby we are taugh ſaluation by faith

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* Errour conuicted, and afterwards maintained, is more then error: for although opinion be the ſame it was, in which reſpect I ſtill cal it errour, yet they are not now the ſame they were when they are taught what the truth is, and plainly taught.

[a] *Act.* 15. 5.

[b] *Gal.* 4. 14. 25

[c] *Verſe* 28.

[d] *Verſe* 31.

[e] *Verſe* 21.

* *Bucer. de Venit. Eccleſ. ſecunda.*

in Christ, all that euer the Prophets did foretell, all that euer the Apostles did preach of Christ, it drew with it the deniall of Christ vtterly: in so much that S. *Paul* complaineth, that his labour was lost vpon the Galatians, vnto whom this error was obtruded, affirming that Christ, if so be they were circumcised should not profit them any thing at all. Yet so farre was S. *Paul* from striking their names out of Christs booke, that hee commandeth others to entertaine them, to accept them with singular humanitie, to vse them like brethren; he knew mans imbecillitie; he had a feeling of our blindnesse which are mortall men, how great it is, and being sure that they are the Sonnes of God whosoeuer be indued with his feare, would not haue them counted enemies of that whereunto they could not as yet frame themselues to be friends, but did euer vpon a very religious affection to the Truth, willingly reiect the Truth. They acknowledged Christ to be their onely and perfect Sauiour, but saw not how repugnant their beleeuing the necessitie of Mosaicall Ceremonies was to their faith in Iesus Christ. Hereunto a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foundation, they might haue beene saued; but saued they could not be, therefore their opinion was not onely by consequent, but directly a deniall of the foundation. When the question was about the possibilitie of their saluation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prooue, that they could not be saued; now that the question is about their deniall of the foundation, the impossibilitie of their saluation, is alledged to prooue, they denied the foundation. Is there nothing, which excludeth men from saluation, but onely the foundation of faith denied? I should haue thought, that besides this, many other things are death vnto as many as vnderstanding, that to cleaue thereunto, was to fall from Christ, did notwithstanding cleaue vnto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the last question, *Whether that the doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the necessitie of workes vnto saluation, be a direct deniall of our faith.*

27. I seeke not to obtrude vnto you any priuate opinion of mine owne; the best learned in our profession are of this iudgement, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome, doe not prooue her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they should grant her simply to be no Christian Church.

Calsin. Ep. 104. *But I suppose,* saith one, *that in the Papacy some Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorne, misse-shapen, yet some Church:* his reason is this, *Antichrist must sit in the Temple of God.* Lest any man should thinke such sentences as these to be true, onely in regard of them, whom that Church is supposed to haue kept by the speciall prouidence of God, as it were in the secret corners of his bosome, free from infection, and as sound in the faith, as we trust, by his mercy, we our selues are: I permit it to your wise considerations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzie, though it selfe take away the vse of reason, doth notwithstanding proue them reasonable creatures which haue it, because none can be franticke but they: so Antichristianitie being the bane and plaine ouerthrow of Christianitie, may neuertheless argue the Church wherein Antichrist sitteth, to be Christian. Neither haue I euer hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwise, then so as in the two next questions before hath beene declared,

red, bind himſelfe to keepe his Elect from worſhipping the Beaſt, and from receiuing his marke in their foreheads: but hee hath preſerued, and will preſerue them from receiuing any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of ſin, whoſe deceit hath preuailed ouer none vnto death, but onely vnto ſuch as neuer loued the truth, ſuch as tooke a pleaſure in vnrighteouſneſſe: they in all ages, whoſe hearts haue delighted in the principall truth, and whoſe ſoules haue thirſted after righteouſneſſe, if they receiued the marke of Errour, the mercie of God, euen erring, and dangerouſly erring, might ſaue them: if they receiued the marke of Hereſie, the ſame mercy did, I doubt not, conuert them. How farre Romiſh Hereſies may preuaile ouer Gods Elect, how many God hath kept falling into them, how many haue beene conuerted from them, is not the queſtion now in hand: for if heauen had not receiued any one of that coate for theſe thouſand yeeres, it may ſtill be true, that the doctrine which this day they doe profeſſe, doth not directly denie the foundation, and ſo proue them ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. One I haue alleaged, whoſe words, in my eares, ſound that way: ſhall I adde * another, whoſe ſpeech is plaine? *I denie her not the name of a Church*, ſaith another, *no more then to a man the name of a man, as long as hee liueth, what ſickneſſe ſoeuer he hath.* His reaſon is this; *Saluation in Ieſus Chriſt, which is the marke which ioyneth the head with the bodie, Ieſus Chriſt with the Church is ſo cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Popes Pardons, and ſuch other wickednеſſe, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very threed*, yet ſtill the life of the Church holdeth. * A third hath theſe words, *I acknowledge the Church of Rome, euen at this preſent day, for a Church of Chriſt, ſuch a Church as Iſrael did Ieroboam, yet a Church.* His reaſon is this; *Euery man ſeeth, except he willingly hoodwinke himſelfe, that as alwayes; ſo now, the Church of Rome holdeth firmely and ſtedfaſtly the doctrine of truth concerning Chriſt, and baptizeth in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, confeſſeth and auoucheth Chriſt, for the onely Redeemer of the World, and the Iudge that ſhall ſit vpon quicke and dead, receiuing true beleeuers into endleſſe ioy, faithleſſe and godleſſe men being caſt with Satan and his angels into flames vnquenchable.*

* Morn. de Eccleſ.

* Zanch. præfat. de relig.

28. I may, and will, raine the queſtion ſhorter then they doe. Let the Pope take downe his top, and captiuate no more mens ſoules by his Papall iuriſdiction: let him no longer count himſelfe *Lord Paramount* ouer the Princes of the world: no longer hold Kings as his ſeruants *parauaile:* let his ſtately Senate ſubmit their necks to the yoke of Chriſt, and ceaſe to die their garments like *Edom*, in bloud: let them from the higheſt to the loweſt, hate and forſake their Idolatrie, abiure all their errours and hereſies, wherewith they haue any way peruerted the truth: let them ſtrippe their Churches, till they leaue no polluted rag, but onely this one about her, *By Chriſt alone, without workes, wee cannot bee ſaued:* it is enough for mee, if I ſhew, that the holding of this one thing doth not proue the foundation of faith directly denied in the Church of Rome.

29. Workes are an addition: be it ſo? what then? the foundation is not ſubuerted by euery kinde of addition: Simply to adde vnto thoſe fundamentall words, is not to mingle Wine with Water, Heauen and Earth, things polluted,

luted, with the ſanctified bloud of Chriſt: of which crime indict them, which attribute thoſe operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the worke of our ſaluation wholly are peculiar vnto Chriſt, and if I open my mouth to ſpeake in their defence, if I hold my peace and plead not againſt them as long as breath is within my body, let me be guiltie of al the diſhonor that euer hath beene done to the Sonne of God. But the more dreadfull a thing it is to denie ſaluation by Chriſt alone; the more ſlow and fearefull I am, except it be too manifeſt, to lay a thing ſo grieuous to any mans charge. Let vs beware, leſt if we make too many waies of denying Chriſt, wee ſcarce leaue any way for our ſelues truly and ſoundly to confeſſe him. Saluation only by Chriſt is the true foundation, whereupon indeed Chriſtianitie ſtandeth. But what if I ſay you cannot be ſaued onely by Chriſt, without this addition, Chriſt belieued in heart, confeſſed with mouth, obeyed in life and conuerſation? Becauſe I adde, doe I therefore denie, that which I did directly affirme? There may bee an additament of explication, which ouerthroweth not, but proueth and concludeth the propoſition, whereunto it is annexed. He which ſaith, *Peter* was a chiefe Apoſtle, doth proue that *Peter* was an Apoſtle; hee which ſaith, Our ſaluation is of the Lord, [a] through ſanctification of the Spirit and Faith of the truth, proueth that our ſaluation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be ſuch a priuation as taketh away the very eſſence of that whereunto it is added, then by the ſequell it ouerthroweth. Hee which ſaith *Iudas* is a dead man, though in word he granteth *Iudas* to be a man, yet in effect hee proueth him by that very ſpeech no man; becauſe death depriueth him of being. In like ſort, he that ſhould ſay, our election is of grace for our workes ſake, ſhould grant in ſound of words, but indeed by conſequent denie that our election is of Grace; for the [*] grace which electeth vs, is no grace, if it elect vs for our workes ſake.

[a] 2. Theſſ. 2. 13.

[*] Rom. 11. 6.

30. Now whereas the Church of Rome addeth workes, we muſt note farther, that the adding of [*] Workes is not like the adding of Circumciſion vnto Chriſt, Chriſt came not to abrogate and put away good workes: hee did, to change Circumciſion; for wee ſee that in place thereof, hee hath ſubſtituted holy Baptiſme. To ſay, yee cannot be ſaued by Chriſt except ye be circumciſed, is to adde a thing excluded, a thing not onely not neceſſary to be kept, but neceſſarie not to be kept by them that will be ſaued. On the other ſide, to ſay yee cannot be ſaued by Chriſt without workes, is to adde things, not onely not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place, and in their kind neceſſarie, and therfore ſubordinated vnto Chriſt, by Chriſt himſelfe, by whom the web of ſaluation is ſpun: [a] *Except your righteouſneſſe exceede the righteouſneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſes, ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdome of Heauen.* They were [b] rigorous exacters of things not vtterly to be neglected, and left vndone, Waſhing, and Tithings, &c. As they were in theſe, ſo muſt wee bee in iudgement, and the loue of God. Chriſt in workes ceremoniall, giueth more liberty, in [c] morall much leſſe, then they did. Workes of righteouſneſſe therefore are

[*] I denie not but that the Church of Rome requireth ſome kinds of works which ſhee ought not to require at mẽs hands. But our queſtion is generall about the adding of good workes, not whether ſuch or ſuch works be good In this compariſon it is enough to touch ſo much of the matter in queſtion betweene S. Paul. and the Galatians, as inferreth thoſe Concluſions; *Ye are fallen from grace; Chriſt can profit you nothing*: which Concluſions will follow Circumciſion and rites of the Law ceremoniall, if they be required as things neceſſary to ſaluation. This onely was alleaged againſt me: and need I touch more then was alleaged? a Mat. 5. 20. b Luke. 11. 39. c Matth. 5. 21.

not

not ſo repugnantly added in the one propoſition; as in the other, Circumciſion is.

31. But we ſay, our ſaluation is by Chriſt alone, therefore howſoeuer, or whatſoeuer we adde vnto Chriſt in the matter of ſaluation, wee ouerthrow Chriſt. Our caſe were very hard, if this argument, ſo vniuerſally meant as it is propoſed, were ſound and good. We our ſelues doe not teach Chriſt alone, excluding our owne faith, vnto iuſtification; Chriſt alone, excluding our owne workes, vnto ſanctification; Chriſt alone excluding the one or the other vnneceſſarie vnto ſaluation. It is a childiſh cauill wherewith in the matter of iuſtification our Aduerſaries doe ſo greatly pleaſe themſelues, exclaiming that we tread all Chriſtian vertues vnder our feet, & require nothing in Chriſtians but faith, becauſe we teach that faith alone iuſtifieth: whereas by this ſpeech we neuer meant to exclude either hope, or charity from being alwayes ioyned as inſeperable Mates with Faith in the man that is iuſtified; or workes from being added as neceſſarie duties required at the hands of euery iuſtified man: but to ſhew, that faith is the onely hand which putteth on Chriſt vnto iuſtification; and Chriſt, the onely garment which being ſo put on couereth the ſhame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our workes, preſerueth vs blameleſſe in the ſight of God, before whom otherwiſe, the weakeneſſe of our faith were cauſe ſufficient to make vs culpable, yea to ſhut vs from the Kingdome of Heauen, where nothing that is not abſolute, can enter. That our dealing with them bee not as childiſh as theirs with vs, when we heare of ſaluation by Chriſt alone, conſidering that [*alone*] as an excluſiue particle, we are to note, what it doth exclude, and where. If I ſay, *Such a Iudge onely ought to determine ſuch a caſe*, all things incident to the determination therof, beſides the perſon of the Iudge, as Lawes, Depoſitions, Euidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; perſons are not excluded from witneſſing herein, or aſſiſting, but onely from determining and giuing ſentence. How then is our ſaluation wrought by Chriſt alone? Is it our meaning that nothing is requiſite to mans ſaluation but Chriſt to ſaue, and he to be ſaued quietly without any more adoe? No; we acknowledge no ſuch foundation. As we haue receiued, ſo wee teach, that beſides the bare and naked worke, wherein Chriſt without any other Aſſociate, finiſhed all the parts of our Redemption, and purchaſed Saluation himſelfe alone: for conueyance of this eminent bleſſing vnto vs, many things are of neceſſitie required, as to bee knowne and choſen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, iuſtified, ſanctified; after we haue left the World, to be receiued vnto glorie; Chriſt in euery of theſe hath ſomewhat, which he worketh alone. Through him according to the eternall purpoſe of God, before the foundation of the World, Borne, Crucified, Buried, Rayſed, &c. wee were in a gracious acceptation knowne vnto God, long before we were ſeene of men: God * knew vs, loued vs, was kinde to vs in Ieſus Chriſt; in him we were elected to be Heires of life. Thus farre God through Chriſt hath wrought in ſuch ſort alone, that our ſelues are meere Parients, working no more then dead and ſenſeleſſe Matter, Wood, or Stone, or Iron, doth in the Artificers hands, no more then Clay when the Potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable vſe; nay, not ſo much; for the

* *Eph.* 1. 6. 2. 7.

Matter whereupon the Craftsman worketh, he chooseth being moued by the fitnesse which is in it to serue his turne; in vs no such thing. Touching the rest, which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, importeth farther; That * by him we are called, that [a] wee haue Redemption, [b] Remission of sinnes through his bloud, [c] Health by his stripes, [d] Iustice by him; that he [e] doth sanctifie his Church, and make it glorious to himselfe; that [f] entrance into ioy shall be giuen vs by him, yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit not so by him alone, as if in vs to [g] our vocation, the hearing of the Gospel; to our iustification, Faith; to our sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into rest, perseuerance in Hope, in Faith, in Holinesse, were not necessarie.

* *Gal.* 5.8.
a 1. *Pet.* 2.9. 1. *Pet.* 5.3.
b *Ephes.* 1.7.
c *Esa.* 53.11.
d *Ierem.* 23.6.
e *Ephes.* 8.26.
f *Matth.* 25.23.
g 2. *Thess.* 2.14. *Gal.* 2.16. *Gal.* 5.23. 2. *Thess.* 2.15.

32. Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that shee requireth workes at their hands which will be saued: but that she attributeth vnto workes a power of satisfying God for sinne; yea, a vertue to merit both grace here, and in heauen glorie. That this ouerthroweth the foundation of faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denying thereof, I vtterly deny: what it is to hold, and what directly to denie the foundation of faith, I haue alreadie opened. Apply it particularly to this cause, and there needes no more adoe. The thing which is handled, if the forme, vnder which it is handled, be added thereunto, it sheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatsoeuer. Christ is the Matter whereof the doctrine of the Gospel treateth; and it treateth of Christ, as of a Sauiour. Saluation therefore by Christ is the foundation of Christianitie: as for works, they are a thing subordinate, no otherwise then because our sanctification cannot be accomplished without them; the doctrine concerning them is a thing builded vpon the foundation: therefore the Doctrine, which addeth vnto them the power of satisfying or of meriting addeth vnto a thing subordinated, builded vpon the foundation, not to the very foundation it selfe: yet is the foundation by this addition consequently ouerthrowne, for as much as out of this addition, it may be negatiuely concluded; Hee which maketh any worke good, and acceptable in the sight of God, to proceed from the naturall freedome of our will; Hee which giueth vnto any good workes of ours, the force of satisfying the wrath of God for sinne, the power of meriting either earthly or heauenly rewards; Hee which holdeth workes, going before our vocation, in congruitie to merit our vocation, works following our first, to merit our second iustification, and by condignitie our last reward in the Kingdome of Heauen; pulleth vp the Doctrine of faith by the roots; for out of euery of these the plaine direct deniall thereof may bee necessarily concluded. Not this onely, but what other Heresie is there, that doth not raze the very foundation of faith by consequent? Howbeit, we make a difference of Heresies; accounting them in the next degree to Infidelitie, which directly deny any one thing to be, which is expressly acknowledged in the Articles of our Beliefe; for out of any one Article so denyed, the deniall of the very foundation it selfe is straight-way inferd. As for example; if a man should say, *There is no Catholike Church*, it followeth immediatly thereupon, that this Iesus whom we call the Sauiour, is not the Sauiour of the World; becausse all the Prophets beare witnesse, that the true *Messias* should * *shew light vnto the Gentiles*, that is to say, gather such a Church as is Catholike, no[t] re-

Hæc ratio Ecclesiastici Sacramenti & Catholicæ Fidei est, vt quipartem diuini Sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri: Ita enim sibi connexa & concorporata sunt omnia, vt aliud sine alio stare non possit, & qui vnum ex omnibus denegauerit; alia ei omnia credidisse non profit, Cassiast. lib. 6. de Incarnat. Dom.

If he obstinatly stand in deniall. *pag.* 193.

* *Acts.* 26.23.

reſtrayned any longer vnto one circumciſed Nation. In the ſecond ranke we place them, out of whoſe Poſitions, the denyall of any the fore-ſaid Articles may be with like facilitie concluded: ſuch as are they, which haue denied either the Diuinitie of Chriſt with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion* his Humanitie; an example whereof may be that of *Caſſianus*, defending the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, againſt *Neſtorius* Biſhop of Antioch, which held, that the Virgin, when ſhee brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Sonne of God, but a ſole and a meere man: out of which Hereſie, the deniall of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith he deduceth thus: *If thou doeſt deny our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; in denying the Sonne, thou canſt not chooſe but denie the Father: for according to the voyce of the Father himſelfe, he that hath not the Sonne, hath not the Father. Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denieſt him which doth beget. Againe, denying the Sonne of God to haue beene borne in the fleſh, how canſt thou beleeue him to haue ſuffered? beleeuing not his Paſſion, what remaineth, but that thou denie his Reſurrection? For we beleeue him not Raiſed, except we firſt beleeue him dead: neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the death ſtand without the faith of his death going before. The denyall of his Death and Paſſion inferreth the deniall of his riſing from the depth. Whereupon it followeth that thou alſo deny his Aſcenſion into Heauen. The Apoſtle affirmeth, that he which Aſcended, did firſt Deſcend, ſo that as much as lieth in thee, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the depth, nor is Aſcended into Heauen, nor ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the day of the finall account which is looked for, nor ſhall iudge the quicke and dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou thinke thy ſelfe a Biſhop, when thou haſt denied all thoſe things, whereby thou doeſt obtaine a Biſhoply calling?* NESTORIVS confeſſed al the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the deniall of euery part of his Confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort; ſuch as the Church of Rome maintaineth, which be remoued by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they ouerthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſſe, which the Philoſopher noteth in mens capacities, when hee ſaith, that the common ſort cannot ſee things, which follow in reaſon, when they follow as it were a farre off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancie of ſuch Hereſie and the foundation, is not ſo quickly or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretike of this, ſooner then of the former kind, may directly grant, and conſequently neuertheleſſe, denie the foundation of Faith.

Lib. 6. de Incar. Dom. cap. 16.

33. If reaſon be ſuſpected, tryall will ſhew that the Church of Rome doth no otherwiſe by teaching the doctrine ſhe doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamentall words: and what man is there, that will refuſe to ſubſcribe vnto them? Can they directly grant, and directly denie one and the very ſelfe-ſame thing? Our owne proceedings in diſputing againſt their workes ſatisfactory, and meritorious, doe ſhew not onely, that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatisfied and appeaſed his Fathers wrath: Chriſt hath merited ſaluation alone.* Wee ſhould doe fondly to vſe ſuch diſputes, neither could we think to preuaile by them, if that, whereupon we ground, were a thing, which we know they doe

not hold, which wee are assured they wil not grant. Their very answers to all such reasons as are in this Controuersie brought against them, will not permit vs to doubt, whether they hold the foundation, or no. Can any man that hath read their bookes concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their answers vnto these heads? *that the remission of all our sins, the pardon of all whatsoeuer punishments thereby deserued, the rewards which God hath laid vp in Heauen, are by the bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ purchased, and obtained sufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually, for his benefit in particular, except the bloud of Christ bee applied particularly vnto him, by such meanes as God hath appointed that to worke by. That those meanes of themselues, being but dead things; onely the bloud of Christ is that which putteth life, force, and efficacie in them to worke, and to be auaileable, each in his kind to our saluation. Finally, that grace being purchased for vs by the bloud of Christ, and freely without any merit or desert at the first bestowed vpon vs, the good things which we do after grace receiued, be thereby made satisfactory, & meritorious.* Some of their sentences, to this effect, I must alleadge for mine owne warrant. If we desire to heare forraine iudgements, we find in one this confession: *he that could reckon how many the vertues and merits of our Sauiour Iesus Christ haue beene, might likewise vnderstand how many the benefits haue beene, that are to come to vs by him, forsomuch as men are made partakers of them all by meanes of his passion: by him is giuen vnto vs Remission of our sinnes, grace, glory, liberty, praise, saluation, redemption, iustification, iustice, satisfaction, sacraments, merits, and all other things which we had, and were behouefull for our saluation.* In another we haue these oppositions, and answers made vnto them. *All grace is giuen by Christ Iesus; True, but not except Christ Iesus be applyed. He is the propitiation for our sins; by his stripes we are healed, he hath offered himselfe vp for vs: all this is true, but apply it: we put all satisfaction in the bloud of Iesus Christ; but we hold that the meanes which Christ hath appointed for vs in the case to apply it, are our penall works.* Our Countrimen in Rhemes make the like answer, that they seeke saluation no other way, then by the bloud of Christ; and that humbly they doe vse Prayers, Fastings, Almes, Faith, Charitie, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Priests, onely as the meanes appointed by Christ, to apply the benefit of his holy bloud vnto them: touching our good workes, that in their owne natures they are not meritorious, nor answerable to the ioyes of Heauen; it commeth by the grace of Christ, and not of the worke it selfe, that we haue by well-doing a right to Heauen, and deserue it worthily. If any man thinke that I seeke to varnish their opinions to set the better foote of a lame cause for-most: let him know, that since I began throughly to vnderstand their meaning, I haue found their halting greater, then perhaps it seemeth to them which know not the deepenes of Satan, as the blessed Diuine speaketh. For although this bee proofe sufficient, that they doe not directly denie the foundation of Faith: yet if there were no other leauen in the whole lumpe of their Doctrine, but this: this were sufficiēt to proue, that their Doctrine is not agreeable vnto the foundation of Christian Faith. The Pelagians being ouergreat friends vnto Nature, made themselues enemies vnto Grace, for all their confessing, that men haue their soules, and all the faculties thereof, their wils, and all the abilitie of their wils from God. And is not the Church of Rome

Lewis of Granud. Medit. cap last. 3.

Paulgarola lett. 11.

Annot. in 1. Iohn 1.

still

ſtill an aduerſarie vnto Chriſts Merits, becauſe of her acknowledging, that we haue receiued the power of meriting by the bloud of Chriſt? Sir *Thomas Moore*, ſetteth downe the odds betweene vs and the Church of Rome in the matter of workes, thus, *Like as we grant them, that no good worke of man is rewardable in heauen of his owne nature, but through the meere goodnes of God, that liſt to ſet ſo high a price vpon ſo poore a thing; and that this price God ſetteth through Chriſts paſſion, and for that alſo they be his owne workes with vs; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God worke in him; and as wee grant them alſo, that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working, & for that in all that man may do, he can do God no good, but is a ſeruant vnprofitable & doth but his bare dutie; as we, I ſay, grant vnto them theſe things: ſo this one thing, or twaine, do they grant vs againe, that men are bound to worke good works, if they haue time and power, & that whoſo worketh in true faith moſt, ſhall be moſt rewarded, but then ſet they thereto, that all his rewards ſhall be giuen him for his faith alone, and nothing for his works at all, becauſe his faith is the thing, they ſay, that forceth him to worke well.* I ſee by this of Sir *Thomas Moore*, how eaſie it is for men of the greateſt capacity, to miſtake things written or ſpoken, as wel on the one ſide as on the other. Their doctrine, as he thought, maketh the worke of man rewardable in the World to come, through the goodneſſe of God whom it pleaſed to ſet ſo high a price vpon ſo poore a thing: & ours, that a man doth receiue that eternall and high reward, not for his works, but for his faiths ſake, by which he worketh: whereas in truth our doctrine is no other then that we haue learned at the feete of Chriſt, namely, that God doth iuſtifie the beleeuing man, yet not for the worthineſſe of his beliefe, but for the worthineſſe of him which is beleeued; God rewardeth abundantly euery one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignitie, which is, or can bee in the worke, but through his meere mercie, by whoſe commandement he worketh. Contrariwiſe, their doctrine is, that as pure water of it ſelfe hath no ſauour, but if it paſſe through a ſweete Pipe, it taketh a pleaſant ſmell of the Pipe through which it paſſeth: ſo, although before grace receiued, our works do neither ſatisfie, nor merit; yet after, they doe both the one and the other. Euery vertuous action hath then power in ſuch to ſatisfie, that if we our ſelues commit no mortall ſinne, no haynous crime whereupon to ſpend this treaſure of ſatisfaction in our owne behalfe, it turneth to the benefit of other mens releaſe, on whom it ſhall pleaſe the Steward of the houſe of God to beſtow it; ſo that we may ſatisfie for our ſelues and others, but merit onely for our ſelues. In meriting our actions doe worke with two hands: with one they get their morning ſtipend, the increaſe of grace; with the other their euening hire, the euerlaſting Crowne of glory. Indeed they teach that our good works do not theſe things as they come from vs, but as they come from grace in vs: which grace in vs is another thing in their Diuinitie, then is the meere goodneſſe of Gods mercy towards vs in Chriſt Ieſus.

In his Book of Conſolation.

Works of Supererogation.

34. If it were not a ſtrong deluding Spirit, which hath poſſeſſion of their hearts: were it poſſible, but that they ſhould ſee, how plainly they doe herein gaine-ſay the very ground of Apoſtolique faith? Is this that ſaluation by grace, whereof ſo plentifull mention is made in the Scriptures of God? Was

this their meaning, which firſt taught the World to looke for ſaluation onely by Chriſt? By grace, the Apoſtle ſaith, and by grace in ſuch ſort as a gift: a thing that commeth not of our ſelues, nor of our workes, leſt any man ſhould boaſt, and ſay, *I haue wrought out my owne ſaluation.* By grace they confeſſe; but by grace in ſuch ſort, that as many as weare the Diademe of bliſſe, they weare nothing but what they haue wonne. The Apoſtle, as if he had fore-ſeene, how the Church of Rome would abuſe the World in time by ambiguous termes, to declare in what ſenſe the name of grace muſt be taken, when we make it the cauſe of our ſaluation, ſaith, *He ſaued vs according to his mercie:* which mercy, although it exclude not the waſhing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, the meanes, the vertues, the duties, which God requireth of our hands which ſhall be ſaued; yet is it ſo repugnant vnto merits, that to ſay we are ſaued for the worthineſſe of any thing which is ours, is to denie we are ſaued by grace. Grace beſtoweth freely: and therefore iuſtly requireth the glory of that which is beſtowed. We denie the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; wee abuſe, diſanull and annihilate the benefit of his bitter paſſion, if wee reſt in theſe proud imaginations, that life is deſeruedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, conſidering how many vertuous and iuſt men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, haue had their ſundry perilous opinions: and amongſt ſundry of their opinions, this, that they hoped to make good ſome part of amends for their ſinnes, by the voluntary puniſhments which they laid vpon themſelues, becauſe by a conſequent it may follow hereupon, that they were iniurious vnto Chriſt: ſhall we therefore make ſuch deadly Epitaphs, & ſet them vpon their graues; *They denied the foundation of faith directly, they are damned, there is no ſaluation for them?* S. *Auſtin* ſaith of himſelfe, *Errare poſſum, hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference betweene them that erre, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in errour, how is it poſſible, that euer any man ſhould hope to bee ſaued? Surely this in caſe, I haue no reſpect of any perſon aliue or dead. Giue me a man of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer, yea, a *Cardinall* or a *Pope*, whom in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himſelfe, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſinnes, and filled with loue towards the Goſpel of Chriſt, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee the Truth, and his mouth to renounce all hereſie and error any wiſe oppoſite thereunto: this one opinion of Merits excepted, hee thinketh God will require at his hands, and becauſe he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is diſcouraged; It may be, I am forget full, and vnskilfull, not furniſhed, with things new and old, as a wiſe learned Scribe ſhould bee, nor able to alleage that, whereunto, if it were alleaged, he doth beare a minde moſt willing to yeeld, and ſo to be recalled as well from this, as from other errors. And ſhall I thinke, becauſe of this onely error, that ſuch a man toucheth not ſo much as the hemme of Chriſts garment? If he doe, wherefore ſhould not I haue hope, that vertue may proceed from Chriſt to ſaue him? Becauſe his errour doth by conſequent ouerthrow his faith? Shall I therefore caſt him off, as one that hath vtterly caſt off Chriſt? one that holdeth not ſo much as by a ſlender thred? No, I will not

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be afraid to ſay vnto a *Pope* or *Cardinall* in this plight, Be of good comfort, we haue to doe with a mercifull God; rather to make the beſt of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter, which gathereth the worſt out of euery thing, wherein we erre. Is there any reaſon that I ſhould be ſuſpected, or you offended for this ſpeech? * Is it a dangerous thing to imagine, that ſuch men may find mercy? The houre may come when we ſhall thinke it a bleſſed thing to heare, that if our ſinnes were the ſinnes of the *Popes* and *Cardinals*, the bowels of the mercie of God are larger. I doe not propoſe vnto you a Pope with the necke of an Emperour vnder his feete; a Cardinall riding his horſe to the bridle in the bloud of Saints: but a *Pope* or a *Cardinall*, ſorrowfull, penitent, diſrobed, ſtript not onely of vſurped power, but alſo deliuered and recald from errour & Antichriſt, conuerted and lying proſtrate at the foot of Chriſt: and ſhall I thinke that Chriſt will ſpurne at him? And ſhall I croſſe and gaine-ſay the mercifull promiſes of God, generally made vnto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a Pope, or a Cardinall? What difference is there in the world betweene a *Pope* and a *Cardinall* and *Iohn Stile* in this caſe? If wee thinke it impoſſible for them, after they bee once come within that ranke, to be afterwards touched with any ſuch remorſe, let that be granted. The Apoſtle ſaith, *If I or an Angel from heauen preach vnto, &c.* Let it be as likely that S. *Paul* or an Angell from heauen ſhould preach Hereſie, as that a Pope or a Cardinall ſhould bee brought ſo farre forth to acknowledge the truth: yet if Pope or a Cardinall ſhould, what finde we in their perſons, why they might not bee ſaued? It is not the perſons you will ſay, but the errour, wherein I ſuppoſe them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercie; the opinion of merits doth take away all poſſibilitie of ſaluation from them. What if they hold it onely as an errour? Although they hold the truth truely and ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian faith? Although they haue in ſome meaſure all the vertues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of Gods elect children in them? Although they be farre from hauing any proud preſumptuous opinion, that they ſhall bee ſaued by the vvorthineſſe of their deeds? Although the only thing vvhich troubleth and moleſteth them, be but a little too much deiection, ſomewhat too great a feare, riſing from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthineſſe in them, which they are grieued to find wanting in themſelues? Although they be not obſtinate in this perſwaſion? Although they be willing and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſproue it? Although the only let, why they doe not forſake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the meanes, by which it might be diſprooued? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not remoued, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not to remooue it? Let me die, if euer it be prooued, that ſimply an errour doth exclude a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* in ſuch a caſe vtterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſſe vnto you, if it bee an errour that God may be mercifull to ſaue men, euen vvhen they erre: my greateſt comfort is my errour; were it not for the loue I beare vnto this errour, I would neuer wiſh to ſpeake nor to liue.

* Let all affection beelaid aſide; Let the matter indifferently be conſidered.

36. Wherefore, to reſume that mother ſentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would haue grown: *I doubt not but that God was mercifull*

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to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers liuing in popiſh ſuperſtions, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly. Alas! what bloudy matter is there contained in this ſentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard cenſures? Did I ſay, that *thouſands of our Fathers might be ſaued?* I haue ſhewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I ſay, *I doubt not but they were ſaued?* I ſee no impietie in this perſwaſion, though I had no reaſon for it. Did I ſay, *Their ignorance did make me hope they did finde mercy, and ſo were ſaued?* What hindreth ſaluation but ſin? Sinnes are not equall: and ignorance, though it doth not make to be no ſinne, yet ſeeing it did make their ſinne the leſſe, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life, the greater? We pittie the moſt, and doubt not, but God hath moſt compaſſion ouer them that ſinne for want of vnderſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundry others, almoſt in the ſelfe-ſame words which I haue vſed. It is but onely my euill hap, that the ſame ſentences which ſauour veritie in other mens bookes, ſhould ſeeme to bolſter Hereſie when they are once by me recited. If I be deceiued in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceiued me. What I ſaid of others, the ſame he ſaid of himſelfe, *I obtained mercie, for I did ignorantly.* Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpake no otherwiſe, I meant no otherwiſe then he did.

37. Thus haue I brought the queſtion, concerning our Fathers at the length, vnto an end. Of whoſe eſtate vpon ſo fit an occaſion, as was offered me, handling the waighty cauſes of ſeparation betweene the Church of Rome and vs, and the weake motiues which are commonly brought to retaine men in that ſocietie; amongſt which motiues, the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one, although I ſaw it conuenient to vtter the ſentence which I did, to the end that all men might thereby vnderſtand, how vntruely we are ſaid to condemne as many as haue beene before vs otherwiſe perſwaded then we our ſelues are; yet more then that one ſentence I did not thinke it expedient to vtter, iudging it a great deale meeter for vs to haue regard to our owne eſtate, then to ſift ouer-curiouſly what is become of other men. And fearing leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould be too far waded in, might ſeeme worthy of that rebuke, which our Sauiour thought needfull in a caſe not vnlike: *What is this vnto thee?* When I was forced much beſide mine expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yeeld at the call of others, and proceede ſo farre as dutie bound mee, for the fuller ſatisfying of minds. Wherein I haue walked as with reuerence, ſo with feare: with reuerence, in regard of our Fathers, which liued in former times, not without feare, conſidering them that are aliue.

38. I am not ignorant, how readie men are to feed and ſoothe vp themſelues in euill. Shall I, will the man ſay that loueth the preſent world more then he loueth Chriſt, ſhal I incurre the high diſpleaſure of the mightieſt vpon earth? Shal I hazzard my goods? Endanger my eſtate? Put my ſelfe in ieopardie, rather then to yeeld to that, which ſo many of my Fathers imbraced, and yet found fauour in the ſight of God? *Curſe Meroz,* ſaith the Lord, *curſe her Inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the mightie.* If I ſhould not onely not helpe the Lord againſt the mightie, but helpe to

Iudg. 5. 23.

ſtrengthen

ſtrengthen them that are mightie, againſt the Lord: worthily might I fall vnder the burthen of that curſe, worthy I were to beare my owne iudgement. But if the doctrine which I teach, bee a flowre gathered in the Garden of the Lord; a part of the ſauing truth of the Goſpell; from whence notwithſtanding poyſoned creatures doe ſucke venome: I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content my ſelfe with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen me alone. S. *Paul* teached a truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught; that the greater our miſerie is, in reſpect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe. If we ſeeke vnto him, the more we haue ſinned, the more praiſe, and glory, and honour vnto him that pardoneth our ſinne. But marke what lewd collections were made hereupon by ſome. *Why then am I condemned for a ſinner?* And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirme that we ſay: *Why doe we not euill, that good may come of it?*) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed men did gather by his teaching, though it were cleane not only beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their condemnation* (which thus doe) *is iuſt.* I am not haſtie to apply ſentences of condemnation. I wiſh from mine heart their conuerſion; whoſoeuer are thus peruerſly affected. For I muſt needs ſay, their caſe is fearefull, their eſtate dangerous, which harden themſelues, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true that God is mercifull; but let vs beware of preſumptuous ſinnes. God deliuered *Ionah* from the bottome of the Sea; will you therefore caſt your ſelues headlong from the tops of Rocks, and ſay in your hearts, God ſhall deliuer vs? Hee pitieth the blind that would gladly ſee; but wil he pitie him, that may ſee, and hardeneth himſelfe in blindneſſe? No. Chriſt hath ſpoken too much vnto you, to claime the priuiledge of your Fathers.

39. As for vs that haue handled this cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing, or any other, which we bring vnto you, the counſell is good which the wiſe man giueth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure vnderſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and haue but one manner of word, and follow the Word of peace and righteouſneſſe.* As a looſe tooth is a griefe to him that eateth: ſo doth a wauering and vnſtable word in ſpeech, that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe man ſpeake words of the winde*, ſaith *Eliphas*, light, vnconſtant, vnſtable words? Surely, the wiſeſt may ſpeake words of the winde, ſuch is the vntoward conſtitution of our nature, that we doe neither ſo perfectly vnderſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly imbrace it, when it is vnderſtood; nor ſo graciouſly vtter it, when it is imbraced; nor ſo peaceably maintaine it, when it is vttered; but that the beſt of vs are ouer-taken ſometime through blindneſſe, ſometimes through haſtineſſe, ſometime through impatience, ſometime through other paſſions of the minde, whereunto (God doth know) we are too ſubiect. We muſt therefore be contented, both to pardon others, and to craue that others may pardon vs for ſuch things. Let no man, that ſpeaketh as a man, thinke himſelfe, whiles hee liueth, alwayes freed from ſcapes and ouer-ſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelues, which I haue ſpoken vnto you, are ſound, howſoeuer they haue ſeemed otherwiſe vnto ſome: at whoſe hands I haue in that reſpect receiued

iniurie.

iniurie. I willingly forget it: although indeed, considering the benefit which I haue reaped by this necessary speech of truth, I rather incline to that of the Apostle, *They haue not iniured me at all.* I haue cause to wish them as many blessings in the Kingdome of heauen, as they haue forced mee to vtter words and syllables in this cause; wherein I could not be more sparing of speech then I haue beene. *It becommeth no man,* saith Saint IEROME, *to be patient in the crime of Heresie.* Patient, as I take it, we should be alwayes, though the crime of Heresie were intended; but silent in a thing of so great consequence I could not, beloued, I durst not be: especially the loue that I beare to the truth of Christ Iesus being hereby somewhat called in question. Whereof I beseech them in the meekenes of Christ, that haue beene the first original cause, to consider that a watch-man may crie (*an enemy*) when indeed a friend commeth. In which cause, as I deeme such a watch-man more worthy to be loued for his care, then misliked for his errour: so I haue iudged it my owne part in this, as much as in me lieth, to take away all suspition of any vnfriendly intent or meaning against the truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40. Now to you, Beloued, which haue heard these things, I will vse no other words of admonition, then those which are offered me by Saint IAMES, *My Brethren, haue not the faith of our glorious Lord Iesus in respect of persons.* Yee are not now to learne, that as of it selfe it is not hurtfull, so neither should it be to any scandalous and offensiue in doubtfull cases, to heare the different iudgements of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another; that *Paul* is of this mind, that *Barnabas* of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may haue comfort by this varietie.

Now the God of peace giue you peaceable minds, and turne it to your euerlasting comfort.

* * *

FINIS.

FIVE LEARNED SERMONS,

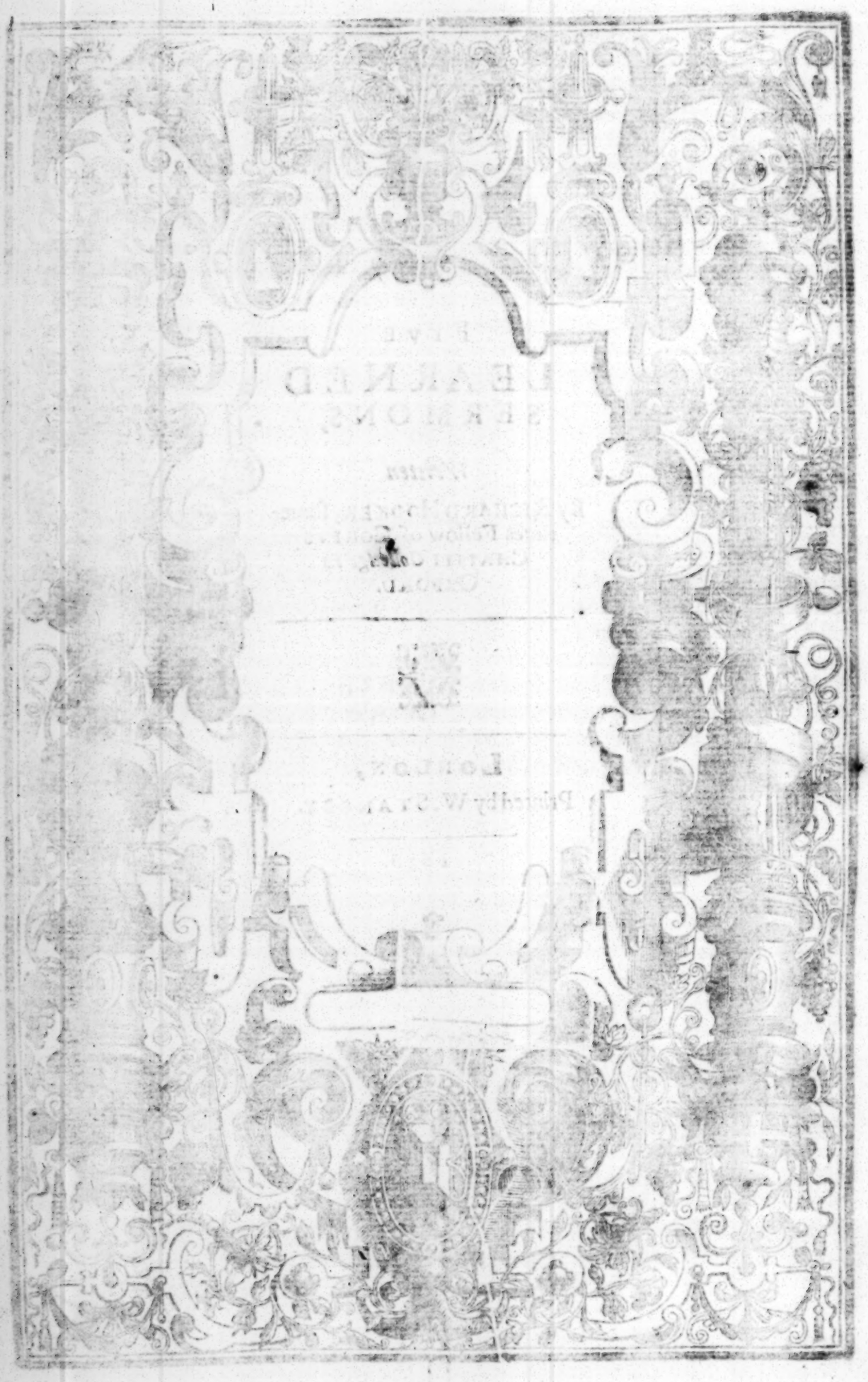
Written

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1636.



A LEARND SER-
MON OF THE NA-
TVRE OF PRIDE.

ABAC. 2. 4.

His minde ſwelleth and is not right in him:
But the Juſt by his faith ſhall liue.



THE nature of man being much more delighted to bee led then drawne, doth many times ſtubbornely reſiſt authoritie, when to perſwaſion it eaſily yeeldeth. Whereupon the wiſeſt Lawmakers haue endeuoured alwayes, that thoſe Lawes might ſeeme moſt reaſonable which they would haue moſt inuiolably kept. A Law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, euen in the Lawes of God, although that Hee hath giuen commandement, be in it ſelfe a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men: yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacritie and cheerfulneſſe of minde, vvhen vve ſee plainely that nothing is impoſed more then vve muſt needs yeeld vnto, except we will be vnreaſonable. In a vvord, vvhatſoeuer vve be taught, be it Precept for direction of our manners, or Article for inſtruction of our faith, or Document any way for information of our mindes, it then taketh roote and abideth, vvhen vvee conceiue not only what God doth ſpeake, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing which we derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, ioy, and delight which we our ſelues ſhould take by it, vvhen vve looſely ſlide ouer his ſpeech as though it were as our owne is, commonly vulgar and triuiall: whereas he vttereth nothing but it hath beſides the ſubſtance of Doctrine deliuered, a depth of Wiſdome, in the very choice and frame of words to deliuer it in: the reaſon whereof being not perceiued, but by greater intention of braine then our nice minds for the moſt part can well away with, faine we would bring the World, if vve might, to thinke it but a needleſſe curioſitie, to rip vp any thing further then extemporall readines of wit doth ſerue to reach vnto. Which courſe, if here we did liſt to follow, we might tell you that in the firſt branch of this ſentence, God doth condemne the Babylonians Pride, and in the ſecond teach, what happineſſe of ſtate ſhall grow to the righteous by

the conſtancie of their Faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certaine notes of wholeſome inſtruction hereupon collected, paſſe ouer without detayning your mindes in any further remooued ſpeculation. But as I take it, there is a difference betweene the talke that beſeemeth Nurces amongſt Children, and that which men of capacitie and iudgement doe or ſhould receiue inſtruction by.

The minde of the Prophet being erected with that which hath beene hitherto ſpoken, receiueth here for full ſatisfaction, a ſhort abridgement of that which is afterwards more particularly vnfolded. Wherefore as the queſtion before diſputed of doth concerne two ſorts of men, the wicked flouriſhing as the Bay, and the righteous like the withered Graſſe; the one full of Pride, the other caſt downe with vtter diſcouragement: ſo the anſwer which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference vnto both ſorts, and this preſent ſentence containing a briefe Abſtract thereof, comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearefull eſtate of iniquitie ouer-exalted, as the hope laid vp for righteouſneſſe oppreſt. In the former branch of which ſentence, let vs firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtraightnes importeth, which God denieth to be in the minde of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create, He made them at the firſt, true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence vnto that patterne of their being, which was eternally drawne in the counſell of Gods fore-knowledge; Good, in regard of the vſe and benefit which each thing yeeldeth vnto other; Right, by an apt conformitie of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend vnto. Other things haue ends propoſed, but haue not the facultie to know, iudge, and eſteeme of them, and therefore as they tend thereunto vnwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the meanes whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by neceſſitie ſo held, that they cannot diuert from them. The ends why the Heauens doe moue, the heauens themſelues know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeeke for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſitie tied naturally vnto any certaine determinate meane to obtaine their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole World no creature but onely man which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his minde directly bending it ſelfe, is termed right or ſtraight, otherwiſe peruerſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plaine, wee muſt note, that as they which trauell from Citie to Citie, enquire euer for the ſtraighteſt way, becauſe the ſtraighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them vnto their iournies end: So we hauing here, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, no abiding Citie, but being alwayes in trauell towards that place of ioy, immortalitie, and reſt, cannot but in euery of our deeds, words and thoughts, thinke that to be beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth vs thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. That Soueraigne good, which is the eternall fruition of all good, being our laſt and chiefeſt felicitie, there is no deſperate deſpiſer of God and godlineſſe liuing which doth not wiſh for. The difference betweene right and crooked mindes, is in the meanes which the one or the other doe eſchew or follow. Certaine

it is,that all particular things which are naturally desired in the world,as food rayment,honour,wealth,pleasure,knowledge, they are subordinated in such wise vnto that future good which we looke for in the world to come,that euen in them there lyeth a direct way tending vnto this. Otherwise we must thinke that God making promises of good things in this life,did seeke to peruert men,and to leade them from their right minds.Where is then the obliquitie of the minde of man? His minde is peruerse,cam,& crooked,not when it bendeth it selfe vnto any of these things, but when it bendeth so, that it swarueth either to the right hand or to the left,by excesse or defect from that exact rule whereby humane actions are measured. The Rule to measure and iudge them by, is the Law of God. For this cause the Prophet doth make so often and so earnest sute, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandements:* As long as I haue respect to thy Statutes,I am sure not to tread amisse.Vnder the name of the Law, we must comprehend not onely that which God hath written in Tables and leaues, but that which Nature also hath engrauen in the hearts of men.Else how shall those Heathen which neuer had Books but Heauen and Earth to looke vpon, bee conuicted of peruersnesse? But the Gentiles which had not the Law inBooks, had, saith the Apostle,the effect of the Law written in their hearts.

Then seeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, vnlesse it be found in all parts such,that God examining and calling it vnto account with all seuerity of rigour,be not able once to charge it with declining or swaruing aside, (which absolute perfection when did God euer finde in the sonnes of meere mortall men?) Doth it not follow that all flesh must of necessitie fall downe and confesse,we are not dust and ashes,but worse, our mindes from the highest to the lowest are not right? If not right,then vndoubtedly not capable of that blessednesse which we naturally seeke,but subiect vnto that which wee most abhorre,anguish,tribulation,death, woe, endlesse miserie. For whatsoeuer misseth the way of Life, the issue thereof cannot be but perdition. By which reason all being wrapped vp in sin,and made thereby the Children of death,the minds of all men being plainely conuicted not to be right:shall we thinke that God hath indued them with so many excellencies,moe not only then any,but then all the Creatures in the World besides,to leaue them in such estate, that they had bin happier if they had neuer bin? Heere commeth necessarily in a new way vnto Saluation,so that they which were in the other peruerse,may in this be found straight & righteous.That the way of Nature, this the way of Grace.The end of that way,Saluation merited,presupposing the righteousnesse of mens works,their righteousnesse,a naturall habilitie to doe them,that habilitie the goodnes of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way,Saluation bestowed vpon men as a gift presupposing not their righteousnesse,but the forgiuenesse of their vnrighteousnesse,iustification;their iustification,not their naturall habilitie to doe good, but their heartie sorrow for not doing, & vnfayned beliefe in him for whose sake not-doers are accepted, which is their vocation;their vocation,the election of God,taking them out from the number of lost children;their election a Mediatorin whom to be elect;this mediation, inexplicable mercy;his mercy

their miserie, for whom he vouchsafed to make himselfe a Mediatour. The want of exact distinguishing betweene these two wayes, and obseruing what they haue common, what peculiar, hath beene the cause of the greatest part of that confusion whereof Christianitie at this day laboureth. The lacke of diligence in searching, laying downe, and inuring mens minds with those hidden grounds of Reason, whereupon the least particulars in each of these are most firmely & strongly builded, is the onely reason of all those scruples and vncertainties wherwith we are in such sort intangled, that a number despaire of euer discerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But wee will let this matter rest, whereinto we stepped to search out a way how some minds may bee and are right truly euen in the sight of God, though they bee simply in themselues not right.

Howbeit there is not onely this difference betweene the iust and impious, that the minde of the one is right in the sight of God, because his obliquitie is not imputed; the other peruerse, because his sin is vnrepented of: but euen as lines that are drawne with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they should, are thought ragged and vneuen, neuertheless direct in comparison of thē which run cleane another way; so there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amisse, yet they are not as those hideous and vgly Monsters, in whom because there is nothing but wilful opposition of minde against God, a more then tolerable deformitie is noted in them, by saying, that their minds are not right. The Angell of the Church of *Thyatira*, vnto whom the Son of God sendeth this greeting, *I know thy works and thy loue, and seruice, and faith: notwithstanding I haue a few things against thee*; was not as he vnto whom Saint *Peter*, *Thou hast no fellowship in this businesse, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God.* So that whereas the orderly disposition of the minde of man should be this, perturbations and sensuall appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and sober will; will, in all things framed by reason; reason, directed by the Law of God and Nature; this *Babylonian* had his minde as it were turned vpside downe. In him vnreasonable cecity and blindnesse trampled all Lawes both of God and Nature vnder feet; wilfulnesse tyrannized ouer reason, and brutish sensualitie ouer will. An euident token that his outrage would worke his ouerthrow, and procure his speedie ruine. The Mother whereof was that which the Prophet in these words signifieth; *His minde doth swell.*

Immoderate swelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of ineuitable destruction: Pride, a vice which cleaueth so fast vnto the hearts of men, that if we were to strip our selues of all faultes one by one, we should vndoubtedly find it the very last and hardest to put off. But I am not here to touch the secret itching humour of vanitie wherwith men are generally touched. It was a thing more then meanely inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did swell. Which that we may both the better conceiue, & the more easily reape profit by the nature of this vice, which setteth the whole World out of course, and hath put so many euen of the wisest besides themselues, is first of all to be inquired into; Secondly, the dangers to be discouered, which it draweth ineuitably after it, being not cured; and last of all, the wayes to cure it.

Whether

Whether we looke vpon the gifts of nature, or of grace, or whatſoeuer is in the world admired as a part of mans excellency, adorning his body, beautifying his minde, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in euery kind ſomewhat poſſible which no man hath, and ſomewhat had which few men can attaine vnto. By occaſion whereof there groweth diſparagement neceſſarily; and by occaſion of diſparagement, Pride through mens ignorance. Firſt therefore, although men be not proud of any thing which is not at leaſt in opinion good, yet euery good thing they are not proud of, but onely of that which neither is common vnto many and being deſired of all, cauſeth them which haue it, to be honored aboue the reſt. Now there is no man ſo voide of braine, as to ſuppoſe that Pride conſiſteth in the bare poſſeſſion of ſuch things; for then to haue Vertue were a Vice, and they ſhould be the happieſt men who are moſt wretched, becauſe they haue leaſt of that which they would haue. And though in ſpeech we doe intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we ſay, *they are Wiſemen and they know it*, yet this doth not proue that euery Wiſeman is proud which doth not thinke himſelfe to be blockiſh. What wee may haue and know that we haue it without offence, do we then make offenſiue when we take ioy and delight in hauing it? What difference betweene men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heauenly bleſſings, and Idols gorgeouſly attired, but this, *the one takes pleaſure in that which they haue, the other none?* If we may be poſſeſt with beautie, ſtrength, riches, power, knowledge, if we may be priuie what we are euery way, if glad and ioyful for our owne wel-fare, and in all this remaine vnblameable, neuertheleſſe ſome there are who granting thus much, doubt whether it may ſtand with humility to accept thoſe teſtimonies of praiſe and commendation, thoſe titles, roomes, and other honours which the World yeeldeth as acknowledgements of ſome mens excellencies aboue others. For in as much as Chriſt hath ſaid vnto thoſe that are his; *The Kings of the Gentiles raigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them are called gracious Lords; Be ye not ſo*; The Anabaptiſt hereupon vrgeth equality amongſt Chriſtians, as if all exerciſe of authority were nothing elſe but Heatheniſh pride. Our Lord & Sauiour had no ſuch meaning. But his Diſciples feeding themſelues with a vain imagination for the time, that the Meſſias of the World ſhould in Ieruſalem erect his Throne, & exerciſe dominion with great pompe and outward ſtatelineſſe, aduanced in honour and terrene power aboue all the Princes of the Earth, began to thinke how with their Lords condition, their owne would alſo riſe: that hauing left and forſaken all to follow him, their place about him ſhould not be meane: and becauſe they were many, it troubled them much, which of them ſhould bee the greateſt man. When ſuite was made for two by name, that of them one might ſit at his right hand, and the other at his left, the reſt beganne to ſtomacke, each taking it grieuouſly, that any ſhould haue what all did affect, their Lord and Maſter to correct this humor, turneth aſide their cogitations from tehſe vaine and fanſiefull conceites, giuing them plainely to vnderſtand that they did but deceiue themſelues. His comming was not to purchaſe an earthly, but to beſtow an heauenly Kingdome, wherein they (if any) ſhall be greateſt, whom vnfained Humilitie maketh in this

World loweſt, and leaſt amongſt others: *Ye are they which haue continued with mee in my temptations, therefore I leaue vnto you a Kingdome, as my Father hath appointed me, that yee may eat and drinke at my Table in my Kingdome, and ſit on ſeates, and iudge the twelue Tribes of Iſrael.* But my Kingdome is no ſuch Kingdome as ye dreame of. And therefore theſe hungry ambitious contentions are ſeemelier in heathens then in you. Wherfore from Chriſts intent and purpoſe nothing further remoued, then diſlike of diſtinction in titles and callings annexed for orders ſake vnto authority, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Ciuil. And when wee haue examined throughly what the nature of this vice is, no man knowing it, can be ſo ſimpl, as not to ſee an vgly ſhape thereof apparent many times in rejecting honors offered, more then in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as *Iudas* his care for the poore was meere couetouſnes, and that franck-hearted waſtfulneſſe ſpoken of in the Goſpell, thrift; ſo there is no doubt but that going in rags may bee Pride, and Thrones be challenged with vnfained humilitie.

Wee muſt goe further therefore and enter ſomewhat deeper, before wee can come to the Cloſet wherein this poyſon lyeth. There is in the heart of euery proud man, firſt, an errour of vnderſtanding; a vaine opinion whereby he thinketh his owne excellencie, and by reaſon thereof, his worthineſſe of eſtimation, regard, and honour to be greater then in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to rayſe vp himſelfe, and by his inward affections his outward acts are faſhioned. Which if you liſt to haue exemplified; you may either by calling to minde things ſpoken of them whom God himſelfe hath in Scripture ſpecially noted with this fault, or by preſenting to your ſecret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious liues and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together ſo plentifull an harueſt of examples in this kind as the ſacred Scripture affordeth. That which wee drinke in at our eares, doth not ſo piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceiue by ſight. Is there any thing written concerning the *Aſſyrian* Monarch in the tenth of *Eſay*, of his ſwelling mind, his haughty looks, his great and preſumptuous taunts; *By the power of mine owne hand I haue done all things, and by mine owne wiſdome I haue ſubdued the World?* Any thing concerning the Dames of Sion in the third of the Prophet *Eſay*, of their ſtretched out necks, their immodeſt eies, their Pageant-like, ſtately, and pompous gate? Any thing concerning the practices of *Coreh*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; of their impatience to liue in ſubiectiō, their mutinies, repining at lawfull authority, their grudging againſt their Superiours Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill? Any thing concerning Pride in any ſort of ſect, which the preſent face of the world doth not as in the glaſſe repreſent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if Bookes, both prophane and holy, were all loſt, as long as the manners of men retaine the ſtate they are in: for him that obſerueth how that when men haue once conceiued an ouer-weening of themſelues, it maketh them in all their affections to ſwell, how deadly their hatred, how heauie their diſpleaſure, how vnappeaſeable their indignation and wrath is aboue other mens, in what manner they compoſe themſelues to be as *Heteroclites*, without the compaſſe of all ſuch Rules as common ſort are meaſured by; how the Oathes which religious

hearts

hearts doe tremble at, they affect as principall graces of ſpeech; what felicitie they take to ſee the enormitie of their crimes aboue the reach of Lawes and puniſhments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudines of their looke; how farre they exceed the termes wherewith mans nature ſhould be limited; how high they beare their heads ouer others; how they brow-beat all men which doe not receiue their Sentences as Oracles with maruellous applauſe and approbation; how they looke vpon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor heare any thing ſaying their owne praiſe, with patience, nor ſpeake without ſcornefulneſſe and diſdaine; how they vſe their ſeruants, as if they were beaſts, their inferiors as ſeruants, their equals as inferiors, and as for ſuperiors acknowledge none; how they admire themſelues as venerable, puiſſant, wiſe, circumſpect, prouident, euerie way great, taking all men beſides themſelues for cyphers, poore, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſſe burthens of the earth, off-ſcowrings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the minde, proceeding from a falſe conceit of mens excellency in things honoured, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behauiour, vnleſſe there be cunning to conceale it. For a foule ſcarre may be couered with a faire cloth. And as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth Grapes of Thiſtles: nor from a thing of ſo bad a nature, can other then ſutable fruits be looked for. What harme ſoeuer in priuate families there groweth by diſobedience of children, ſtubbornneſſe of ſeruants, vntractableneſſe in them, who although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould in conſideration of the imparitie of their ſexe bee alſo ſubiect; whatſoeuer by ſtrife amongſt men combined in the fellowſhip of greater ſocieties, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subiects in ciuill States; by Hereſies, Schiſmes, diuiſions in the Church; naming Pride, wee name the Mother which brought them forth, and the onely Nurſe that feedeth them. Giue me the hearts of all men humbled, and what is there that can ouerthrow or diſturbe the peace of the world? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much euill, but Pride of all.

To declaime of the ſwarmes of euils iſſuing out of Pride, is an eaſie labour. I rather wiſh that I could exactly preſcribe & perſwade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grieuous might bee cured, and the meanes how the pride of ſwelling minds might be taken downe. Whereunto ſo much we haue already gained, that the euidence of the cauſe, which breedeth it, pointeth directly vnto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away: diſeaſes that come of fulneſſe, emptineſſe muſt remooue. Pride is not cured, but by abating the error which cauſeth the mind to ſwell. Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſconceit of their owne excellency; for this cauſe all which tend to the beating downe of their pride, whether it bee aduertiſement from men, or from God himſelfe chaſtiſement, it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their errour in ouer-ſeeing the thing they were proud of. At this marke, *Iob*, in his Apologie vnto his eloquent friends, aymeth. For perceiuing how

how much they delighted to heare themselues talke, as if they had giuen their poore afflicted familiar a schooling of maruellous deepe and rare instruction, as if they had taught him more then all the world besides could acquaint him with, his answer was to this effect: Yee swell as though yee had conceiued some great matter, but as for that which yee are deliuered of, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of these things? At the same marke the blessed Apostle drieth; yee abound in all things, yee are rich, yee raigne, and would to Christ wee did raigne with you, But boast not. For what haue yee, or are yee of your selues? To this marke all those humble confessions are referred, which haue beene alwayes frequent in the mouthes of Saints, truely wading in the tryall of themselues: as that of the Prophet, *We are nothing but sorenesse and festered corruption:* our very light is darknesse, and our righteousnesse it selfe vnrighteousnesse; that of GREGORY, *let no man euer put confidence in his owne deserts; Sordet in conspectu Iudicis, quod fulget in conspectu operantis*, In the sight of that dreadfull Iudge it is noysome, which in the doers iudgement maketh a beautifull shew: That of ANSELME, *I adore thee, I blesse thee, Lord God of heauen, and redeemer of the world, with all the power, abilitie, and strength of my heart and soule, for thy goodnes so vnmeasureably extended, not in regard of my merits, whereunto onely torments were due, but of thy meere vnprocured benignity.* If these Fathers should be raised againe from the dust, & haue the bookes laid open before them wherein such sentences are found as this, *Workes no other then the value, desert, price, and worth of the ioyes, of the kingdome of heauen; Heauen, in relation to our workes, as the very stipend, which the hired Labourer couenanteth to haue of him whose works he doth, as a thing equally and iustly answering vnto the time and waight of his trauels, rather then to a voluntarie or bountifull gift.* If, I say, those reuerend fore-rehearsed Fathers, whose bookes are so full of sentences, witnessing their Christian humilitie, should be raised from the dead, and behold with their eyes such things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the Authors of such writ, that they were fuller of *Lucifer* then of Christ, that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more swelling minds then sincerely and feelingly known Christianitie can tolerate?

Annot. Rhem in 1. Cor. 3.

But as vnruly children, with whom wholsome admonition preuaileth little, are notwithstanding brought to feare that euer after, which they haue once well smarted for: so the minde which falleth not with instruction, yet vnder the rod of diuine chastisement ceaseth to swell. If therefore the Prophet *Dauid* instructed by good experience, haue acknowledged; Lord, I was euen at the point of cleane forgetting my selfe, & so straying from my right mind: but thy rod hath beene my reformer; it hath beene good for me, euen as much as my soule is worth, that I haue beene with sorrow troubled: if the blessed Apostle did need the corrosiue of sharpe & bitter strokes, lest his heart should swell with too great abundance of heauenly Reuelations, surely, vpon vs whatsoeuer God in this world doth, or shall inflict, it cānot seeme more then our pride doth exact, not onely by way of reuenge, but of remedie. So hard it is to cure a sore of such qualitie as pride is, in as much as that which rooteth out other vices, causeth this, and (which is euen aboue all conceit) if we were cleane from all spot and blemish, both of other faults of pride, the fall of

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Angels

Angels doth make it almoſt a queſtion whether we might not need a preſeruatiue ſtill, leſt we ſhould haply waxe proud that we are not proud. What is Vertue, but a medicine; and Vice, but a wound? Yet wee haue ſo often deeply wounded our ſelues with medicine, that God hath beene faine to make wounds medicinable, to cure by Vice where Vertue hath ſtricken, to ſuffer the iuſt man to fall, that being raiſed, he may be taught what power it was which vpheld him ſtanding. I am not afraid to affirme it boldly with S. *Auguſtine* that men puffed vp through a proud opinion of their own ſanctitie and holineſſe, receiue a benefit at the hands of God, and are aſſiſted with his grace, when with his grace they are not aſſiſted, but permitted, and that grieuouſly to tranſgreſſe, whereby as they were in ouer-great liking of themſelues ſupplanted, ſo the diſlike of that which did ſupplant them, may eſtabliſh them afterwards the ſurer. Aske the very ſoule of *Peter*, and it ſhall vndoubtedly make you it ſelfe this anſwer; My eager proteſtations made in the glory of my ghoſtly ſtrength, I am aſhamed of, but thoſe Chryſtall teares wherewith my ſinne and weakeneſſe was bewayled, haue procured my endleſſe ioy; my ſtrength hath beene my ruine, and my fall my ſtay.

FINIS.

A REMEDIE AGAINST SORROW AND FEARE, Deliuered in a Funerall SERMON.

IOHN 14. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.



HE holy Apostles hauing gathered themselues together by the speciall appointment of Christ, and being in expectation to receiue from him such instructions as they had been accustomed with, were told that which they least looked for, namely, That the time of his departure out of the world, was now come. Whereupon they fell into consideration, first, of the manifold benefits which his absence should bereaue them of, and secondly of the sundrie euils which themselues should bee subiect vnto, being once bereaued of so gracious a Master and Patron. The one consideration ouerwhelmed their soules with heauinesse: The other with feare. Their Lord and Sauiour, whose words had cast downe their hearts, raiseth them presently againe with chosen sentences of sweet encouragement. My deare, it is for your owne sakes that I leaue the World. I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your loue were directed with that aduised and staid iudgement which should be in you, my speech of leauing the world, and going vnto my Father, would not a little augment your ioy. Desolate and comfortlesse I will not leaue you: in Spirit I am with you to the worlds end, whether I be present or absent, nothing shall euer take you out of these hands: my going is to take possession of that, in your names, which is not onely for me, but also for you prepared; where I am, you shall be. In the meane while, *My peace I giue, not as the world giueth, giue I vnto you: Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.* The former part of which sentence hauing other-where alreadie beene spoken of, this vnacceptable occasion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not looke for. But so God disposeth the wayes of men. Him I heartily beseech, that the thing which hee hath thus ordered by his prouidence, may through his gracious goodnesse turne vnto your comfort.

Our

Our nature coueteth preseruation from things hurtfull. Hurtfull things being present, doe breed heauinesse, being future, doe cause feare. Our Sauiour to abate the one, speaketh thus vnto his Disciples: *Let not your hearts bee troubled*, and to moderate the other, addeth *Feare not*. Griefe and heauinesse in the presence of sensible euils cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore seeme that Christ required a thing impossible. Bee not troubled. Why, how could they choose? But wee must note this being naturall and therefore simply not reproueable, is in vs good or bad according to the causes for which we are grieued, or the measure of our griefe. It is not my meaning to speake so largely of this affection, as to go ouer all particulars whereby men doe one way or other offend in it, but to teach it so farre onely as it may cause the very Apostles equals to swerue. Our griefe and heauinesse therefore is reproueable, sometime in respect of the cause from whence, sometime in regard of the measure whereunto it groweth.

When Christ the life of the world was led vnto cruell death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewayled much his heauie case. It was a naturall compassion which caused them, where they saw vndeserued miseries, there to poure forth vnrestrained teares. Nor was this reproued. But in such readinesse to lament where they lesse needed, their blindnesse in not discerning that for which they ought much rather to haue mourned, this our Sauiour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the teares which were wasted for him, might better haue beene spent vpon themselues. *Daughters of Ierusalem, weepe not for me, weepe for your selues and for your children.* It is not as the Stoicks haue imagined, a thing vnseemly for a wise man to be touched with griefe of mind, but to be sorrowfull when we least should, and where we should lament, there to laugh, this argueth our small wisedome. Againe, when the Prophet *Dauid* confesseth thus of himselfe, *I grieued to see the great prosperitie of godlesse men how they flourish and goe vntoucht*, Psal. 73. Himselfe hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cause should not haue made so pensiue. To grieue at this, is to grieue where we should not, because this griefe doth rise from errour. Wee erre when we grieue at wicked mens impunity and prosperitie, because their estate being rightly discerned, they neither prosper nor goe vnpunished. It may seeme a paradoxe, it is truth, that no wicked mans estate is prosperous, fortunate, or happy. For what though they blesse themselues and thinke their happinesse great? Haue not franticke persons many times a great opinion of their owne wisedome? It may be that such as they thinke themselues, others also doe account them. But what others? Surely such as themselues are. Truth and reason discerneth farre otherwise of them. Vnto whom the Iewes wish all prosperitie, vnto them the phrase of their speech is to wish peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happinesse, when the Prophet saith plainly that the wicked haue no peace, how can we thinke them to haue any part of other then vainely imagined felicitie? What wise man did euer account fooles happy? If wicked men were wise, they would cease to be wicked. Their iniquitie therefore prouing their folly, how can we stand in doubt of their miserie? They abound in those things which all men

desire.

deſire. A poore happineſſe to haue good things in poſſeſſion, *A man to whom God hath giuen riches and treaſures and honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his ſoule of al that it deſireth, but yet God giueth him not the power to eat therof:* ſuch a felicity *Salomon* eſteemeth but as a vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things adde nothing to mens happineſſe where they are not vſed, ſurely wicked men that vſe them ill, the more they haue, the more wretched. Of their proſperitie therefore, we ſee what we are to think. Touching their impunity, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftner plagued then wee are aware of. The pangs they feele are not alwayes written in their fore-head. Though wickednes be ſuger in their mouthes, and wantonneſſe as Oyle to make them look with cheereful countenance, neuertheleſſe if their hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering eſtate would not greatly be enuied. The voices that haue broken out from ſome of them, *Oh that God had giuen me a heart ſenſleſſe like the flint in the rocks of ſtone!* which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no woe; theſe & the like ſpeeches are ſurely tokens of the curſe which *Zophar* in the Booke of *Iob* powreth vpon the head of the impious man, *he ſhall ſucke the gall of Aſps, and the vipers tongue ſhall ſlay him.* If this ſeeme light becauſe it is ſecret, ſhal we thinke they go vnpuniſhed, becauſe no apparant plague is preſently ſeene vpon them? The iudgements of God doe not alwaies follow crimes as Thunder doth Lightning, but ſometimes the ſpace of many Ages comming betweene. When the Sunne hath ſhined faire the ſpace of ſix dayes vpon their Tabernacle, wee know not what Clouds the ſeuenth may bring. And when their puniſhment doth come, let them make their account in the greatneſſe of their ſufferings, to pay the intereſt of that reſpite which hath bin giuen them. Or if they chance to eſcape cleerely in this World, which they ſeldome doe, in the Day when the Heauens ſhall ſhriuell as a ſcrowle, and the mountaines moue as frighted men out of their places, what Caue ſhal receiue them? what Mountaine or Rock ſhall they get by intreatie to fall vpon them? What couert to hide them from that wrath which they ſhal neither be able to abide nor avoid? No mans miſery therefore being greater then theirs whoſe impietie is moſt fortunate; much more cauſe there is for them to bewail their owne infelicity then for others to be troubled with their proſperous and happie eſtate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not or would not touch them. For theſe cauſes and the like vnto theſe, therefore be not troubled. Eccleſ. 6. 2.

Now though the cauſe of our heauineſſe be iuſt, yet may not our affections herein be yeelded vnto with too much indulgencie and fauour. The griefe of compaſſion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other leaſt dangerous. Yet this is a let vnto ſundrie duties, by this wee are to ſpare ſometimes where we ought to ſtrike. The griefe which our owne ſufferings doe bring, what temptations haue not riſen from it? What great aduantage Satan hath taken euen by the godly griefe of hearty contrition for ſinnes committed againſt God, the neere approching of ſo many afflicted ſoules, whom the conſcience of ſinne hath brought vnto the very brinke of extreme deſpaire, doth but too abundantly ſhew. Theſe things whereſoeuer they fall, cannot but trouble and moleſt the minde. Whether wee bee therefore moued vainely with that which ſeemeth hurtfull and is not; or

haue iuſt cauſe of griefe, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grieuous, our Sauiours leſſon is, touching the one, Be not troubled, nor ouer-troubled for the other. For though to haue no feeling of that which meerely concerneth vs were ſtupiditie, neuertheleſſe, ſeeing that as the Author of our Saluation was himſelfe conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which we are to follow him by, is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thornes, be it neuer ſo hard to learne, we muſt learne to ſuffer with patience, euen that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered, that in the houre when God ſhall call vs vnto our triall, and turne this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith we ſwel into that gal and bitterneſſe which fleſh doth ſhrinke to taſte of, nothing may cauſe vs in the troubles of our ſoules to ſtorme and grudge and repine at God, but euery heart be enabled with diuinely inſpired courage to inculcate vnto it ſelfe, *Be not troubled*, and in thoſe laſt and greateſt conflicts to remember it, that nothing may be ſo ſharpe and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we our ſelues may giue our ſelues this encouragement, *Euen learne alſo patience O my ſoule.*

Naming patience, I name that vertue which onely hath power to ſtay our ſoules from being ouer-exceſſiuely troubled: a vertue, wherein if euer any, ſurely that ſoule had good experience, which extremitie of paines hauing chaſed out of the Tabernacle of this fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, haue carried into the boſome of her father *Abraham*. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeeme vnto vs ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to heare in what manner they haue ended their liues? The Lord himſelfe hath not diſdained ſo exactly to regiſter in the Booke of life, after what ſort his Seruants haue cloſed vp their daies on earth, that he deſcendeth euen to their very meaneſt actions, what meat they haue longed for in their ſickneſſe what they haue ſpoken vnto their Children, Kinsfolks, and Friends, where they haue willed their dead Carkaſſes to be laid, how they haue framed their Wils and Teſtaments, yea the very turning of their faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their naturall heate hath departed from them, their cries, their groanes, their pantings, breathings, and laſt gaſpings, he hath moſt ſolemnly commended vnto the memory of all Generations. The care of the liuing both to liue and to dye well muſt needs bee ſomwhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded vp in ſilence, but the eares of many bee made acquainted with it. Againe, when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the houre of their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their feſlowſhip and communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſometime or other to wiſh in their hearts, *O that we might dye the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words, would be to ſtrike euen as many wounds into their minds whom I rather wiſh to comfort, therefore concerning this vertuous Gentlewoman, only this little I ſpeake, and that of knowledge, *She liued a Doue, and dyed a Lambe.* And if amongſt

mongſt ſo many vertues, heartie deuotion towards God, towards pouertie tender compaſſion, motherly affection towards ſeruants, towards friends euen ſeruiceable kindneſſe, milde behauiour, and harmeleſſe meaning towards all; if where ſo many vertures were eminent, any be worthy of ſpeciall mention, I wiſh her deareſt friends of that ſexe to be her neareſt followers in two things: *Silence*, ſauing only where dutie did exact ſpeech, and *Patience*, euen then when extremitie of paines did enforce griefe. *Bleſſed are they which dye in the Lord.* And concerning the dead which are bleſſed, let not the hearts of any liuing be ouer-charged, with griefe ouer troubled.

Touching the latter affection of feare which reſpecteth euill to come, as the other which we haue ſpoken of doth preſent euils; firſt in the nature thereof it is plaine, that we are not of euery future euill afraid. Perceiue we not how they, whoſe tenderneſſe ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a Needles point, doe kiſſe the ſword that pierceth their Soules quite through? If euery euill did cauſe feare, ſinne, becauſe it is ſin, would be feared; whereas properly ſinne is not feared as ſinne, but onely as hauing ſome kind of harme annexed. To teach men to auoyd ſinne, it had beene ſufficient for the Apoſtle to ſay, Flie it. But to make them afraid of committing ſinne, becauſe the naming of ſinne ſufficed not, therfore he addeth further, that it is as a *Serpent which ſtingeth the ſoule.* Againe, be it that ſome nociue or hurtfull things be towards vs, muſt feare of neceſſitie follow hereupon? Not except that hurtfull things do threaten vs either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch as we haue neither a conceit of abilitie to reſiſt, nor of vtter impoſſibilitie to auoyde. That which we know our ſelues able to withſtand, we feare not, and that which wee know we are vnable to deferre or diminiſh, or any way auoyd, we ceaſe to feare, we giue our ſelues ouer to beare and ſuſtaine it. The euil therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſwaſion vnable to be reſiſted when it commeth, yet not vtterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to be ſhunned. Neither doe we much feare ſuch euils, except they be imminent and neere at hand, nor if they be neere, except we haue an opinion that they be ſo. When we haue once conceiued an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch euils preſt and readie to inuade vs, becauſe they are hurtfull vnto our nature, we feele in our ſelues a kind of abhorring; becauſe they are thought neere, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and prouide for it ſelfe; becauſe they are euils which cannot be reſiſted, therfore ſhe doth not prouid to withſtand, but to ſhun & auoid. Hence it is, that in extreme feare the Mother of life contracting her ſelfe, auoiding as much as may bee the reach of euil, and drawing the heate together with the ſpirits of the body to her, leaueth the outward parts cold, pale, weake, feeble, vnapt to performe the functions of life, as wee ſee in the feare of *Balthaſar* King of *Babel.* By this it appeareth, that feare is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the minde through an opinion of ſome imminent euill, threatning the deſtruction or great annoyance of our nature, which to ſhun, it doth contract and deiect it ſelfe.

Now becauſe not in this place onely, but other where often we heare it repeated *Feare not*, is it by ſome made a long queſtion, *whether a man may feare deſtruction or vexation, without ſinning?* Firſt, the reproofe wherewith Chriſt

checketh his Diſciples more then once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are yee afraid?* Secondly, the puniſhment threatned in the twentie one of the *Reuelation*, to wit, the Lake, & fire, and brimſtone, not onely to Murtherers, vncleane perſons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Lyers, but alſo to the fearfull and faint-hearted, this ſeemeth to argue that fearfulneſſe cannot but be ſinne. On the contrarie ſide we ſee, that He which neuer felt motion vnto ſinne, had of this affection more then a ſlight feeling. How cleere is the euidence of the Spirit, that *in the dayes of his fleſh hee offered vp Prayers and Supplications with ſtrong cries and teares vnto him that was able to ſaue him from death, and was alſo heard in that which he feared? Heb.* 5. 7. Whereupon it followeth, that feare in it ſelfe is a thing not ſinfull. For is not feare a thing naturall, and for mens preſeruation neceſſary, implanted in vs by the prouident & moſt gracious Giuer of all good things, to the end that we might not runne head-long vpon thoſe miſchiefes wherwith we are not able to encounter, but vſe the remedy of ſhunning thoſe evils which we haue not ability to withſtand? Let that people therfore which receiue a benefit by the length of their Princes dayes, the Father or Mother that reioyceth to ſee the Off-ſpring of their fleſh grow like greene & pleaſant Plants, let thoſe children that would haue their Parents, thoſe men that would gladly haue their friends and brethrens dayes prolonged on earth, (as there is no natural-hearted man but gladly would) let them bleſſe the Father of lights as in other things, ſo euen in this, that he hath giuen man a fearfull heart, and ſetled naturally that affection in him, which is a preſeruation againſt ſo many wayes of death. Feare then in it ſelfe being meere nature, cannot in it ſelfe be ſinne, which ſinne is not nature, but thereof an acceſſary depriuation.

But in the matter of feare we may ſinne, and doe, two wayes. If any mans danger be great, theirs greateſt, that haue put the feare of danger fartheſt from them. Is there any eſtate more fearfull then that Babylonian Strumpets, that ſitteth vpon the tops of ſeuen hils, glorying and vaunting, *I am a Queene &c? Reue.* 18. 7. How much better and happier they, whoſe eſtate hath beene alwayes as his who ſpeaketh after this ſort of himſelfe, *Lord, from my youth haue I borne thy yoke?* They which ſit at continuall eaſe, and are ſetled in the lees of their ſecuritie, looke vpon them, view their countenance, their ſpeech, their geſture, their deeds; put them in feare, O God, ſaith the prophet, that ſo they may know themſelues to be but men, Wormes of the Earth, duſt and aſhes, fraile, corruptible, feeble things. To ſhake off ſecuritie therefore, and to breed feare in the hearts of mortall men, ſo many admonitions are vſed concerning the power of euils which beſet them, ſo many threatnings of calamities, ſo many deſcriptions of things threatned, and thoſe ſo liuely, to the end they may leaue behind them a deepe impreſſion of ſuch as haue force to keepe the heart continually waking. All which doe ſhew, that we are to ſtand in feare of nothing more then the extremitie of not fearing.

When feare hath deliuered vs from that Pit, wherein they are ſunke that haue put far from them the euill day; that haue made a league with death, and haue ſaid *Tuſh, we ſhall feele no harme*; it ſtandeth vs vpon to take heed it caſt vs not into that, wherein ſoules deſtitute of al hope are plunged. For our direction, to auoide, as much as may be, both extremities, that we may know as a

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Shipmaſter by his Card, how farre wee are wide, either on the one ſide or on the other; we muſt note that in a Chriſtian man there is firſt, nature; Secondly, corruption peruerting Nature; Thirdly, grace correcting, and amending corruption. In feare all theſe haue their ſeuerall operations, Nature teacheth ſimply, to wiſh preſeruation & auoydance of things dreadfull, for which cauſe our Sauiour himſelfe prayeth, and that often; Father, if it be *poſſible*. In which caſes, corrupt natures ſuggeſtions are, for the ſafety of temporall life, not to ſticke at things excluding from eternal: wherein how farre euen the beſt may be led, the chiefeſt Apoſtles frailtie teacheth. Were it not therefore for ſuch cogitations, as on the contrarie ſide grace and faith miniſtreth, ſuch as that of IOB, *Though God kill me*, that of PAVL, *Scio, cui credidi*, I know him on whom I do relie, ſmall euils would ſoone be able to ouerwhelme euen the beſt of vs. *A wiſeman*, ſaith SALOMON, *doth ſee a plague comming, and hideth himſelfe*. It is nature which teacheth a Wiſeman, in feare to hide himſelfe, but grace and faith doth teach him Where. Fooles care not where they hide their heads. But where ſhall a Wiſeman hide himſelfe, when he feareth a plague comming? Where ſhould the frighted Childe hide his head, but in the boſome of his louing Father? Where a Chriſtian, but vnder the ſhadow of the wings of Chriſt his Sauiour? Come my people, ſaith God, in the Prophet, *Enter into thy Chamber, hide thy ſelfe, &c. Eſay. 26.* But becauſe we are in danger like chaſed Birds, like Doues that ſeeke, and cannot ſee the reſting holes that are right before them, therefore our Sauiour giueth his Diſciples theſe encouragements beforehand, that feare might neuer ſo amaze them, but that alwayes they might remember, that whatſoeuer euils at any time did beſet them, to him they ſhould ſtill repaire for comfort, counſell, and ſuccour. For their aſſurance whereof, his *Peace* he *gaue them*, his *Peace* he *left vnto them, not ſuch peace as the World* offereth, by whom his name is neuer ſo much pretended, as when deepeſt treachery is meant; but *Peace which paſſeth all vnderſtanding*, *Peace* that bringeth with it all happineſſe, *Peace* that continueth for euer and euer with them that haue it. This Peace God the Father grant, for his Sonnes ſake, vnto whom with the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons, one Eternall, and Euer-liuing God, be all honour, and glorie, and praiſe now and for euer

Amen.

FINIS.

A LEARNED AND COMFORTABLE SERMON OF THE CERTAINTIE AND PERPETVITIE OF FAITH in the elect; especially of the Prophet HABAKKVKS Faith.

HABAK. 1. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this cogitation into his mind, The Law doth faile, *did thereby shew himselfe an vnbeleeuer.*

WEE haue seene in the opening of this clause, which concerneth the weakenesse of the Prophets faith; first, what things they are whereunto the faith of sound beleeuers doth assent: secondly, wherefore all men assent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that doe, doe it many times with small assurance. Now because nothing can bee so truely spoken, but through mis-understanding it may bee depraued; therefore to preuent, if it be possible, all misconstruction in this cause, where a smal error cannot rise but with great danger, it is perhaps needfull ere we come to the fourth point, that something be added to that which hath beene already spoken concerning the third.

That meere naturall men do neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we do not maruell, because they are spiritually to be discerned: but they in whose hearts the light of grace doth shine, they that are taught of God, why are they so weake in faith? Why is their assenting to the Law so scrupulous, so much mingled with feare and wauering? It seemeth strange that euer they should imagine the Law to faile. It cannot seeme strange if we waigh the reason. If the things which wee beleeue be considered in themselues, it may truly bee said, that faith is more certaine then any Science. That which wee know either by sense, or by infallible demonstration, is not so certaine as the principles, articles, and conclusions of Christian faith. Concerning which wee must note, that there is a *certaintie* of *euidence*, and a *certaintie* of *adherence*. *Certaintie* of *euidence* we cal that, when the mind doth assent vnto this or that, not because it is true in it selfe, but because the truth is cleere, because it is manifest to vs. Of things in themselues most certaine, except they bee also most euident, our perswasion is not so assured, as it is of things more euident; although in themselues they be lesse certaine. It is as sure, if not surer, that there be spirits as that there be men: but we be more assured of these then of them, because these are more euident. The truth of some things is so euident, that no man which heareth them, can doubt of them: as when we heare that *a part of any thing is lesse then the whole*, the mind is constrained to say, This is true. If it were so in matters of faith, then as all men haue equall certaintie of this, so no beleeuer should be more scrupulous and doubtfull then another. But we finde

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the contrarie. The angels and Spirits of the righteous in heauen, haue certaintie moſt euident of things ſpirituall: but this they haue by the light of glorie. That which we ſee by the light of grace, though it be indeed more certaine, yet is it not to vs ſo euidently certaine, as that which ſenſe or the light of nature will not ſuffer a man to doubt of. Proofs are vaine and friuolous, except they be more certaine then is the thing proued: and do we not ſee how the Spirit euery where in the Scripture proueth matters of faith; laboureth to confirme vs in the thing which we beleeue, by things whereof we haue ſenſible knowledge? I conclude therfore that we haue leſſe certaintie of euidence concerning things beleeued, then concerning ſenſible or naturally perceiued. Of theſe who doth doubt at any time? Of them at ſometime who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the ſundry confeſſions of the perfecteſt, that haue liued vpon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I ſhould dwell too long vpon a matter, ſufficiently knowne by euery faithfull man that doth know himſelfe.

The other which we call the *certaintie* of *adherence*, is when the heart doth cleaue and ſticke vnto that which it doth beleeue. This certaintie is greater in vs then the other. The reaſon is this. The faith of a Chriſtian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promiſes of God, not onely as true, but alſo as good: and therefore euen then when the euidence which he hath of the truth, is ſo ſmall, that it grieueth him to feele his weakeneſſe in aſſenting thereto; yet is there in him ſuch a ſure adherence vnto that which hee doth but faintly and fearefully beleeue, that his Spirit hauing once truly taſted the heauenly ſweetneſſe therof, al the world is not able quite and cleane to remoue him from it: but he ſtriueth with himſelfe to hope againſt all reaſon of beleeuing, being ſetled with *Iob* vpon this vnmouable reſolution, *Though God kill me, I will not giue ouer truſting in him.* For why? This leſſon remaineth for euer imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleaue vnto God, Pſal.* 37.

Now the minds of all men being ſo darkned, as they are with the foggie dampe of originall corruption, it cannot be that any mans heart liuing ſhould be either ſo enlightned in the knowledge, or ſo eſtabliſhed in the loue of that wherein his ſaluation ſtandeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor ſhrinking at all. If any ſuch were, what doth let why that man ſhould not be iuſtified by his owne inherent righteouſneſſe? For righteouſneſſe inherent, being perfect, will iuſtifie. And perfect faith is a part of perfect righteouſneſſe inherent; yea a principall part, the roote and the mother of all the reſt: ſo that if the fruit of euery tree be ſuch as the roote is, faith being perfect, as it is if it bee not at all mingled with diſtruſt and feare, what is there to exclude other Chriſtian vertues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt? His garment is ſuperfluous; we may bee honourably clothed with our owne Robes, if it be thus. But let them beware who challenge to themſelues a ſtrength which they haue not, leſt they loſe the comfortable ſupport of that weakeneſſe which indeed they haue.

Some ſhew, althongh no ſoundneſſe of ground, there is, which may be alledged for defence of this ſuppoſed perfection in certaintie touching matters of our faith: as firſt that *Abraham* did beleeue and doubted not: ſecondly, that the Spirit which God hath giuen vs to no other end, but only to aſſure vs

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that we are the ſonnes of God; to embolden vs to call vpon him as our Father, to open our eyes and to make the truth of things beleeued euident vnto our minds, is much mightier in operation then the common light of nature, whereby we diſcerne ſenſible things: wherefore we muſt needs be more ſure of that we beleeue, then of that we ſee; we muſt needs be more certaine of the mercies of God in Chriſt Ieſus, then we are of the light of the Sun when it ſhineth vpon our faces. To that of ABRAHAM, *He did not doubt*, I anſwer, that this *negation* doth not exclude all feare, all doubting; but only that which cannot ſtand with true faith. It freeth *Abraham* from doubting through *infidelitie*, not from doubting through *infirmitie*; from the doubting of *vnbeleeuers*, not of *weake beleeuers*; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of Samaria is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden plentie in the middeſt of extreme dearth, anſwered, *Though the Lord would make windowes in heauen, were it poſſible ſo to come to paſſe?* But that *Abraham* was not void of all doubting, what neede we any other proofe then the plaine euidence of his owne words? *Geneſ.17.v.17.* The reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectuall, if God did worke like a naturall Agent, as the fire doth inflame, and the Sunne inlighten, according to the vttermoſt abilitie which they haue to bring forth their effects. But the incomprehenſible wiſedome of God doth limit the effects of his power, to ſuch a meaſure as ſeemeth beſt vnto himſelfe. Wherfore he worketh that certainty in al, which ſufficeth abundantly to their ſaluation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life vnto perfection. Euen ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee, euen ſo it is beſt and fitteſt for vs, that feeling ſtill our owne infirmities, we may no longer breathe, then pray, *Adiuva Domine, Helpe Lord our incredulitie.* Of the third queſtion, this I hope, will ſuffice, being added vnto that which hath beene therof already ſpoken. The fourth queſtion reſteth, & ſo an end of this point. 1.King 7.2.

That which commeth laſt of all in this firſt branch, to be conſidered concerning the weaknes of the Prophets faith: *Whether he did by this very thought*, The Law doth faile, *quench the ſpirit, fall from faith, and ſhew himſelfe an vnbeleeuer or no.* The queſtion is of moment, the repoſe and tranquillitie of infinite ſoules doth depend vpon it. The Prophets caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoeuer we caſt for him, the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh grace; why the like thoughts in vs ſhould not take the like effect, there is no cauſe. Foraſmuch therefore as the matter is waightie, deare, and precious, which we haue in hand it behoueth vs with ſo much the greater charineſſe to wade through it, taking ſpecial heed both what we build, and whereon we build: that if our building be pearle, our foundation be not ſtubble; if the doctrine we teach be full of comfort and conſolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be ſure: otherwiſe we ſhall not ſaue but deceiue both our ſelues and others. In this we know we are not deceiued, neither ban we deceiue you, when we teach that the faith whereby ye are ſanctified cannot faile; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo; let the difference be ſhewed betweene the condition of vnbeleeuers and his in this or in the like imbecilitie and weaknes. There was in *Abakkuk*, that which S. *Iohn* doth call the *ſeed of God*, meaning thereby, the *firſt grace* which God powreth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Chriſt, which hauing

uing receiued, if becauſe it is an aduerſarie to ſinne, we doe therefore thinke we ſinne not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtfull and doubtfull apprehending of that, which we ought ſtedfaſtly to beleeue, ſurely, we doe but deceiue our ſelues. Yet they which are of God, doe not ſinne either in this, or in any thing any ſuch ſinne as doth quite extinguiſh grace, cleane cut them off from Chriſt Ieſus: becauſe the *ſeed of God* abideth in them, and doth ſhield them from receiuing any irremediable wound. Their faith when it is at ſtrongeſt is but weake; yet euen then when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that vtterly it neuer faileth, it neuer periſheth altogether, no not in them, who thinke it extinguiſhed in themſelues. There are, for whoſe ſakes I dare not deale ſlightly in this cauſe, ſparing that labour vvhich muſt be beſtovved to make it plaine. Men in like agonies vnto this of the Prophet *Habakkuks*, are through extremitie of griefe many times in iudgement ſo confounded, that they find not themſelues in themſelues. For that vvhich dvvelleth in their hearts they ſeek, they make diligent ſearch and enquirie. It abideth, it vvorketh in them, yet ſtil they aske vvhere? Stil they lament as for a thing vvhich is paſt finding: they mourn as *Rachel*, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that vvere not, vvhich in deed is; and as if that vvhich is not, vvere; as if they did not beleeue vvhen they doe; and as if they did deſpaire when they doe not. Which in ſome, I grant, is but a melancholly paſſion proceeding only from that deiection of mind, the cauſe whereof is on the bodie, and by bodily meanes can be taken away. But where there is no ſuch bodily cauſe, the mind is not lightly in this moode, but by ſome of theſe three occaſions. One; that iudging by compariſon either with other men or with themſelues, at ſome other time more ſtrong, they thinke imperfection to be a plaine depriuation, weakeneſſe to be vtter want of faith. Another cauſe is; they often miſtake one thing for another. S. *Paul* wiſhing well to the Church of Rome, prayeth for them after this ſort: *The God of hope fill you with all ioy of beleeuing*. Hence an errour groweth, when men in heauineſſe of ſpirit ſuppoſe they lacke faith, becauſe they find not the ſuggered ioy and delight which indeed doth accompany faith, but ſo as a ſeparable accident, as a thing that may bee remoued from it; yea, there is a cauſe why it ſhould be remoued. The light would neuer be ſo acceptable, were it not for that vſuall intercourſe of darkneſſe. Too much hony doth turne to gall, and too much ioy euen ſpiritually would make vs wantons. Happier a great deale is that mans caſe, whoſe ſoule by inward deſolation is humbled, then he whoſe heart is through abundance of ſpirituall delight lifted vp, and exalted aboue meaſure. Better it is ſometimes to goe downe into the pit with him, who beholding darkneſſe, and bewailing the loſſe of inward ioy and conſolation, cryeth from the bottome of the loweſt hell, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* then continually to walke arme in arme with Angels, to ſit, as it were, in *Abrahams* boſome, and to haue no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thanke my God, it is not with me as it is with other men*. No; God will haue them that ſhal walke in light, to feele now and then what it is to ſit in the ſhadow of death. A grieued ſpirit therefore is no argument of a faithleſſe mind. A third occaſion of mens miſ-iudging themſelues, as if they were faithleſſe when they are not, is; They faſten their cogitations vpon the diſtruſtfull ſuggeſtions of the fleſh, whereof finding great abundance in themſelues, they gather thereby,

Surely,

Surely, vnbeliefe hath full dominion, it hath taken plenarie poſſeſſion of me; if I were faithfull it could not be thus. Not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, becauſe they lye buried and ouer-whelmed with the contrarie: when notwithſtanding as the bleſſed Apoſtle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groneth*, and that God heareth when we doe not; ſo there is no doubt, but that our faith may haue, and hath her priuie operations ſecret to vs, in whom, yet knowne to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a minde deceiued by too hard an opinion of himſelfe, and it doth but augment his griefe: he hath his anſwer ready; Will you make me thinke otherwiſe then I find, then I feele in my ſelfe? I haue throughly conſidered & exquiſitely ſifted al the corners of my heart, and I ſee what there is: neuer ſeek to perſwade me againſt my knowledge, *I doe not, I know, I do not beleeue.* Well to fauour them a little in their weakeneſſe: let that be granted which they do imagine; be it that they are faithleſſe and without beliefe. But are they not grieued for their vnbeliefe? They are. Doe they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtriue that it may be otherwiſe? We know they doe. Whence commeth this, but from a ſecret loue and liking which they haue of thoſe things that are beleeued? No man can loue things which in his owne opinion are not. And if they thinke thoſe things to be, which they ſhew that they loue, when they deſire to beeleeue them; then muſt it needs be, that by deſiring to beleeue, they proue themſelues true beleeuers. For without faith, no man thinketh that things beleeued are. Which argument all the ſubtiltie of infernall powers will neuer be able to diſſolue. The Faith thereof of true Beleeuers, though it haue many and grieuous down-fals, yet doth it ſtill continue inuincible; it conquereth and recouereth it ſelfe in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is ſubiect, are not able to preuaile againſt it. The Prophet *Habbakuk* remained faithfull in weakeneſſe, though weake in faith. It is true, ſuch is our weak and wauering nature, wee haue no ſooner receiued grace, but wee are ready to fall from it: wee haue no ſooner giuen our aſſent to the Law that it cannot faile, but the next conceit which wee are ready to imbrace, is, that it may, and that it doth faile. Though we find in our ſelues a moſt willing heart to cleaue vnſeparably vnto God, euen ſo farre as to thinke vnfainedly with PETER, *Lord I am ready to goe with thee into Priſon and to death:* yet how ſoone and how eaſily, vpon how ſmall occaſions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone and left vnto our ſelues? The Galatians to day for their ſakes which teach thē the truth in Chriſt, are content if need were to pluck out their own eyes, and the next day ready to plucke out theirs which taught them. The loue of the Angel to the Church of Epheſus, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly ſlaked? The higher we flow, the neerer we are vnto an eb, if men be reſpected as meere men, according to the wonted courſe of their alterable inclination, without the heauenly ſupport of the Spirit. Againe, the deſire of our ghoſtly Enemie is ſo incredible, and his meanes ſo forcible to ouer-throw our faith, that whom the bleſſed Apoſtle knew betrothed & made hand-faſt vnto Chriſt, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am iealous ouer you with a Godly iealouſie, for I haue prepared you to one Husband, to preſent you a pure Virgin vnto Chriſt: but I feare, leſt as the Serpent beguiled* EVE *through his ſubtiltie, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicitie which is in Chriſt.*

The

The ſimplicitie of faith which is in Chriſt, taketh the naked promiſe of God, his bare Word, and on that it reſteth. This ſimplicitie the Serpent laboureth continually to peruert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancie and contrarietie betweene the promiſe of God, and thoſe things which ſenſe or experience, or ſome other foreconceiued perſwaſion hath imprinted. The word of the promiſe of God vnto his people, is, *I will not leaue thee, nor forſake thee:* vpon this the ſimplicitie of Faith reſteth, and it is not afraid of famine. But marke how the ſubtiltie of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation, whoſe Spirits were not faithful vnto God. They beheld the deſolate ſtate of the Deſart in which they were, and by the wiſedome of their ſenſe, concluded the promiſe of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a Table in the wilderneſs?* The word of the promiſe to *Sarah* was, *Thou ſhalt beare a ſonne.* Faith is ſimple and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this ſimplicitie of faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument, drawne from common experience to the contrarie: *A woman that is old;* SARAH *now to be acquainted againe with forgotten paſſions of youth?* The Word of the promiſe of God by *Moſes* and the Prophets, made the Sauiour of the world ſo apparant vnto *Philip*, that his ſimplicity could conceiue no other Meſſias, then Ieſus of Nazareth the Sonne of *Ioſeph*. But to ſtay *Nathaniel*, leſt being inuited to come and ſee, he ſhould alſo beleeue, & ſo be ſaued: the ſubtiltie of Satan caſteth a miſt before his eyes, putteth in his head againſt this, the common conceiued perſwaſion of all men concerning Nazareth: *Is it poſſible that a good thing ſhould come from thence?* This ſtratagem he doth vſe with ſo great dexteritie, the minds of all men are ſo ſtrangely bewitched with it, that it bereaueth them for the time of al perceiuance of that which ſhould relieue them and be their comfort, yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, euen of things wherewith they are moſt familiarly acquainted. The people of Iſrael could not be ignorant, that he which led them through the Sea, was able to feede them in the Deſart: but this was obliterated and put out by the ſenſe of their preſent want. Feeling the hand of God againſt them in their food, they remembred not his hand in the day, that he deliuered them from the hand of the Oppreſſor. *Sara* was not then to learne, that *with God al things are poſſible.* Had *Nathaniel* neuer noted, how *God doth chooſe the baſe things of this world, to diſgrace them that are moſt honorably eſteemed?* The Prophet *Habakkuk* knew that the promiſes of Grace, protection, and fauour, which God in the Law doth make vnto his people, do not grant them any ſuch immunitie as can free & exempt them from all chaſtiſements, he knew that as God ſaid *I will continue my mercie for euer towards them;* ſo he likewiſe ſaid, *Their tranſgreſſions I will puniſh with a rod:* hee knew that it cannot ſtand with any reaſon, we ſhould ſet the meaſure of our owne puniſhments, and preſcribe vnto God how great or how long our ſufferings ſhall be: he knew that we were blind, & altogether ignorant what is beſt for vs; that we ſue for many things very vnwiſely againſt our ſelues, thinking we aske Fiſh, when indeed we craue a Serpent: he knew that when the thing we aske is good, & yet God ſeemeth ſlow to grant it, he doth not deny, but defer our petitions to the end we might learn to deſire great things greatly: all this he knew. But beholding the land which God had ſeuered for his owne people; and ſeeing it abandoned vnto Heathen

Nations;

nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it downe, and wholly make hauocke of it at their pleasure; beholding the Lords owne Royal Seate made an heape of stones, his temple defiled, the carkases of his seruants cast out for the fowles of the ayre to deuoure, and the flesh of his meeke ones for the beasts of the field to feed vpon; being conscious to himselfe how long & how earnestly he had cryed, *Succour vs, O God of our welfare, for the glorie of thine owne Name*; and feeling that their sore was still increased: the conceit of repugnancie between this which was obiected to his eyes, and that which faith vpon promise of the Law did looke for, made so deepe an impression and so strong, that he disputeth not the matter, but without any further enquirie or search, inferreth as we see: *The Law doth faile.*

Of vs who is here, which cannot very soberly aduise his brother; Sir, you must learn to strengthen your faith by that experience which heretofore you haue had of Gods great goodnesse towards you, *per ea quæ agnoscas præstita discas sperare promissa*: By those things which you haue knowne performed, learn to hope for those things which are promised. Do you acknowledge to haue receiued much? Let that make you certaine to receiue more. *Habenti dabitur: To him that hath, more shall be giuen.* When you doubt what you shall haue, search what you haue had at Gods hands. Make this reckning, that the benefits which hee hath bestowed, are Bils obligatorie and sufficient Sureties that he will bestow further. His present mercie is still a warrant of his future loue, because *whom he loueth, he loueth vnto the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon vp as many euident, cleere, vndoubted signes of Gods reconciled loue towards vs, as there are yeares, yea dayes, yea houres past ouer our heads; all these set together haue no such force to confirme our faith, as the losse, and sometimes the onely feare of losing a little transitorie goods, credit, honour or fauour of men, a small calamitie, a matter of nothing; to breed a conceit, and such a conceit as is not easily againe remoued, that we are cleane crost out of Gods booke that he regards vs not, that he looketh vpon others, but passeth by vs like a stranger, to whom we are not knowne. Then we thinke, looking vpon others and comparing them with our selues; their Tables are furnished day by day; earth and ashes are our bread: they sing to the Lute, and they see their children dance before them; our hearts are heauie in our bodies as lead, our sighes beat as thicke as a swift Pulse, our teares doe wash the beds wherein we lye: The Sunne shineth faire vpon their fore-heads; we are hanged vp like Bottles in the smoke, cast into corners like the sherds of a broken Pot: tell not vs of the promises of Gods fauour, tell such as doe reape the fruit of them, they belong not to vs, they are made to others: the Lord be mercifull to our weaknes; but thus it is. Well, let the frailtie of our nature, the Subtiltie of Satan, the force of our deceiuable imaginations be, as we cannot denie but they are things that threaten euery moment the vtter subuersion of our faith; faith notwithstanding is not hazarded by these things. That which one sometimes told the Senators of Rome, *Ego sic existimabam, P.C. vti patrem sæpe meum prædicantem audieram, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maximè tutos esse:* As I haue often heard my Father acknowledge, so I my selfe did euer thinke, that the friends and fauou-

rers of this State charged themſelues with great labour, but no mans condition ſo ſafe as theirs: the ſame we may ſay a great deale more iuſtly in this caſe: our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Maſter hath ful often ſpoken, by long experience we haue found it true; as many as haue entred their names in the myſticall Booke of Life, *eos maximum laborem ſuſcipere*, they haue taken vpon them a labourſome, a toyleſome, a painfull profeſſion, *ſed omnium maximè tutos eſſe*, but no mans ſecuritie like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat*; Here is our toyle: *but I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not*; this is our ſafety. No mans condition ſo ſure as ours: the Prayer of Chriſt is more then ſufficient both to ſtrengthen vs, be we neuer ſo weake; and to ouerthrow all aduerſarie power, be it neuer ſo ſtrong and potent. His Prayer muſt not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vaine, who thinke that their watching can preſerue the Citie which God himſelfe is not willing to keepe. And are not theirs as vaine, who thinke that God will keepe the Citie, for which they themſelues are not carefull to watch? the Husband man may not therefore burne his plough, nor the Merchant forſake his Trade, becauſe God hath promiſed, *I will not forſake thee.* And doe the promiſes of God concerning our ſtabilitie, thinke you, make it a matter indifferent for vs, to vſe or not to vſe the meanes whereby to attend or not to attend to reading, to pray or not to pray that we fall not into temptation? Surely if we looke to ſtand in the faith of the Sonnes of God, we muſt hourly, continually be prouiding and ſetting our ſelues to ſtriue. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Sauiour in ſaying, *Father, keepe them in thy name*, that we ſhould be careleſſe to keepe our ſelues. To our owne ſafety, our owne ſedulity is required. And then bleſſed for euer and euer be that Mothers child, whoſe faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may ſhake; the pillars of the world may tremble vnder vs; the countenance of the Heauen may bee appaled; the Sun may loſe his light, the Moone her beauty, the Starres their glory: but concerning the man that truſteth in God, if the fire haue proclaimed it ſelfe vnable as much as to ſindge a haire of his head; if Lyons, Beaſts rauenous by nature, and keene with hunger, being ſet to deuoure, haue as it were religiouſly ador'd the very fleſh of the faithfull man, what is there in the world that ſhal change his heart, ouerthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make a ſeparation betweene mee and my God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſſe, or perill, or ſword? No; I am perſwaded that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor nakedneſſe, nor peril, nor ſword, nor death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall euer preuaile ſo far ouer me. I know in whom I haue beleeued; I am not ignorant whoſe precious bloud hath beene ſhed for me; I haue a Shepheard full of kindneſſe, full of care, and full of power: vnto him I commit my ſelfe; his own finger hath engrauen this ſentence in the Tables of my heart: *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat but I haue prayed that thy faith faile not.* Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keepe as a Iewell vnto the end, and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his Prayer, I ſhall keepe it.

FINIS.

TWO SERMONS VPON PART OF S. IVDES EPISTLE.

By

RICHARD HOOKER,
Sometimes fellow of CORPVS CHRISTI *Colledge in* OXFORD.

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TO THE WORSHIPFVLL M. GEORGE SVMMASTER, Principall *of* Broad-Gates Hall *in* Oxford

HENRY IACKSON wiſheth all happineſſe.

SIR,

YOur kind acceptance of a former teſtification of that reſpect I owe you, hath made me venture to ſhew the World theſe godly Sermons vnder your name. In which, as euery point is worth obſeruation, ſo ſome eſpecially are to bee noted. The firſt, that, as the Spirit of Prophecie is from God himſelfe, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and mindes of his holy Pen-men, (which if ſome would diligently conſider, they would not puzzle themſelues with the contentions of SCOT, and THOMAS, Whether God onely, or his miniſtring Spirits, doe infuſe into mens mindes Prophetical Reuelations, *per ſpecies intelligibiles*) ſo God framed their words alſo. Whence the holy Father [a] Saint AVGVSTINE religiouſly obſerueth, That all thoſe which vnderſtand the ſacred Writers, will alſo perceiue, that they ought not to vſe other words, then they did, in expreſſing thoſe heauenly Myſteries which their hearts conceiued, as the Bleſſed Virgin did our Sauiour, By the Holy Ghoſt. The greater is CASTELLIO his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to ſpeake otherwiſe, than they haue already. Much like to that impious King of Spaine, ALPHONSVS the tenth, who found fault with Gods Workes, [b] Si, inquit, creationi affuiſſem, mundum melius ordinaſſem, If hee had beene with God at the Creation of the World, the World had gone better, then now it doth. As this man found fault with Gods Workes, ſo did the other with Gods words. But becauſe wee haue a [c] moſt ſure

[a] Lib. 4. cap. 6. de doct. Chr.

[b] Rob. Tolet. lib. 4 cap. 5.

[c] 2. Pet. 1.

word of the Prophets, *to which we must take heed, I will let his words*
d *Præf. in Orat.* D Rainold. *passe with the wind, hauing* d *elsewhere spoken to you more largely of his Errours, whom notwithstanding, for his other excellent parts, I much respect.*

You shall moreouer from hence vnderstand, how Christianitie consists not in formall and seeming puritie (*vnder which, who knowes not notorious villainie to maske?*) *but in the heart-roote. Whence the Authour truly teacheth, that* Mockers, *which vse Religion as a Cloake, to put off and on, as the weather serueth, are worse then Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to shew, how iustly this kind of men hath beene reproued by that renowned Martyr of Iesus Christ,* B. Latimer, *both because it will bee opposite to this purpose, and also free that Christian*
* *Parsons in 3. Conuers.* Worthie *from the slanderous reproches of* * *him, who was, if euer any, a* Mocker *of God, Religion, and all good men. But first I must desire you, and in you all Readers, not to thinke lightly of that excellent man, for vsing of this and the like wittie Similitudes in his Sermons. For*
e Malac. 2. 7. *whosoeuer will call to mind, with what* riff-raffe *Gods people were fedde in those dayes, when their Priests,* e *whose lips should haue preserued knowledge, preached nothing else but Dreames, and false Miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that* f *sottish* Legend, *coyned*
f Canus locor. lib. 11. cap. 6. Viues, lib. 2. de corrupt. art. Hard. lib. 4. *and amplified by a drousie head, betweene sleeping and waking. Hee that will consider this, and also how the people were delighted with such toyes (God sending them strong Delusions, that they should beleeue lyes) and how hard it would haue beene for any man, wholly and vpon the suddaine, to draw their minds to another bent, will easily perceiue both how necessarie it was to vse Symbolicall Discourse, and how wisely and moderately it was applyed by the Religious Father, to the end hee might lead their vnderstanding so farre, till it were so conuinced, informed, and setled, that it might forget the meanes and way, by which it was led, and thinke only of that it had acquired. For in all such mysticall speeches, who knowes not, that the end for which they are vsed, is only to bee thought vpon?*

This then being first considered, let vs heare the Storie, as it is related
g Fox, 1091. edit. 1570. *by Master* FOX: *Master* LATIMER, (g *saith he*) *in his Sermon gaue the people certaine Cards out of the fift, sixt, and seuenth Chapter of Saint Matthew. For the chiefe Triumph in the Cards, hee limitted the Heart, as the principall thing that they should serue God withall, whereby hee quite ouerthrew*

all

all hypocriticall and externall Ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſarie furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. *By this* hee exhorted all men to ſerue the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies; adding moreouer to the prayſe of that Triumph, that though it were neuer ſo ſmall, yet it would take vp the beſt Coat-Card beſide in the Bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubbes, &c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerued in ſimplicitie of the heart, and veritie, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian Religion, &c. *Thus Maſter* FOX.

By which it appeares, that the holy mans intentions was to lift vp the peoples hearts to God, and not that he made a Sermon of playing at Cards, and taught them how to play at Triumph, and played (*himſelfe*) at Cards in the Pulpit, *as that baſe Companion* [h] Parſons *reports the matter, in his wonted ſcurrilous veine of Rayling, whence hee calleth it a* [i] Chriſtmaſſe Sermon. *Now hee that will thinke ill of ſuch Alluſions, may out of the abundance of his folly, ieſt at* Demoſthenes, *for his ſtorie of the* [k] *Sheepe, Wolues, and Dogges, and* Menenius [l] *for his fiction of the Belly. But, hinc illæ lacrymæ, The good Biſhop ment, that the Romiſh Religion came not from the* heart, *but conſiſted in outward Ceremonies: Which ſorely grieued* Parſons, *who neuer had the leaſt warmth or ſparke of honeſtie. Whether Biſhop* Latimer *compared the Biſhops to the* Knaues *of* Clubbes *as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am ſure* Parſons, *of all others, deſerued thoſe Colours; and ſo I leaue him.*

h In the third part of 3. conuerſions of England: in the Examin. of Foxes Saints *cap.* 14. § 53. 54. *p.* 215.

i Sect. 55.

k *Plut. in Demoſthen.*

l *Liu Dec.* 1. *lib.* 2. *an V. C.* 60

Wee ſee then, what inward puritie *is required of all Chriſtians, which if they haue, then in* prayer, *and all other Chriſtian duties, they ſhall lift vp* pure *hands, as the* [m] *Apoſtle ſpeakes, not as* [n] Baronius *would haue it,* waſhed from ſinnes with holy water, *but* pure, *this is* holy, *free from the pollution of ſinne, as the Greeke word* ὁσίους *doth ſignifie.*

m 1. Tim. 2. 8.

n *Annal. to.* 1. An. 57. *n.* 109. 110. *& to* 2. *An.* 132. *num.*

You may alſo ſee here refuted thoſe Calumnies of the Papiſts, that wee abandon all religious Rites, and godly Duties, as alſo the confirmation of our Doctrine touching certaintie of Faith (and ſo of Saluation) which is ſo ſtrongly denied by ſome of that Faction, that they haue told the world, ° S. PAVL himſelfe was vncertaine of his owne ſaluation. *What then ſhall we ſay, but pronounce a* woe

° S. Pauls de ſua ſalute incertus *Kicheom. Ieſuit. l.* 2. *c.* 12. *Idolat. Huguenot. pag.* 119. *in marg. edit. lat. Mogunt:* 113. *interpret. Marcel. Bomper. Ieſuitæ.*

to the most strict obseruers of Saint Francis *Rule, and his Canonicall Discipline (though they make him euen* [p] *equall with Christ) and the most meritorious Monke that euer was registred in their Kalender of Saints? But wee for our comfort are otherwise taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to* build *our selues in our most* holy faith, *that so, when* our [q] earthly house of this Tabernacle *shall be* destroyed, *wee may haue a* building giuen of God, a house not made with hands, but eternall in the Heauens,

This is that, which is most piously and feelingly taught in these few leaues, so that you shall read nothing here, but what I perswade my selfe, you haue long practised in the constant course of your life.

It remaineth onely, that you accept of these Labours tendered to you by him, who wisheth you the long ioyes of this world, and the eternall of that which is to come.

Oxon. from Corp. Christi Colledge, this 13. of Ianuarie, 1613.

p *Witnesse the verses of* Horatius *a Iesuite, recited by* Posse. Biblioth. Select. part. 2. l. 17. c. 19 Exue Francis. cum tunicâ laceroq; cucullo, Qui Franciscus erat, iam tibi Christus erit. Franciſci exuuiis (si quàlicet) indue Christum, Iam Franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat. *The like hath* Bencius *another Iesuite.*

q 2. Cor. 5. 1.

TWO SERMONS VPON PART OF S. IVDES EPISTLE.

THE FIRST SERMON.

EPIST. IVDE, VERS. 17.18.19.20.21.

But yee, beloued, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,

How that they told you, that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walke after their owne vngodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of Sects, fleſhly, hauing not the Spirit.

But yee, beloued, edifie your ſelues in your moſt holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.

And keepe your ſelues in the loue of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, vnto eternall life.

THE occaſions wherupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epiſtle was written, is opened in the front and entrie of the ſame. There were then, as there are now, many euill and wickedly diſpoſed perſons, not of the myſticall bodie, yet within the viſible bounds of the Church, men which were of old ordained to condemnation, vngodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonneſſe, and denied the Lord Ieſus. For this cauſe the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Iude*, the ſeruant of Ieſus, and brother of *Iames*, to exhort them that are called, and ſanctified of God the Father, that they would earneſtly contend to mantaine the faith, which was once deliuered vnto the Saints. Which faith becauſe we cannot maintine, except wee know perfectly, firſt, againſt whom, ſecondly in what ſort it muſt bee maintained; therefore in the former three verſes of that parcell of Scripture which I haue read, the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt are plainely deſcribed; and in the latter two, they that loue the Lord Ieſus, haue a ſweet Leſſon giuen them, how to ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh themſelues in the faith. Let vs firſt therefore examine the deſcription of theſe reprobates, concerning

faith

faith; and afterwards come to the words of the exhortation; wherein Christians are taught how to rest their hearts on Gods eternall and euerlasting Truth. The description of these godlesse persons is two-fold, *Generall* and *Speciall*. The *generall* doth point them out, and shew what manner of men they should be. The *particular* pointeth at them, and saith plainly; These are they. In the *generall* description we haue to consider of these things. *First*, when they were described, *they were told of before*. *Secondly*, the men by whom they were described, *They were spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ*. *Thirdly*, the dayes when they should be manifested vnto the world, they told you they *should be in the last time*. *Fourthly*, their disposition and whole demeanure, *mockers and walkers after their owne vngodly lusts*.

2. In the third to the Philippians, the Apostle describeth certaine. *They are men* (saith the) *of whom I haue told you often, and now with teares I tell you of them, thir God is their belly, their glorying and reioycing is in their owne shame, they mind earthly things*.

These were enemies of the crosse of Christ, enemies whom hee saw, and his eyes gusht out with teares to behold them. But we are taught in this place how the Apostles spake also of enemies, whom as yet they had not seene, described a family of men as yet vnheard of, a generation reserued for the end of the world, and for the last time, they had not onely declared what they heard and saw in the dayes wherein they liued, but they haue propheſied also of men in time to come. And *you doe well* (saith S. PETER) *in that yee take heed to the words of Prophecie, so that ye first know this, that no Prophecie in the Scripture cometh of any mans owne resolution*. No prophecie in Scripture cometh of any mans owne resolution. For all prophecie, which is in Scripture, came by the secret inspiration of God. But there are prophecies which are no Scripture yea, there are prophecies against the Scripture: my brethren, beware of such prophecies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were spoken of before; but spoken of before by the Apostles of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ. Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies which are in Scripture: For both the manner and matter of those prophecies doe shew plainely, that they are of God.

Of the spirit of Prophecie receiued from God himselfe.

3. Touching the manner, how men by the spirit of prophecie in holy Scripture haue spoken and written of things to come, wee must vnderstand, that as the knowledge of that they spake, so likewise the vtterance of that they knew, came not by these vsuall and ordinarie meanes, whereby wee are brought to vnderstand the mysteries of our saluation, and are wont to instruct others in the same. For what soeuer we know, we haue it by the hands and ministerie of men, which lead vs along like children, from a letter to a syllable, from a syllable to a words, from a word to a line, from a line to a sentence, from a sentence to a side, and so turne ouer. But God himselfe was their instructor, hee himselfe taught them, partly by Dreames and Visions in the night, partly by Reuelations in the day, taking them aside from amongst their brethren, and talking with them, as a man would talke with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted euen with the secret and hidden counsels of God. They saw things, which themselues were not able

able to vtter, they beheld that whereat men and Angels are astonished. They vnderstood in the beginning, what should come to passe in the last dayes.

4. God, which lightned thus the eyes of their vnderstanding, giuing them knowledge by vnusuall and extraordinarie meanes, did also miraculously himselfe frame and fashion their words and writings, in so much that a greater difference there seemeth not to bee betweene the manner of their knowledge, then there is betweene the manner of their speech and ours. When we haue conceiued a thing in our hearts, and throughly vnderstand it, as wee thinke within our selues, ere we can vtter in such sort that our brethren may receiue instruction or comfort at our mouthes, how great, how long, how earnest meditation are we forced to vse? And after much trauaile, and much paines, when we open our lips to speake of the wonderfull works of God, our tongues doe faulter within our mouthes, yea many times wee disgrace the dreadfull mysteries of our faith, and grieue the spirit of our hearers by words vnsauory, and vnseemly speeches. *Shall a wise man fill his belly with the easterne wind*, saith *Eliphaz*, *shall a wiseman dispute with words not comely? or with talke that is not profitable?* Yet behold, euen they that are wisest among vs liuing, compared with the Prophets, seeme no otherwise to talke of God, then as if the children which are carried in armes, should speake of the greatest matters of state. They whose words doe most shew forth their wise vnderstanding, and whose lips doe vtter the purest knowledge, so long as they vnderstand and speake as men, are they not faine sundrie wayes to excuse themselues? Somtimes acknowledging with the wise man, *Hardly can we discern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before vs, who can then seeke out the things that are in heauen*: Sometimes confessing with *Iob* the righteous, in treating of things too wonderfull for vs, we haue spoken we wist not what. Sometimes ending their talke, as doth the History of the Macchabees, If we haue done well, and as the cause required, it is that wee desire: if we haue spoken slenderly and barely, we haue done what we could. But *God hath made my mouth like a sword*, saith *Esay*. And *we haue receiued*, saith the Apostle, *not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are giuen to vs of God, which things also we speake, not in words, which mans wisdome teacheth, but which the holy Ghost doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets meane by those bookes written full within, and without; which bookes were so often deliuered them to eate, not because God fed them with inke and paper, but to teach vs, that so oft as hee imployed them in this heauenly worke, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their owne, but vttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouthes, no otherwise then the Harpe or the Lute doth giue a sound according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill. The difference is onely this: An Instrument, whether it be a Pipe or Harpe, maketh a distinction in the Times and Sounds, which distinction is well perceiued of the hearer: the instrument it selfe vnderstanding not what is piped or Harped. The Prophets and holy men of God not so. *I opened my mouth*, saith *Ezechiell*, and *God reached me a scroule, saying, Sonne of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I giue thee. I ate & it was sweet in my mouth as hony* saith

Of the Prophets manner of speech.

Iob. 15. 2. 3.

Wisd. 9. 16.

Esay. 49. 2.

Ezechiel. 3.

ſaith the Prophet. Yea ſweeter, I am perſwaded, then either hony or the hony combe. For herein they were not like Harps or Lutes, but they felt, they felt the power and ſtrength of their owne words. When they ſpake of our peace, euery corner of their hearts, was filled with ioy. When they propheſied of mournings, lamentations, and woes, to fall vpon vs, they wept in the bitternes and indignation of ſpirit, the arme of the Lord being mighty and ſtrong vpon them.

5. On this manner were all the Prophecies of holy Scripture. Which Prophecies, although they containe nothing which is not profitable for our inſtruction, yet as one ſtarre differeth from another in glory, ſo euery word of prophecie hath a treaſure of matter in it, but all matters are not of like importance, as all treaſures, are not of equal price. The chiefe and principal matter of prophecie is the promiſe of righteouſneſſe, peace, holineſſe, glory, victory, immortalitie, vnto euery Soule which beleeueth that Ieſus is Chriſt, of the *Iew* firſt, and of the *Gentile*. Now becauſe the doctrine of Saluation to bee looked for by Faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had beene a man forſaken of God; in him who was numbred, iudged, and condemned with the wicked; in him whom men did ſee buffeted on the face, ſcoft at by Souldiers, ſcourged by tormentors, hanged on the Croſſe, pearced to the heart; in him whom the eyes of many witneſſes did behold, when the anguiſh of his ſoule enforced him to roare as if his heart had rent in ſunder, *O my God my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* I ſay, becauſe the doctrine of ſaluation by Him, is a thing improbable to a naturall man, that whether we preach it to the Gentile, or to the Iew, the one condemneth our faith as madnes, the other as blaſphemie, therefore to eſtabliſh, and confirme the certaintie of this ſauing Truth in the hearts of men; the Lord together, with their preachings, whom hee ſent immediately from himſelfe, to reueale theſe things vnto the world, mingled prophecies of things, both Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall, which were to come in euery age from time to time, till the very laſt of the latter dayes, that by thoſe things wherein wee ſee dayly their words fulfilled and done, we might haue ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeene, becauſe they haue reuealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof we ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third; perceiue we not plainely that God doth nothing elſe but lead vs along by the hand, till hee haue ſetled vs vpon the rocke of an aſſured hope that not one iot or tittle of his Word ſhall paſſe till all bee fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vaine, that theſe godleſſe wicked ones *were ſpoken of before.*

6. But by whom? By them whoſe words, if men or Angels from heauen gaineſay they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoeuer deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not them, but me, ſaith Chriſt. If any man therefore doth loue the Lord Ieſus (and woe worth him that loueth not the Lord Ieſus!) hereby we may know that he loueth him indeed, if hee deſpiſe not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles; whom many haue deſpiſed euen for the baſeneſſe and ſimpleneſſe of their perſons. For it is the propertie of fleſhly and carnall men, to honour and diſhonour, credit and diſcredit the words and deeeds of euery

A natural man perceiueth not heauenly things.

man according to that he wanteth or hath without. If a man with gorgeous apparell come amongst vs, although he be a Thiefe or a Murtherer (for there are Theeues and Murtherers in gorgeous apparell) be his heart whatsoeuer, if his Coat be of Purple, or Veluet, or Tissue, euery one riseth vp, and all the reuerent Solemnities we can vse, are too little. But the man that serueth God, is contemned and despised amongst vs for his pouertie. *Herod* speaketh in Iudgement, and the people cry out, *The voice of God, and not of man*. *Paul* preacheth Christ, they terme him a trifler. Hearken, beloued: hath not God chosen the poore of this World, that they should be rich in faith? Hath he not chosen the refuse of the World to be heires of his Kingdome, which he hath promised to them that loue him? Hath he not chosen the off-scowrings of men to be the Lights of the World, and the Apostles of Iesus Christ? Men vnlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with vnderstanding? few in number, yet how great in power? contemptible in shew, yet in Spirit how strong? how wonderfull? *I would faine learne the mysterie of the eternall generation of the Sonne of God*, saith *Hilarie*. Whom shall I seeke? Shall I get me to the schooles of the *Græcians*? Why? I haue read, *Vbi sapiens? vbi Scriba? vbi conquisitor huius seculi?* These wise men in the world must needs be dumbe in this, because they haue reiected the wisedome of God. Shall I beseech the Scribes and interpreters of the Law, to become my Teachers? how can they know this, sith they are offended at the Crosse of Christ? It is death for me to be ignorant of the vnsearchable mysterie of the Sonne of God: of which mysterie notwithstanding I should haue beene ignorant, but that a poore Fisherman, vnknowne, vnlearned, new come from his boat with his clothes wringing wet hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*. These poore sillie creatures haue made vs rich in the knowledge of the mysteries of Christ.

Iam. 2.

Acts. 12.

Acts. 17.

7. Remember therefore that which is spoken of by the Apostles. Whose words if the Children of this World doe not regard, is it any maruaile? They are the Apostles of our Lord Iesus; not of their Lord, but of our. It is true which one hath said in a certaine place, *Apostolicam fidem seculi homo non capit*, A man sworne to the World, is not capable of that Faith which the Apostles do teach. What meane the Children of this World then to tread in the courts of our God? What should your bodies doe at *Bethel*, whose hearts are at *Bethauen*? The god of this World, whom ye serue, hath prouided apostles and teachers for you, *Chaldeans*, *Wizards*, *Southsayers*, *Astrologers*, and such like: Heare them. Tell not vs that yee will sacrifice to the Lord our God, if wee will sacrifice to *Ashteroth* or *Melcom*; that ye will reade our Scriptures, if we will listen to your Traditions; that if yee may haue a Masse by permission, wee shall haue a Communion with good leaue and liking; that ye will admit the things that are spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Iesus, if your Lord and Master may haue his ordinances obserued, and his Statutes kept. *Salomon* tooke it (as he wel might) for aneuident proofe, that she did not beare a motherly affection to her Child, which yeelded to haue it cut in diuers parts. He cannot loue the Lord Iesus with his heart, which lendeth one eare to his Apostles, and another to false apostles: which can brooke to see a mingle-

Wee must not hak between two Opinions.

mangle of Religion and Superstition, Ministers and Massing Priests, Light and Darkenesse, Truth and Error, Traditions, and Scriptures. No; we haue no Lord but Iesus; no Doctrine but the Gospell; no Teachers, but his Apostles. Were it reason to require at the hand of an English subiect, obedience to the Lawes and Edicts of the Spaniard? I doe maruell, that any man bearing the name of a Seruant of the Seruants of Iesus Christ, will goe about to draw vs from our Allegeance. We are his sworne Subiects; it is not lawfull for vs to heare the things that are not told vs by his Apostles. They haue told vs, that in the last dayes there shall be Mockers; therefore we beleeue it; *Credimus quia legimus*, We are so perswaded, because we read it must be so. If we did not reade it, we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus*, saith *Hilarie*: Those things that are not written in the Booke of the Law, we ought not so much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were spoken of before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ.*

8. The third thing to bee considered in the description of these men of whom we speak, is the time, wherein they should be manifested to the World. They told you, there should be mockers in the last time. *Noah* at the commandement of God, built an Arke, and there were in it beasts of all sorts, cleane and vncleane. A Husbandman planteth a Vineyard, and looketh for Grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with Grapes there are found also wild Grapes. A rich man prepareth a great Supper, and biddeth many, but when he sitteth him downe, he findeth amongst his friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath beene the state of the Church sithence the beginning. God alwayes hath mingled his Saints with faithlesse and godlesse persons; as it were the cleane with the vncleane, Grapes with sowre Grapes, his friends and children with aliens & strangers. Maruell not then, if in the last dayes also yee see the men, with whom you liue & walke arme in arme, laugh at your Religion, and blaspheme that glorious Name, whereof you are called. Thus it was in the dayes of the Patriarkes and Prophets; and are we better then our Fathers? Albeit we suppose, that the blessed Apostles, in foreshewing what maner of men, were set out for the last dayes, meant to note a calamity speciall and peculiar to the Ages and Generations which were to come. As if he should haue said; As God hath appointed a time of Seed for the Sower, and a time of haruest for him that reapeth, as he hath giuen vnto euery herbe & euery tree his owne fruit, and his owne season, not the season nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather figges in the Winter, because the Summer is the season for them, nor Grapes of Thistles, because Grapes are the fruit of the Vine) so the same God hath appointed sundry for euery Generation of them, other men for other times, and for the last times the worst men, as may appeare by their properties, which is the fourth point to be considered of in this description.

Mockers in the last time.

9. They told you, that there should be *Mockers*. He meaneth men that shall vse Religion as a cloake, to put off, and on, as the weather serueth; such as shall with *Herod* heare the preaching of *Iohn Baptist* to day, and to morrow condescend to haue him beheaded; or with the other *Herod* say, they will worship Christ, when they purpose a massacre in their hearts; kisse Christ with *Iudas*,

Mockers.

and

and betray Christ with *Iudas*. These are Mockers. For *Ishmael* the sonne of *Hagar* laughed at *Isaak*, which was heire of the promise; so shall these men laugh at you as the maddest people vnder the Sunne, if ye be like *Moses*, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, then to enioy the pleasures of sinne for a season. And why? God hath not giuen them eyes to see, nor hearts to conceiue that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promises of saluation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleasure, euen as *Ishmael* tooke no pleasure in that promise, wherein God had said vnto *Abraham*, *In Isaak shall thy seed be called*, because the promise concerned not him, but *Isaak*. They are tearmed for their impietie towards God, *mockers*, and for the impuritie of their life and conuersation, *walkers after their own vngodly lusts*. S. *Peter* in his second Epistle and third Chapter soundeth the very depth of their impietie: shewing *first*, how they shall not shame at the length to professe themselues prophane, and irreligious, by flat denying the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and deriding the sweet and comfortable promises of his appearing: *secondly*, that they shall not be only deriders of all religion, but also Disputers against God, vsing Truth to subuert the truth; yea Scriptures themselues to disproue Scriptures. Being in this sort *mockers*, they must needs be also followers of *their owne vngodly lusts*. Being Atheists in perswasion, can they choose but be beasts in conuersation? For why remoue they quite from them the feare of God? Why take they such paines to abandon and put out from their hearts all sense, al taste, al feeling of Religion? but only to this end and purpose, that they may without inward remorse and grudging of conscience giue ouer themselues to all vncleannes. Surely the state of these men is more lamentable, then is the condition of Pagans and Turkes. For at the bare beholding of Heauen and Earth, the Infidels heart by and by doth giue him, that there is an eternall, infinite, immortall, and euer-liuing God; whose hands haue fashioned and framed the World; he knoweth that euery house is builded of some man, though hee see not the man which built the house, and he considereth, that it must bee God which hath built and created all things; although because the number of his dayes bee few, hee could not see when God disposed his workes of old, when he caused the light of his clouds first to shine, when he laid the corner stone of the earth, and swadled it with bands of water and darkenes; when he caused the morning starre to know his place, and made barres and doores to shut vp the Sea within his house, saying, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther*: he hath no eye-witnesse of these things Yet the light of naturall reason hath put this wisdome in his reines, and hath giuen his heart thus much vnderstanding. Bring a Pagan to the Schooles of the Prophets of God; propheſie to an Infidell, rebuke him, lay the iudgements of God before him, make the secret sinnes of his heart manifest, and he shall fal downe and worship God. They that crucified the Lord of Glorie, were not so far past recouery, but that the preaching of the Apostles was able to moue their hearts and to bring them to this, *Men and brethren, what shall wee doe? Agrippa*, that sate in iudgement against *Paul* for preaching, yeelded notwithstanding thus farre vnto him, *Almost thou perswadest me to become a Christian*. Although the Iewes for want of knowledge haue not submitted themselues

Mockers worse then Pagans, and Infidels.

Act 2.

Acts 26.

ſelues to the righteouſneſſe of God; yet I beare them record, ſaith the Apoſtle; *that they haue a zeale.* The *Athenians*, a people hauing neither Zeale, nor knowledge, yet of them alſo the ſame Apoſtle beareth witneſſe, *Ye men of Athens, I perceiue ye are* δεισιδαιμονεστεροι, ſome way religious: but Mockers, walking after their owne vngodly luſts, they haue ſmothered euery ſparke of that heauenly Light, they haue ſtifled euen their very naturall vnderſtanding. O Lord, thy mercie is ouer all thy workes, thou ſaueſt Man and Beaſt! yet a happie caſe it had beene for theſe men if they had neuer beene borne: and ſo I leaue them.

Rom. 10.

10. S. *Iude* hauing his minde exerciſed in the doctrine of the Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt, concerning things to come in the laſt time, became a man of a wiſe and ſtaid iudgement. *Grieued* he was, to ſee the departure of many, and their falling away from the faith, which before they did profeſſe: *grieued*, but not *diſmayed*. With the ſimpler and weaker ſort it was otherwiſe: Their countenance began by and by to change, they were halfe in doubt they had deceiued themſelues in giuing credit to the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. S. *Iude*, to comfort and refreſh theſe ſilly Lambes, taketh them vp in his armes, and ſheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Looke vpon them that forſake this bleſſed Profeſſion wherein you ſtand: They are now before your eyes; view them, marke them, are they not carnall? are they not like to noyſome carrion caſt out vpon the earth? is there that Spirit in them which crieth *Abba* Father in your boſomes? Why ſhould any man bee diſcomforted? Haue you not heard that there ſhould be *mockers* in the laſt time? Theſe verily are they, that now doe ſeparate themſelues.

Iudas *vir ſapiens & certi iudicy.*

11. For your better vnderſtanding, what this ſeuering and ſeparating of themſelues doth meane, wee muſt know, that the multitude of them which truly beleeue (howſoeuer they be diſperſed farre and wide each from other) is all *one bodie*, whereof the head is Chriſt; *one building*, whereof he is the Corner Stone, in whom they as the members of the bodie being knit, and as the ſtones of the building, being coupled, grow vp to a man of perfect ſtature, and riſe to an holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Chriſt to vs, is his meere mercie and loue toward vs. That which tyeth vs to him, is our faith in the promiſed ſaluation reuealed in the Word of truth. That which vniteth and ioyneth vs amongſt our ſelues, in ſuch ſort that we are now as if wee had but one heart and one ſoule, is our loue. Who be inwardly in heart the liuely members of this bodie, and the poliſhed ſtones of this building, coupled and ioyned to Chriſt, as fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, by the mutuall bond of his vnſpeakeable loue towards them, and their vnfained faith in him, thus linked and faſtned each to other by a ſpirituall, ſincere, and hearty affection of loue, without any manner of ſimulation, who be Iewes within, and what their names be, none can tell, ſaue he whoſe eyes doe behold the ſecret diſpoſition of all mens hearts. Wee, whoſe eyes are too dimme to behold the inward man, muſt leaue the ſecret iudgement of euery ſeruant to his owne Lord, accounting and vſing all men as brethren both neere and deare vnto vs, ſuppoſing Chriſt to loue them tenderly, ſo as they keepe the profeſſion of the Goſpell, and ioyne in the outward Communion of Saints. Whereof the one

doth

doth warrantize vnto vs their faith, the other their loue, till they fall away, and forsake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no iniurie to terme them as they are. When they separate themselues, they are αὐτοκατακριτοι not iudged by vs, but by their owne doings. Men doe separate themselues eyther by Heresie, Schisme, or Apostasie. If they loose the bond of faith, which then they are iustly supposed to doe, when they frowardly oppugne any principall point of Christian doctrine, this is to separate themselues by *Heresie*. If they breake the bond of vnitie, whereby the body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they do which wilfully forsake all externall communion with Saints in holy exercises purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselues by *Schisme*. If they willingly cast off, and vtterly forsake both profession of Christ, and communion with Christians, taking their leaue of all Religion, this is to separate themselues by plaine *Apostasie*. And Saint *Iude*, to expresse the manner of their departure, which by *Apostasie* fell away from the Faith of Christ, saith, they separated themselues: noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmitie and weakenesse in themselues, it was not feare of persecution to come vpon them, whereat their hearts did faile; it was not griefe of torment, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them. No, they voluntarily did separate themselues with a fully setled and altogether determined purpose neuer to name the Lord Iesus any more, nor to haue any fellowship with his Saints, but to bend all their counsell and all their strength to raze out their memoriall from amongst men.

Three-fold Separation:
1. Heresie.
2. Schisme.
3. Apostasie.

12. Now because that by such examples, not onely the hearts of Infidels were hardned against the Truth, but the minds of weake Brethren also much troubled, the holy Ghost hath giuen sentence of these back-sliders, that they were carnall men, and had not the Spirit Christ Iesus, lest any man hauing an euer-weening of their persons, should be ouer-much amazed and offended at their fall. For simple men not able to discerne their spirits, were brought by their Apostasie thus to reason with themselues. If Christ be the Sonne of the liuing God, if he haue the words of eternall life, if he be able to bring saluation to all men that come vnto him, what meaneth this Apostasie, and vnconstrayned departure? Why doe his seruants so willingly forsake him? Babes be not deceiued, his Seruants forsake him not. They that seperate themselues, were amongst his seruants, but if they had beene of his Seruants, they had not separated themselues. They were amongst vs, not of vs, saith S. *Iohn*: and S. *Iude* proueth it because they were carnall and had not the Spirit. Will you iudge of wheat by Chaffe which the wind hath scattered from amongst it? Haue the children no bread because the dogs haue not tasted it? Are Christians deceiued of that saluation they looke for, because they were denyed the ioyes of the life to come which were no Christians? What if they seemed to be Pillars and principall vpholders of our faith? What is that to vs, which know that Angels haue fallen from Heauen? Although if these men had beene of vs indeed, (O the blessednesse of a Christian mans estate!) they had stood surer then the Angels that had neuer departed from their place. Wheras now wee maruaile not at their departure at all, neither are we preiudiced by their falling away;

becauſe they were not of vs, ſith they are fleſhly, and haue not the Spirit. Children abide in the houſe for euer; they are bond-men and bond-women which are caſt out.

13. It behoueth you therefore greatly euery man to examine his owne eſtate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I haue told you already that we muſt beware we preſume not to ſit as Gods in iudgement vpon others, and raſhly, as our conceit and fancie doth lead vs ſo to determine of this man, he is ſincere, or of that man, He is an hypocrite, except by their falling away they make it manifeſt and knowne that they are. For who art thou that takeſt vpon thee to iudge another before the time? Iudge thy ſelfe. God hath left vs infallible euidence, whereby we may at any time giue true and righteous ſentence vpon our ſelues. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we haue paſſed from death to life we know it, ſaith Saint *Iohn*, becauſe we loue our Brethren: and know yee not your owne ſelues how that Ieſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be Reprobates? I truſt, beloued, we know that we are not Reprobates, becauſe our Spirit doth beare vs record, that the Faith of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is in vs.

Infallible euidence in the faithfull, that they are Gods Children.

14 It is as eaſie a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whoſe yee are, as for the eyes of your bodie to iudge where you ſit, or in what place you ſtand. For what ſaith the Scripture? Yee, which were in times paſt ſtrangers and enemies, becauſe your mindes were ſet on euill workes, Chriſt hath now reconciled in the bodie of his fleſh through death, to make you holy, and vnblameable, and without fault in his ſight: if you continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moued away from the hope of the Goſpell, *Coloſſ.* 1. And in the third to the *Coloſſians*. Yee know, that of the Lord yee ſhall receiue the reward of that Inheritance, for ye ſerue the Lord Chriſt. If we can make this account with our ſelues; I was in times paſt dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes, I walked after the prince that ruleth in the Ayre, and after the Spirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience; but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great loue, wherewith he loued me, euen when I was dead, hath quickned me in Chriſt. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the childe that is newly weined: I loued pleaſures more then God, I followed greedily the ioyes of this preſent World; I eſteemed him, that erected a Stage or Theatre, more then *Salomon* which built a Temple to the Lord; The Harpe, Violl, Timbrell, and pipe, men ſingers and women ſingers were at my feaſt; it was my felicitie to ſee my children dance before me. I ſaid of euery kind of vanitie, O how ſweet art thou in my ſoule! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pompe of this World; now I take as great delight in the way of thy teſtimonies, O Lord, as in all riches; now I find more ioy of heart in my Lord and Sauiour, then the worldly-minded man, when his Wheate and Oyle doe much abound: now I taſte nothing ſweet, but the Bread that came downe from Heauen, to giue life vnto the world: now mine eyes ſee nothing, but Ieſus riſing from the dead: now my eore refuſeth all kinde of melodie to heare the Song of them that haue gotten victorie of the Beaſt, and of his image, and of his marke, and of the number of his Name, that ſtand

on

on the Sea of Glaſſe, hauing the Harpes of God, and ſinging the Song of *Moſes* the ſeruant of God, and the ſong of the Lambe, ſaying, Great and maruelous are thy Workes, Lord God Almightie, iuſt and true are thy wayes, O King of Saints. Surely, if the Spirit haue beene thus effectuall in the ſecret worke of our Regeneration vnto newneſſe of life; if we endeuour thus to frame our ſelues anew, then we may ſay boldly with the bleſſed Apoſtle in the tenth to the Hebrewes, *We are not of them which withdraw our ſelues to perdition, but which follow faith to the conſeruation of the ſoule.* For they that fall away from the grace of God, and ſeparate themſelues unto perdition, they are fleſhly and carnall, they haue not Gods holy Spirit. But vnto you, becauſe ye are ſonnes, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Sonne into your hearts, to the end yee might know, that Chriſt hath built you vpon a Rocke vnmoueable; that he hath regiſtred your names in the Booke of life; that hee hath bound himſelfe in a ſure and euerlaſting Couenant, to be your God, and the God of our children after you; that he hath ſuffered as much, groned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter: O Father, keepe them in thy Name! O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, but I haue knowne thee, and theſe haue knowne that thou haſt ſent me, I haue declared thy Name vnto them, and will declare it, that the loue wherewith thou haſt loued me, may be in them, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercy giue vs hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of faith vnto the end.

14. Here I muſt aduertiſe all men, that haue the teſtimonie of Gods holy feare within their breſts, to conſider how vnkindly and iniuriouſly our owne country-men and brethren haue dealt with vs by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeres, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom S. *Iude* here ſpeaketh: neuer ceaſing to charge vs, ſome with Schiſme, ſome with Hereſie, ſome with plaine and manifeſt Apoſtaſie, as if wee had cleane ſeparated our ſelues from Chriſt, vtterly forſaken God, quite abiured Heauen, and trampled all Truth and all Religion vnder our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelfe ſhall plead our Cauſe, in that day, when they ſhall anſwer vs for theſe words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accuſed for Schiſme and Hereſie, we haue often made our reaſonable, and in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable anſwers. For in the way which they call *Hereſie*, we worſhip the God of our Fathers, beleeuing all things which are written in the Law & the Prophets. That which they call *Schiſme*, we know to be our reaſonable ſeruice vnto God, and obedience to his voice, which crieth ſhrill in our eares, *Goe out of Babylon, my people, that you be not partakers of her ſins, and that yee receiue not of her plagues.* And therefore when they riſe vp againſt vs, hauing no quarrell but this, wee need not to ſeeke any farther for our Apologie, then the words of *Abiah* to *Ieroboam* and his Armie, 2. *Chron.* 13. OIEROBOAM, *and Iſrael, heare you mee, ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath giuen the Kingdome ouer Iſrael to* DAVID, *for euer, euen to him and to his ſonnes, by a Couenant of Salt?* that is to ſay, an euerlaſting Couenant. Ieſuits and Papiſts, heare yee mee, ought you not to know, that the Father hath giuen all power vnto the Sonne, and hath made him the onely Head ouer his Church, wherein he dwelleth as an Husband-man in the midſt of his Vineyard, manuring it with the

The Papiſts falſely accuſe vs of Hereſie and Apoſtaſie.

Act. 24.

Apoc. 18.

the sweate of his owne browes, not letting it forth to others? For as it is in the
Cant. 8. 11. Canticles, *Salomon* had a Vineyard in *Baalhamon*, he gaue the Vineyard vnto Keepers, euery one bringing for the fruit thereof a thousand pieces of Siluer; but my Vineyard, which is mine, is before mee, saith Christ. It is true, this is meant of the mysticall Head set ouer the body, which is not seene. But as he hath reserued the mysticall administration of the Church inuisible vnto himselfe, so he hath committed the mysticall gouernment of Congregations visible to the sonnes of *Dauid*, by the same Couenant; whose sonnes they are, in the gouerning of the Flocke of Christ, whomsoeuer the Holy Ghost hath set ouer them, to goe before them, and to leade them in seuerall Pastures one
Act. 20. in this Congregation, another in that: as it is written. *Take heed vnto your selues, and to all the Flocke, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you Ouerseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his owne bloud.* Neither will euer any Pope or Papist, vnder the Cope of Heauen, be able to proue the Romish Bishops vsurped Supremacie ouer all Churches, by any one word of the
The Popes vsurped Supremacie. Couenant of Salt, which is the Scripture. For the children in our streets doe now laugh them to scorne, when they force, *Thou art* PETER, to this purpose. The Pope hath no more reason to draw the Charter of his vniuersall Authoritie from hence, then the Brethren had to gather by the words of Christ, in the last of S. *Iohn*, that the Disciple, whom Iesus loued, should not die. *If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* saith Christ. Straightwaies a report was raised amongst the Brethen, that this Disciple should not die. Yet Iesus said not to him. He shall not die; but, *If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* Christ hath said in the sixteenth of S. *Matthewes* Gospell, to *Simon* the Sonne of *Ionas*; *I say to thee, thou art* PETER. Hence an opinion is held in the world, That the Pope is vniuersall Head of All Churches. Yet Iesus said not, The Pope is vniuersall Head of all Churches; but, *Tu es Petrus, Thou art* PETER. Howbeit, as *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, the seruant of *Salomon*, rose vp and rebelled against his Lord, and there were gathered vnto him vaine men and wicked, which made themselues strong against *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Salomon*, because *Roboam* was but a child, and tender-hearted, and could not resist them: So the Sonne of Perdition, and Man of Sinne, being not able to brooke the words of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, which forbad his Disciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They beare Rule that are Called Gracious, it shall not be so with you*, hath risen vp and rebelled against his Lord, and to strengthen his arme, he hath crept into the houses almost of all the Noblest Families round about him, and taken their children from the Cradle; to bee his Cardinals: He hath fawned vpon the Kings and Princes of the Earth,
Concil. de Lector Cardin Laurent Surius Com. de reb gest. à Pio. 5. Franscic. Sansovin de gubernat Rerumpub. l. 11. cap. de Iud. Mateseal & Soldan and by Spirituall Coozenage hath made them sell their lawfull Authoritie and Iurisdiction, for Titles of *Catholicus*, *Christianissimus*, *Defensor fidei*, and such like: he hath proclaimed sale of Pardons, to inueagle the ignorant; built Seminaries, to allure young men, desirous of Learning; erected Stewes, to gather the dissolute vnto him. This is the Rocke whereupon his Church is built. Hereby the Man is growne huge and strong, like the Cedars, which are not shaken with the wind, because Princes haue beene as children, ouer-tender-hearted, and could not resist.

Hereby

Hereby it is come to paſſe, as you ſee this day, that the man of Sinne doth warre againſt vs, not by men of a Language which we cannot vnderſtand, but he commeth as *Ieroboam* againſt *Iuda*, and bringeth the fruit of our owne bodies to eat vs vp, that the bowels of the child may be made the mothers graue, that hath cauſed no ſmall number of our Brethren to forſake their Natiue Country, and with all diſloyaltie to caſt off the yoke of their Allegeance to our dread Soueraigne, whom God in mercie hath ſet ouer them; for whoſe ſafegard, if they carried not the hearts of Tygers in the boſomes of men, they would thinke the deareſt bloud in their bodies well ſpent. But now, ſaith *Abiah* to *Ieroboam*, yee thinke yee be able to reſiſt the Kingdome of the Lord, which is in the hands of the Sonnes of *Dauid*. Yee bee a great multitude, the golden Calues are with you, which *Ieroboam* made you for gods: Haue ye not driuen away the Prieſts of the Lord, the ſonnes of *Aaron*, and the Leuites, and haue made you Prieſts like the people of Nations? Whoſoeuer commeth with a young Bullocke, and ſeuen Rammes, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. If I ſhould follow the Compariſon, and here vncouer the Cup of thoſe deadly and ougly Abominations wherewith this IEROBOAM, of whom we ſpeake, hath made the Earth ſo drunke, that it hath reeled vnder vs, I know, your godly hearts would loath to ſee them. For my owne part, I delight not to take in ſuch filth, I had rather take a garment vpon my ſhoulders, and goe with my face from them, to couer them. The Lord open their eyes, and cauſe them, if it be poſſible, at the length to ſee, how they are wretched, and miſerable, and poore, and blind, and naked! Put it, O Lord in their hearts, to ſeeke white Rayment, and to couer themſelues, that their filthy nakedneſſe may no longer appeare! For, beloued in Chriſt, we bow our knees, and lift vp our hands to Heauen in our Chambers ſecretly, and openly in our Churches we pray heartily and hourely, euen for them alſo: though the Pope hath giuen out as a Iudge, in a ſolemne declaratorie Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt this Land, That our gracious Lady hath quite aboliſhed *Prayers* within her Realme; and his Schollers, whom he hath taken from the midſt of vs, haue in their publiſhed Writings charged vs not onely not to haue any holy Aſſemblies vnto the Lord for Prayer, but to hold a common Schoole of Sinne and Flatterie; to hold Sacriledge to be Gods ſeruice; Vnfaithfulneſſe, and breach of promiſe to God, to giue it to a ſtrumpet, to be a vertue; to abandon Faſting; to abhorre Confeſſion; to miſlike with Penance; to like well of Vſurie; to charge none with Reſtitution; to find no good before God in ſingle life, nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to vs, are much worſed, and more, then afore, corrupted. I doe not adde one word, or ſyllable, vnto that which Maſter *Briſtow*, a man both borne and ſworne amongſt vs, hath taught his hand to deliuer to the view of all. I appeale to the conſcience of euery ſoule, that hath beene truly conuerted by vs; Whether his heart were neuer raiſed vp to God by our Preaching; whether the words of our exhortation neuer wrung any teare of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his ſoule neuer reaped any ioy, and comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Ieſus, by our Sacraments, and Prayers, and Pſalmes, and Thankſgiuing; whether hee were neuer bettered, but alwayes worſed by vs.

O mercifull God! If Heauen and Earth in this caſe doe not witneſſe with vs, and againſt them, let vs be razed out from the Land of the liuing! Let the Earth, on which wee ſtand, ſwallow vs quicke, as it hath done *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*! But if we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forſaken him; if our Prieſts, the ſonnes of *Aaron*, miniſter vnto the Lord, and the Leuites in their Office; if we offer vnto the Lord euery morning and euery euening the burnt Offerings, and ſweet Incenſe of Prayers, and thankſ-giuings; if the Bread be ſet in order vpon the pure Table, and the Candleſtick of Gold, with the Lampes thereof, burne euery morning; that is to ſay, if amongſt vs Gods bleſſed Sacraments bee duely adminiſtred, his holy Word ſincerely and daily preached; if wee keepe the Watch of the Lord our God, and if ye haue forſaken him: then doubt yee not, this God is with vs as a Captaine, his Prieſts with ſounding Trumpets muſt crie alarme againſt you; *O ye children of Iſrael fight not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for yee ſhall not proſper.*

2. Chr. cap. 13.

Verſ. 12.

THE

THE SECOND SERMON.

EPIST. IVDE, VERS. 17.18.19.20.21.

But yee, beloued, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,

How that they told you, that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walke after their owne vngodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of Sects, fleſhly, hauing not the Spirit.

But yee, beloued, edifie your ſelues in your moſt holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.

And keepe your ſelues in the loue of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, vnto eternall life.

HAuing otherwhere ſpoken of the words of Saint *Iude*, going next before, concerning *Mockers*, which ſhould come in the laſt time, and back-ſliders, which euen then fall away from the faith of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt; I am now, by the aid of Almighsie God, and through the aſſiſtance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of Exhortation, which I haue read.

2. Wherein firſt of all, whoſoeuer hath an eye to ſee, let him open it, and he ſhall wel perceiue, how carefull the Lord is for his children, how deſirous to ſee them profit and grow vp to a manly ſtature in Chriſt, how loth to haue them any way miſ-led, either by examples of the wicked, or by inticements of the World, and by prouocation of the fleſh, or by any other meanes forcible to deceiue them, and likely to eſtrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with vs, that he careth not whether we ſinke or ſwimme. No he hath written our names in the Palme of his hand, in the Signet vpon his finger are we grauen, in ſentences not onely of Mercie, but of Iudgement alſo, we are remembred. Hee neuer denounceth Iudgements againſt the wicked, but hee maketh ſome *Prouiſo* for his children, as it were for ſome certaine priuiledged perſons, *Touch not mine Anointed, doe my Prophets no harme, hurt not the Earth, nor the Sea, nor the Trees, till we haue ſealed the ſeruants of God in their foreheads* He neuer ſpeaketh of godleſſe men, but he adioyneth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moued to reſt and ſettle our hearts on him. In the ſecond to *Timothy*, the 3. Chapter *Euill men* (ſaith the Apoſtle)

and

and deceiuers shall waxe worse and worse, deceiuing, and being deceiued. But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned. And in the first to *Timothy*, the sixt Chapter, *Some men lusting after mony, haue erred from the faith, and pierced themselues thorow with many sorrowes. But thou, O man of God, flie these things, and follow after righteousnesse, godlinesse, faith, loue, patience meekenesse.* In the second to the Thessalonians, The second Chapter, *they haue not receiued the loue of the Truth, that they might be saued, God shall send them strong delusions, that they may beleeue lyes. But we ought to giue thankes alway to God for you, brethren, beloued of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to saluation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the Truth.* And in this Epistle of S. *Iude. There shall come mockers in the last time, walking after their owne vngodly lusts. But, beloued, edifie ye your selues in your most holy faith.*

3. These sweet Exhortations, which God putteth euery where in the mouthes of the Prophets and Apostles of Iesus Christ, are euident tokens, that God sitteth not in Heauen careles and vnmindfull of our estate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely, a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found vnnaturall, and do forget the fruit of her owne Wombe, yet Gods iudgements shew plainely, that hee cannot forget the man whose heart he hath framed and fashioned anew, in simplicitie and truth to serue and feare him. For when the wickednesse of man was so great, & the earth so filled with cruelties, that it could not stand with the righteousnes of God any longer to forbeare, wrathfull sentences brake out from him, like Wine from a vessell that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (saith he) *can struggle and striue no longer, an end of all flesh is come before me.* Yet then did *Noah* find grace in the eyes of the Lord; *I will establish my couenant with thee* (saith God) *thou shalt go into the Arke, thou, and thy sonnes, and thy wife, and thy sonnes wiues with thee.*

Gen.6.3. & 13.

Gen.6.8. & 18.

4. Doe we not see what shift God doth make for *Lot*, and for his family, in the nineteenth of Genesis, lest the fierie destruction of the wicked should ouer-take him? Ouer-night the Angels make enquirie, what sonnes and daughters, or sonnes in law, what wealth and substance he had. They charge him to carrie out all, *Whatsoeuer thou hast in the Citie, bring it out.* God seemeth to stand in a kind of feare, lest some thing or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoofe of any beast, not a thred of any garment, should be sindged with that fire. In the morning the Angels faile not to call him vp, and to hasten him forward, *Arise take thy wife, and thy daughters which are heere, that they be not destroyed in the punishment of the Citie.* The Angels hauing spoken againe and againe, *Lot* for all this lingereth out the time still, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, and his wife, and his daughters by the armes, (the Lord being mercifull vnto him)* and to carrie them forth, and set them without the Citie.

Gen.19.12.

Gen.19.15.

verse.16.

5. Was there euer any father thus carefull to saue his child from the flame? A man would thinke, that now being spoken vnto to escape for his life, and not to looke behind him, nor to tarrie in the plaine, but to hasten to the mountaine, and there to saue himselfe, he should do it gladly. Yet behold, now hee is so farre off from a cheerefull and willing heart to do whatsoeuer is commanded him for his owne weale, that he beginneth to reason the matter, as if God had

had miſtaken one place for another, ſending him to the Hill, when ſaluation was in the Citie. *Not ſo, my Lord, I beſeech thee, Behold, thy ſeruant hath found grace in thy ſight, and thou haſt magnified thy mercie which thou haſt ſhewed vnto me in ſauing my life. I cannot eſcape in the mountaine, leſt ſome euill take me and I die. Here is a Citie hard by, a ſmall thing, O let me eſcape thither (is it not a ſmall thing?) and my ſoule ſhall liue.* Well, God is contented to yeeld to any conditions, *Behold, I haue receiued thy requeſt concerning this thing alſo, I will ſpare this Citie, for which thou haſt ſpoken; haſte thee; ſaue thee there. For I can doe nothing till thou come thither.* verſe 18.

6. Hee could doe nothing! Not becauſe of the weakneſſe of his ſtrength (for who is like vnto the Lord in power?) but becauſe of the greatneſſe of his mercy, which would not ſuffer him to lift vp his arme againſt that Citie; nor to poure out his wrath vpon that place, where his righteous ſeruant had a fancie to remaine, and a deſire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercie and loue of God! God is afraid to offend vs which are not afraid to diſpleaſe him! God can doe nothing till he haue ſaued vs, which can find in our hearts rather to doe any thing then to ſerue him. It contenteth him not to exempt vs, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort vs at euery mention which is made of reprobates and godleſſe men; to ſaue vs as the apple of his owne eye when fire commeth downe from heauen to conſume the inhabitants of the earth, except euery Prophet, and euery Apoſtle, and euery ſeruant, whom he ſendeth forth, do come loaden with theſe and the like exhortations, *O beloued, edifie your ſelues in your moſt holy faith. Giue your ſelues to prayer in the Spirit, keepe your ſelues in the loue of God. Looke for the mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt vnto eternall life.*

7. *Edifie your ſelues.* The ſpeech is borrowed from materiall builders, and muſt be ſpiritually vnderſtood. It appeareth in the 6. of S. *Iohns* Goſpell by the Iewes, that their mouthes did water too much for bodily food, *Our fathers*, ſay they, *did eate Manna in the Deſart, as it is written, He gaue them bread from Heauen to eate, Lord, euermore giue vs of this bread*! Our Sauiour, to turne their appetite another way, maketh them this anſwer, *I am the Bread of life, hee that commeth to me, ſhall not hunger, and he that beleeueth in me, ſhall neuer thirſt.*

8. An vſuall practice it is of Sathan, to caſt heapes of worldly baggage in our way, that whileſt we deſire to heape vp gold as duſt, we may be brought at the length to eſteeme vilely that ſpirituall bliſſe. Chriſt, in the 6. of *Matthew*, to correct this euill affection, putteth vs in minde to lay vp treaſure for our ſelues in Heauen. The Apoſtle, 1. *Tim.* 3. *chapt.* miſliking the vanitie of thoſe women, which attired themſelues more coſtly, then beſeemed the heauenly calling of ſuch as profeſſed the feare of God, willeth them to cloath themſelues with ſhamefaſtneſſe and modeſtie, and to put on the apparell of good workes. *Taliter pigmentat a Deum habebitis amatorem*, ſaith, *Tertullian.* Put on righteouſneſſe as a garment: in ſtead of Ciuit, haue Faith, which may cauſe a ſauour of life to iſſue from you, and God ſhall be enamoured, he ſhall be raviſhed with your beauty. Theſe are the ornaments, and bracelets, and iewels, which inflame the loue of Chriſt, and ſet his heart on fire vpon his Spouſe.

Wee ſee, how hee breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire, How faire art thou, and how pleaſant art thou, O my loue, in theſe pleaſures!

9. And perhaps S. *Iude* exhorteth vs here not to build our houſes, but our ſelues, foreſeeing by the Spirit of the Almighty, which was with him, that there ſhould be men in the laſt dayes like to thoſe in the firſt, which ſhould encourage and ſtirre vp each other to make Bricke, and to burne it in the fire, to builde Houſes huge as Cities, and Towers as high as Heauen, thereby to get them a name vpon earth; men that ſhould turne out the poore, and the fatherleſſe, and the Widdow, to build places of reſt for Dogs and Swine in their roomes; men that ſhould lay Houſes of prayer euen with the ground, and make them ſtables where Gods people haue worſhipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanitie of all vanities, and it is much amongſt men: a ſpeciall ſickneſſe of this age. What it ſhould meane, I know not, except God haue ſet them on worke to prouide fewell againſt that day, when the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſhew himſelfe from Heauen with his mightie Angels in flaming fire. *Eccleſ 5.* What good commeth vnto the owners of theſe things, ſaith *Salomon*, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes. *Martha, Martha, thou buſieſt thy ſelfe about many things, One thing is neceſſary.* Yee are too buſie, my brethren, with Timber, and Bricke; They haue choſen the better part, they haue taken a better courſe, that build themſelues. Ye are the Temples of the liuing God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and will walke in them, and they ſhall be my people, and I will be their God.

10. Which of you will gladly remaine, or abide in a miſ-ſhapen, a ruinous, or a broken houſe? And ſhall we ſuffer ſinne, and vanitie to drop in at our eyes, and at our eares, at euery corner of our bodies, and of our ſoules, knowing that we are the Temples of the holy Ghoſt? Which of you receiueth a Gueſt, whom he honoureth, or whom he loueth, and doth not ſweepe his Chamber againſt his comming? And ſhall wee ſuffer the chamber of our hearts and conſciences to lie full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbidge, knowing that Chriſt hath ſaid, I and my Father will come, and dwell with you? Is it meete for your oxen to lie in Parlours, and your ſelues to lodge in Cribs? Or is it ſeemely for your ſelues to dwell in your ſeiled houſes, and the houſe of the Almighty to lie waſte, whoſe houſe ye are your ſelues? Doe not our eyes behold, how God euery day ouertaketh the wicked in their iourneyes, how ſuddenly they pop downe into the pit? how Gods iudgements for their crimes come ſo ſwiftly vpon them, that they haue not the leaſure to crie, Alas? how their life is cut off like a threed in a moment? how they paſſe like a ſhadow? how they open their mouthes to ſpeake, and God taketh them euen in the midſt of a vaine or an idle word? And dare wee for all this lie downe, take our reſt, eate our meate ſecurely and careleſly in the midſt of ſo great and ſo many ruines? Bleſſed and praiſed for euer and euer bee his name, who perceiuing of how ſenſeleſſe and heauy mettall wee are made, hath inſtituted in his Church a ſpirituall Supper, and an holy Communion, to bee celebrated often, that wee might thereby bee occaſioned often to examine theſe buildings of ours, in what caſe they ſtand. For ſith God doth not

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

dwell

dwell in Temples which are vncleane, ſith a Shrine cannot be a Sanctuarie vnto him; and this Supper is receiued as a ſeale vnto vs, that wee are his Houſe and his Sanctuarie; that his Chriſt is as truely vnited to mee, and I to him, as my arme is vnited and knit vnto my ſhoulder; that Hee dwelleth in mee as verily, as the elements of Bread and Wine abide within mee; which perſwaſion, by receiuing theſe dreadfull myſteries, wee profeſſe our ſelues to haue: a due comfort, if truely; and if in hypocriſie, then woe worth vs. Therefore ere we put forth our hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, we are charged to examine and to trie our hearts, whether God be in vs of a truth, or no: and if by faith and loue vnfained wee bee found the Temples of the holy Ghoſt, then to iudge, whether we haue had ſuch regard euery one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in vs hath no way bin vexed, moleſted, and grieued: or if it haue, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulitie, ſometimes by breach of charitie, ſometimes by want of zeale, ſometimes by ſpots of life; euen in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt vs (for who can ſay, his heart is cleane?) O then, to flye vnto God by vnfained repentance, to fall downe before him in the humilitie of our ſoules, begging of him whatſoeuer is needfull to repaire our decayes, before wee fall into that deſolation whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heale thee?* Lam. 2. 13.

11. Receiuing the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort, (you that are Spirituall, iudge what I ſpeake) is not all other Wine like the Water of *Marah*, being compared to the Cup, which we bleſſe? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna*? Is there not a taſt, a taſt of Chriſt Ieſus, in the heart of him that eateth? Doth not hee which drinketh, behold plainely in this Cup, that his ſoule is bathed in the bloud of the Lambe? O beloued in our Lord and Sauiour IeſusChriſt, if ye will taſt how ſweet the Lord is, if ye will receiue the King of Glorie, *Build your ſelues.*

12. *Young men* I ſpeake this to you; for yee are his Houſe, becauſe by faith ye are Conquerours ouer *Satan*, & haue ouercome that euill. *Fathers*, I ſpeake it alſo to you; yee are his Houſe, becauſe yee haue knowne him, which is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I ſpeake it euen to you alſo; yee are his Houſe, becauſe your ſinnes are forgiuen you for his Names ſake. *Matrons* and *Siſters*, I may not hold it from you; ye are are alſo the Lords building, and, as S. *Peter* ſpeaketh, heires of the grace of life as well as we. Though it be forbidden you to open your mouthes in publike aſſemblies, yet yee muſt be inquiſitiue in things concerning this building, which is of God, with your husbands and friends at home; not as *Dalila* with *Samſon*, but as *Sara* with *Abraham*, whoſe daughters yee are, whileſt yee doe well, and build your ſelues.

13. Hauing ſpoken thus farre of the Exhortation, as whereby we are called vpon to edifie and build our ſelues; it remaineth now, that we conſider the things preſcribed, namely, wherein we muſt be built. This preſcription ſtandeth alſo vpon two points, the *thing* preſcribed, and the *adiuncts* of the *thing*. And that is our moſt pure and *holy faith*.

14. The thing preſcribed is *Faith*. For as in a chaine, which is made of many linkes, if you pull the firſt, you draw the reſt; and as in a Ladder of many

staues, if you take away the lowest, all hope of ascending to the highest, will be remooued: So, because all the Precepts and Promises in the Law and in the Gospell doe hang vpon this, *Beleeue*; and because the last of the graces of God doth so follow the first, that hee glorifieth none, but whom he hath iustified, nor iustifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectuall, and liuely faith in Christ Iesus; therefore S. *Iude* exhorting vs to *build our selues*, mentioneth here expresly only faith, as the thing wherein we must be edified, for that faith is the ground and the glorie of all the wel-fare of this building.

15. *Yee are not strangers and forrainers, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the houshold of God* (saith the Apostle) *and are built vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Iesus Christ himselfe being the chiefe corner Stone, in whom all the building being coupled together, groweth vnto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom yee also are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And wee are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if wee beleeue. For it is written, Whosoeuer confesseth, that Iesus is the Sonne of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God. The strength of this habitation is great; it preuaileth against Sathan; it conquereth Sinne; it hath death in derision; neither Principalities, nor Powers can throw it downe; it leadeth the World captiue, and bringeth euery enemy that riseth vp against it, to confusion and shame, and all by faith; for this is the victory that overcommeth the World, euen our faith. Who is it that ouercommeth the World, but he which beleeueth, that Iesus is the Sonne of God?

Ephes 2.

16. The strength of euery Building, which is of God, standeth not in any mans armes, or legges; it is onely in our faith, as the valour of *Samson* lay onely in his haire. This is the reason, why wé are so earnestly called vpon to *edifie our selues in faith.* Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we beleeue the Gospel of Christ, were able in it selfe, as of it selfe, to make vs vnconquerable, and inuincible, like stones, which abide in the building for euer, & fall not out. No, it is not the worthinesse of our beleeuing, it is the vertue of him in whom we beleeue, by which we stand sure, as houses that are builded vpon a Rocke. He is a Wise man, which hath builded his house vpon a Rocke; for he hath chosen a good foundation, and no doubt his house will stand. But how shall it stand? Verily, by the strength of the Rocke which beareth it, and by nothing else. Our fathers, whom God deliuered out of the Land of Ægypt, were a people that had no Peers amongst the Nations of the Earth, because they were built by faith vpon the Rocke, which Rocke is Christ. *And the Rock* (saith the Apostle in the first to the Corinthians, the tenth Chapter) *did follow them.* Whereby we learne not onely this, that being built by faith on Christ as on a Rocke, and grafted into him as into an Oliue, we receiue all our strength and fatnesse from him; but also, that this strength and fatnesse of ours ought to be no cause why we should be high-minded, and not worke out our saluation with a reuerent trembling, and holy feare. For if thou boastest thy selfe of thy faith, know this, That Christ chose his Apostles, his Apostles chose not him; that Israel followed not the Rocke, but the Rocke followed Israel; and that thou bearest not the Roote, but the Roote thee. So that euery heart must this thinke, and euery tongue must thus speake, *Not vnto vs, O Lord, not vnto*

1. *Iohn* 4.
1. *Iohn* 5.

Mat. 7.

Rom. 11.

vs,

vs, nor vnto any thing which is within vs, but vnto thy Name onely, onely to thy Name, belongeth all the praiſe of all the Treaſures and Riches of euery Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our faith.

17. But this muſt not make vs careleſſe to edifie our ſelues in faith. It is the Lord that deliuereth mens ſoules from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercy. It is God that hath giuen vs eternall life, but no other- 1. *Iohn* 5.
wiſe then thus, If we beleeue in the name of the Sonne of God; for he that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came vpon *Samſon*, and made him ſtrong to teare a Lyon as a man would rent a Kid: but his ſtrength forſooke him, and he became like other men when the Razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithfull haue ſubdued kingdomes, wrought righteouſneſſe, obtained the promiſes ſtopped the mouthes of Lions, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword: But take away their faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like vnto other men?

18. If ye deſire yet farther to know how neceſſarie and needfull it is, that wee edifie and build vp our ſelues in faith, marke the words of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*, If I offer vnto God all the Sheepe and Oxen that are in the world, if all the Temples that were builded ſince the dayes of *Adam* till this houre, were of my foundation, if I breake my very heart with calling vpon God, and weare out my tongue with preaching, if I ſacrifice my body and my ſoule vnto him, *and haue no faith*, all this anayleth nothing. *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Our Lord and Sauiour therefore being asked in the ſixt of S. *Iohns* Goſpell, *What ſhall we doe that we might worke the works of God*, maketh anſwer, *This is the worke of God, that yee beleeue in him, whom he hath ſent.* No pleaſing of God without faith.

19. That no worke of ours, no building of our ſelues in any thing can be auaileable or profitable vnto vs, except we be edified and built in faith, what neede we to ſeeke about for long proofe? Looke vpon Iſrael, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the faithfull, and the glorie of Cherubins, and the couenants of mercie, and the law of *Moſes*, and the ſeruice of God, and the promiſes of Chriſt were made impropriate, who not onely were the off-ſpring of *Abraham*, father vnto all them which doe beleeue, but Chriſt their off-ſpring which is God to be bleſſed for euermore:

20. Conſider this people, and learne what it is to *build your ſelues in faith*. They were the Lords Vine: hee brought it out of Egypt, hee threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted, he made roome for it, and cauſed it to take roote, till it had filled the earth, the mountaines were couered with the ſhadow of it, and the boughes therof were as the goodly Cedars. Shee ſtretched out her branches vnto the ſea, and her boughs vnto the riuer. But when God hauing ſent both his ſeruants and his Son to viſite this Vine, they neither ſpared the one, nor receiued the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of glorie which came vnto them, then began the curſe of God to come vpon them, euen the curſe whereof the Prophet *Dauid* hath

Psal.69. Rom.11. spoken, saying. *Let their tables be made a snare, and a net, and a stumbling block, euen for a recompence vnto them, let their eyes be darkened, that they doe not see, bow downe their backes for euer*, keepe them downe. And sithence the houre, that the measure of their infidelitie was first made vp, they haue beene spoiled with warres, eaten vp with plagues, spent with hunger and famine: they wander from place to place, and are become the most base and contemptible people that are vnder the Sunne. *Ephraim*, which before was a terrour vnto nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelitie so vile, that he seemeth as a thing cast out, to be trampled vnder mens feet. In the midst of these desolations they cry, *Returne wee beseech thee, O God of hosts, looke downe from heauen, behold and visit this Vine:* but their very prayers are turned into sin, and their cryes are no better then the lowing of beasts before him. *Well*, saith the Apostle, *By their vnbeliefe they are broken off, and thou doest stand by thy faith. Behold therefore the bountifulnesse and seueritie of God; towards them seueritie, because they haue fallen, bountifulnesse towards thee: if thou continue in his bountifulnesse, or else thou shalt bee cut off.* If they forsake their vnbeliefe, and be grafted in againe, and wee at any time for the hardnesse of our hearts be broken off, it will bee such a iudgement as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are aboue. Who hath searched the counsell of God concerning this secret? and who doth not see that *infidelitie* doth threaten *Lo-ammi* vnto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* vpon the Iewes? It may be that these words seeme darke vnto you. But the words of the Apostle in the eleuenth to the *Romans*, are plaine enough, *If God haue not spared the naturall branches, take heed*, take heed, *lest hee spare not thee.* Build thy selfe in faith. Thus much of the thing which is prescribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edifie our selues. Now consider the *condition* and *properties*, which are in this place annexed vnto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edifie your selues in your faith.*

Psal.18.14. Rom.11.20. Verse.22. Hos.1.9. not my people. Verse.6. not obtaining mercy.

21. A strange, and a strong delusion it is wherewith the *man of sinne* hath bewitched the world; a forcible spirit of errour it must needs be, which hath brought men to such a senseleesse and vnreasonable perswasion as this is, not onely that men cloathed with mortalitie and sinne, as we our selues are, can doe God so much seruice, as shall be able to make a full and a perfect satisfaction before the Tribunall seate of God for their own sinnes, yea a great deale more than is sufficient for themselues; But also that a man at the hands of a Bishop or a Pope, for such or such a price, may buy the *ouerplus* of other mens merits, purchase the fruits of other mens labours, and build his soule by another mans faith: Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitternesse? Is his heart right in the sight of God? Can hee haue any part or fellowship with *Peter*, and with the *successours of Peter*, which thinketh so vilely of building the precious Temples of the holy Ghost? Let his money perish with him, and he with it, because he iudgeth, that the gift of God may be sold for money.

22. But, Beloued in the Lord, deceiue not your selues, neither suffer yee your selues to be deceiued: ye can receiue no more ease nor comfort for your soules by another mans faith, then warmth for your bodies by another mans clothes, or sustenance by the bread which another doth eate. The iust shall liue

liue by his *owne faith*. *Let a Saint, yea a Martyr content himselfe, that hee hath cleansed himselfe of his owne sinnes*, saith *Tertullian*. No *Saint* or *Martyr* can cleanse himselfe of his owne sinnes. But if so bee a *Saint*, or a *Martyr* can cleanse himselfe of his owne sinnes, it is sufficient that he can doe it for himselfe. Did euer any man by his death deliuer another man from death, except onely the Sonne of God: he indeed was able to *Safe-conduct* a Thiefe from the Crosse to Paradise: for to this end he came, that being himselfe pure from sinne, hee might obey for sinners. Thou which thinkest to doe the like, and supposest that thou canst iustifie another by thy righteousnes, if thou be without sinne, then lay downe thy life for thy brother; die for me. But if thou be a sinner, euen as I am a sinner, how can the Oyle of thy Lampe bee sufficient both for thee and for me? *Virgins*, that are wise, get yee Oyle, while ye haue day, into your owne Lamps. For out of all peraduenture, others, though they would, can neither giue nor sell. Edifie your selues in your *owne* most holy faith. And let this be obserued for the first *propertie* of that, wherein we ought to edifie our selues.

23. Our faith being such, is that indeed which S. *Iude* doth here terme *Faith*, namely, a thing most *holy*. The reason is this; We are iustified by *Faith*. For *Abraham* beleeued, and this was imputed vnto him for righteousnesse. Being iustified, all our iniquities are couered; God beholdeth vs in the righteousnesse which is imputed, and not in the sinnes which wee haue committed.

24. It is true, we are full of sinne, both *originall* and *actuall*; whosoeuer denieth it, is a double sinner, for he is both a *sinner* and a *lyar*. To denie sinne, is most plainely and cleerely to proue it, because hee that saith, hee hath no sinne, lyeth, and by lying proueth that he hath sinne.

25. But *imputation* of righteousnesse hath couered the sinnes of euery soule which beleeueth; God by pardoning our sinne, hath taken it away; So that now, although our transgressions be multiplied aboue the haires of our head, yet being iustified, we are as free, and as cleare, as if there were no one spot or staine of any vncleanesse in vs. For it is God that iustifieth; and who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods chosen? saith the Apostle in the eight chapter to the Romans.

26. Now sinne being taken away, wee are made the righteousnesse of God in Christ. For *Dauid* speaking of this righteousnesse, saith, *Blessed is the man whose iniquities are forgiuen*. No man is blessed, but in the righteousnesse of God. Euery man whose sinne is taken away, is blessed. Therefore euery man whose sinne is couered, is made the righteousnesse of God in Christ. The righteousnesse doth make vs to appeare most holy, most pure, most vnblameable before him.

27. This then is the summe of that which I say: Faith doth iustifie; Iustification washeth away sinne; Sinne remoued, we are clothed with the righteousnesse which is of God; the righteousnesse of God maketh vs most holy. Euery of these I haue proued by the testimonie of Gods owne mouth. Therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh vs most holy, in consideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our most holy Faith*.

28. To

28. To make a wicked and a sinfull man most holy through his beleeuing, is more then to create a World of nothing. Our faith most holy? Surely, *Salomon* could not shew the Queene of *Saba* so much treasure in all his Kingdome, as is lapt vp in these words. O that our hearts were stretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our vnderstanding were as bright as the Sunne, that we might throughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of Saints, & what is the exceeding greatnesse of his power towards vs, whom he accepteth for pure, and most holy, through our beleeuing. O that the Spirit of the Lord would giue this doctrine entrance into the stony and brazen heart of the Iew, which followeth the Law of Righteousnes, but cannot attaine vnto the righteousnesse of the Law! Wherefore? saith the Apostle. They seeke righteousnesse, and not by faith, Wherefore they stumble at Christ, they are bruised, shiuered to pieces as a Ship that hath runne her selfe vpon a rocke. O that God would cast downe the eyes of the proud, and humble the soules of the high-minded, that they might at the length abhorre the garments of their owne flesh, which cannot hide their nakednesse, and put on the faith of Christ Iesus, as hee did put it on, which hath said; *Doubtlesse I thinke all things but losse, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Iesus my Lord, for whom I haue counted all things losse, and doe iudge them to be dung, that I might winne Christ, and might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteousnesse, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, euen the righteousnesse which is of God through faith.* O that God would open the Arke of mercy, wherein this doctrine lyeth, and set it wide before the eyes of poore afflicted consciences, which flie vp and downe vpon the water of their afflictions, and can see nothing but onely the gulfe and deluge of their sinnes, wherein there is no place for them to rest their feet. The God of pitie and compassion giue you all strength and courage, euery day, and euery houre, and euery moment, to build and edifie your selues in this most pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing prescribed in this Exhortation, and also of the properties of the thing, *Build your selues in your most holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of *Prayer*, but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I haue added somewhat for the applying of it both to others and to our selues.

29. For your better vnderstanding of matters contained in this Exhortation, *Build your selues*, you most note, that euery Church and Congregation doth consist of a multitude of Beleeuers, as euery house is built of many stones. And although the nature of the mysticall body of the Church be such, that it suffereth no distinction in the inuisible members, but whether it be *Paul* or *Apollos*, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, *all* are equally Christs, and Christ is equally theirs: yet in the externall administration of the Church of God, because God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, it is necessarie, that in euery Congregation there be a distinction, if not of inward dignitie, yet of outward degree; so that all are Saints, or seeme to be Saints, and should be as they seeme. But are all Apostles; If the whole bodie were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath giuen some to bee Apostles, and some to be Pastours, &c. for the edification of the body of Christ,

Christ. In which worke we are Gods labourers (saith the Apostle) and yee are Gods husbandrie, and Gods building.

30. The Church respected with reference vnto administration Ecclesiasticall, doth generally consist but of two sorts of men, the *Labourers*, and the *Building*; they which are ministred vnto, and they to whom the worke of the Ministerie is committed; *Pastours*, and the *Flocke*, ouer whom the holy Ghost hath made them ouerseers. If the *Guide* of a Congregation, bee his name or his degree whatsoeuer, bee diligent in his vocation, feed the flocke of God which dependeth vpon him, caring for it not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a readie mind, not as though he would tyrannize ouer Gods heritage, but as a patterne vnto the flocke, wisely guiding them: if the people in their degree doe yeeld themselues frameable to the truth, not like rough stone or flint, refusing to be smoothed and squared for the building: if the Magistrate doe carefully and diligently survey the whole order of the worke, prouiding by statutes and lawes, and bodily punishments, if neede require, that all things maybe done according to the rule which cannot deceiue, euen as *Moses* prouided that all things might be done according to the patterne which he saw in the mount; there the words of this exhortation are truely and effectually heard. Of such a Congregation euery man will say, *Behold a people that are wise, a people that walke in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and vnderstanding, a people that haue skill in building themselues.* Where it is otherwise, there, *as by slothfulnesse, the roose doth decay*; and as *by idlenesse of hands, the house droppeth thorow*, as it is in the 10. of Ecclesiastes, vers. 18. so first one piece, and then another of their building shall fall away, till there be not a stone left vpon a stone.

31. We see how fruitlesse this exhortation hath beene to such as bend all their trauaile only to build and manage a *Papacie* vpon earth, without any care in the world of building themselues in their most holy faith. Gods people haue enquired at their mouthes, *What shall we doe to haue eternall life?* Wherein shall wee build and edifie our selues? And they haue departed home from their Prophets, and from their Priests, laden with doctrines, which are precepts of men; they haue beene taught to tyre out themselues with bodily exercise, those things are inioyned them, which God did neuer require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their eares filled with melodie, but their soules doe wither, and starue, and pine away; they crie for bread, and behold, stones are offered them; they aske for fish, and see, they haue Scorpions in their hands. Thou seest, O Lord, that they build themselues, but not in faith; they feed their children, but not with food; Their Rulers say with shame, Bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkennesse stinketh, their abominations are knowne, their madnesse is manifest, the wind hath bound them vp in her wings, and they shall bee ashamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, saith the Prophets, is ioyned to idols, let him alone, I will turne me therefore from the Priests, which doe minister vnto idols; and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his chosen in Israel.

32. If there bee any feeling of Christ, and drop of heauenly dew, or any

sparke

ſparke of Gods good Spirit within you, ſtirre it vp, bee carefull to build and edifie, firſt your ſelues, and then your flockes in this moſt holy faith,

33. I ſay, *firſt your ſelues*; For, hee that will ſet the hearts of other men on fire, with the loue of Chriſt, muſt himſelfe burne with loue. It is want of faith in our ſelues, my brethren, which maketh vs * retchleſſe in building others: Wee forſake the Lords inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reaſon of this? Our owne deſires are ſettled where they ſhould not be. We our ſelues are like thoſe women which haue a longing to eate coales, and lime, and filth; wee are fed, ſome with honour, ſome with eaſe, ſome with wealth; the Goſpell waxeth lothſome and vnpleaſant in our taſte; how ſhould wee then haue a care to feed others with that, which we cannot fancie our ſelues! If *faith* waxe cold, and ſlender, in the *heart* of the *Prophet*, it will ſoone periſh from the eares of the people. The Prophet *Amos* ſpeaketh of a famine, ſaying, *I will ſend a famine in the Land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North vnto the Eaſt ſhall they runne to and fro, to ſeeke the Word of the Lord, and ſhall not finde it. Iudgement muſt beginne at the houſe of God*, ſaith *Peter*. Yea, I ſay, at the Sanctuarie of God, this iudgement muſt beginne. This famine muſt beginne at the heart of the Prophet. Hee muſt haue darkeneſſe for a viſion, hee muſt ſtumble at noone day, as at the twi-light, and then truth ſhall fall in the middeſt of the ſtreets, then ſhall the people wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North vnto the Eaſt ſhall they runne to and fro, to ſeeke the Word of the Lord.

* Careleſſe.

Amos 8.11.

Verſ. 12.

1. *Pet.* 4.17.

34. In the ſecond of HAGGAI, *Speake now*, ſaith God, to his Prophet, *Speake now to* Zerubbabel, *the ſonne of* Shealtiel, *Prince of Iudah, and to* Iehoſhua, *the ſonne of* Iehozadak *the high Prieſt, and to the reſidue of the people, ſaying. Who is left among you, that ſaw this houſe in her firſt glorie, and how doe you ſee it now? Is not this houſe in your eyes, in compariſon of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would haue all mens eies turned to the view of themſelues, euery ſort brought to the conſideration of their preſent ſtate. This is no place to ſhew what dutie *Zerubbabel* or *Iehoſhua* doth owe vnto God in this reſpect. They haue, I doubt not, ſuch as put them hereof in remembrance. I aske of you, which are a part of the reſidue of Gods Elect and choſen people: Who is there amongſt you, that hath taken a ſuruey of the Houſe of God, as it was in the dayes of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt? Who is there amongſt you, that hath ſeene and conſidered this holy Temple in her firſt glorie? And how doe you ſee it now? Is it not in compariſon of the other, almoſt as nothing, when ye looke vpon them that haue vndertaken the charge of your ſoules, & know how farre theſe are for the moſt part growne out of kind, how few there be that tread the ſteps of their ancient Predeceſſors, ye are eaſily filled with indignation, eaſily drawne vnto theſe complaints, wherein the difference of preſent, from former times, is bewailed, eaſily perſwaded to thinke of them that liued to enioy the dayes which now are gone. Surely they were happie in compariſon of vs that haue ſucceeded them: were not their Biſhops men vnreproueable, wiſe, righteous, holy, temperate, well reported of, euen of thoſe which were without? were not their Paſtors, Guides, and Teachers, able and

willing

willing to exhort with wholſome doctrine, and to improue which gaineſaid the Truth? had they Prieſts made of the refuſe of the people? were men, like to the children which were in *Niniueh*, vnable to diſcerne betweene the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their Congregation? did their Teachers leaue their flockes ouer which the holy Ghoſt had made them ouerſeers? did their Prophets enter vpon holy things as ſpoyles, without a reuerend calling? were their Leaders ſo vnkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to ſell them as ſheepe or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But beloued, deceiue not your ſelues. Doe the faults of your Guides and Paſtors offend you? It is your fault if they be thus faultie. *Nullus qui malum rectorem patitur, eum accuſet, quia ſui fuit meriti peruerſi Paſtoris ſubiaceri ditioni*, ſaith S. *Gregorie*, whoſoeuer thou art whom the inconuenience of an euill Gouernor doth preſſe, accuſe thy ſelfe, and not him. His being ſuch, is thy deſeruing. *O yee diſobedient children, turne againe*, ſaith the Lord, *and then will I giue you Paſtors according to mine owne heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge and vnderſtanding*. So that the onely way to repaire all ruines, breaches, and offenſiue decayes in others, is to begin reformation at your ſelues. Which that we may all ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and ſpeedily doe, God the Father grant for his Sonne our Sauiour Ieſus ſake, vnto whom with the holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternall and euerlaſting God, be honour, and glorie, and praiſe for euer.

Ier. 3. 14. 15.

AMEN.

FINIS.



AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE, CONTAINING ALL THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS *HANDLED IN THE FIRST* FOVRE BOOKES, OF THE *ECCLESIASTICALL, Politie.*

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